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THE WORKS

OF THE

REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,

Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford

THIRD AMERICAN COMPLETE AND STANDARD EDITION,

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WITH THE LAST CORRECTIONS OF THE AUTHOR

COMPREHENDING ALSO

NUMEROUS TRANSLATIONS, NOTES, AND AN ORIGINAL PREFACE, ETC.,

BY JOHN EMORY

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A LETTER

TO

A PERSON LATELY JOINED WITH THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

IN ANSWER TO A LETTER WROTE BY HIM.

BRISTOL, February 10, 1747-8.

YOU ask me, "Is there any difference between Quakerism and Christianity?" I think there is. What that difference is, I will tell you as plainly as I can.

I will, First, set down the account of Quakerism, so called, which is given by Robert Barclay; and, Then, add wherein it agrees with, and wherein it differs from, Christianity.

"1. Seeing the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, the right understanding of this is what is most necessary to be known in the first place.

"2. It is by the Spirit alone that the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be, revealed. And these revelations, which are absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do, nor can, ever contradict right reason or the testimony of the Scriptures."

Thus far there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

"Yet these revelations are not to be subjected to the examination of the Scriptures as to a touchstone."

Here there is a difference. The Scriptures are the touchstone whereby Christians examine all, real or supposed, revelations. In all cases they appeal "to the law and to the testimony," and try every spirit thereby.

"3. From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of truth."

In this there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

"Yet the Scriptures are not the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor the adequate, primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, they are a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit. By him the saints are led into all truth. Therefore, the Spirit is the first and principal leader."

If by these words, "The Scriptures are not the principal ground of truth and knowledge, nor the adequate, primary rule of faith and manners," be only meant, that "the Spirit is our first and principal leader;" here is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

But there is great impropriety of expression. For, though the Spirit is our principal leader, yet he is not our rule at all; the Scriptures are the rule whereby he leads us into all truth. Therefore, only talk good English; call the Spirit our *guide*, which signifies an intelligent being, and the Scriptures our *rule*, which signifies something used by an intelligent being, and all is plain and clear.

"4. All mankind is fallen and dead, deprived of the sensation of this inward testimony of God, and subject to the power and nature of the devil, while they abide in their natural state. And hence not only their words and deeds, but all their imaginations, are evil perpetually in the sight of God.

"5. God out of his infinite love hath so loved the world that he gave his only Son, to the end that whosoever believeth on him might have everlasting life. And he enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, as he tasted death for every man.

"6. The benefit of the death of Christ is not only extended to such as have the distinct knowledge of his death and sufferings, but even unto those who are inevitably excluded from this knowledge. Even these may be partakers of the benefit of his death, though ignorant of the history, if they suffer his grace to take place in their hearts, so as of wicked men to become holy."

In these points there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

"7. As many as receive the light, in them is produced a holy and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all other blessed fruits. By which holy birth, as we are sanctified, so we are justified."

Here is a wide difference between Quakerism and Christianity. This is flat justification by works. Whereas, the Christian doctrine is, that "we are justified by faith;" that "unto him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness."

The ground of this mistake is, the not understanding the meaning of the word justification. For Robert Barclay takes it in the same sense as the Papists do, confounding it with sanctification. So in page 208 of his "Apology," he says, in express terms, "Justification, taken in its proper signification, is making one just; and is all one with sanctification."

"8. In whom this holy birth is fully brought forth, the body of sin and death is crucified, and their hearts are subjected to the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion of the evil one; but to be free from actual sinning and transgressing of the law of God, and, in that respect, perfect.

"9. They in whom his grace hath wrought in part to purify and sanctify them, may yet by disobedience fall from it, and make shipwreck of the faith."

In these propositions there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

The uncommon expression, "This holy birth brought forth," is taken from Jacob Behmen. And indeed so are many other expressions used by the Quakers, as are also many of their sentiments.

"10. By this light of God in the heart, every true minister is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry."

As to part of this proposition, there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity. Doubtless, "every true minister is by the light of God prepared and supplied in the work of the ministry." But the Apostles themselves ordained them by "laying on of hands." So we read throughout the Acts of the Apostles.

"They who have received this gift, ought not to use it as a trade, to get money thereby. Yet it may be lawful for such to receive what may be needful to them for food and clothing."

In this there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

"We judge it noways unlawful for a woman to preach in the assemblies of God's people."

In this there is a manifest difference: For the Apostle Paul saith expressly, "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not

permitted unto them to speak. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home ; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church," 1 Cor. xiv, 34, 35.

Robert Barclay, indeed, says, " Paul here only reproves the inconsiderate and talkative women."

But the text says no such thing. It evidently speaks of women in general.

Again : The Apostle Paul saith to Timothy, " Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. For I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man," (which public teaching necessarily implies,) " but to be in silence," 1 Tim. ii, 11, 12.

To this Robert Barclay makes only that harmless reply : " We think this is not anyways repugnant to this doctrine." Not repugnant to this, " I do suffer a woman to teach !" Then I know not what is.

" But a woman 'laboured with Paul in the work of the gospel.'" Yea, but not in the way he had himself expressly forbidden.

" But Joel foretold, 'your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' And 'Philip had four daughters which prophesied.' And the Apostle himself directs women to prophesy ; only with their heads covered."

Very good. But how do you prove that prophesying in any of these places means preaching ?

" 11. All true worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving of his own Spirit. We ought not to pray or preach where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereto by his Spirit. All other worship, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can begin and end at pleasure, do or leave undone, as himself sees meet, are but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatries."

Here lies one of the main differences between Quakerism and Christianity.

It is true indeed, that " all true worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving of his own Spirit ;" or, (to speak plain,) that we cannot truly worship God, unless his Spirit move or incline our hearts. It is equally true, that " we ought to pray and preach, only where and when we are moved thereto by his Spirit ;" but I fear you do not in anywise understand what the being " moved by his Spirit" means. God moves man whom he has made a reasonable creature, according to the reason which he has given him. He moves him by his understanding, as well as his affections, by light as well as by heat. He moves him to do this or that by conviction, full as often as by desire. Accordingly, you are as really " moved by the Spirit" when he convinces you you ought to feed him that is hungry, as when he gives you ever so strong an impulse, desire, or inclination so to do.

In like manner, you are as really moved by the Spirit to pray, whether it be in public or private, when you have a conviction it is the will of God you should, as when you have the strongest impulse upon your heart. And he does truly move you to preach, when in his light you " see light" clearly satisfying you it is his will, as much as when you feel the most vehement impulse or desire to " hold forth the words of eternal life."

Now let us consider the main proposition : " All worship which man

sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment"—Hold! that is quite another thing. It may be at his own appointment, and yet not in his own will; for instance: It is not my own will to preach at all. It is quite contrary to my will. Many a time have I cried out, "Lord, send by whom thou wilt send; only send not me!" But I am moved by the Spirit of God to preach: He clearly shows me it is his will I should; and that I should do it when and where the greatest number of poor sinners may be gathered together. Moved by him, I give up my will, and appoint a time and place, when by his power I trust to speak in his name.

How widely different, then, from true Christianity is that amazing sentence: "All praises, prayers, and preachings which man can begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone, as himself sees meet, are superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the sight of God!"

There is not one tittle of Scripture for this; nor yet is there any sound reason. When you take it for granted, "In all preachings which a man begins or ends at his pleasure, does or leaves undone as he sees meet, he is not moved by the Spirit of God," you are too hasty a great deal. It may be by the Spirit that he sees meet to do or leave it undone. How will you prove that it is not? His pleasure may depend on the pleasure of God, signified to him by his Spirit. His appointing this or that time or place does in nowise prove the contrary. Prove me that proposition if you can: "Every man who preaches or prays at an appointed time, preaches or prays in his own will, and not by the Spirit."

That "all such preaching is will-worship, in the sense St. Paul uses the word," is no more true than that it is murder. That it is superstition, remains also to be proved. That it is abominable idolatry, how will you reconcile with what follows but a few lines after? "However it might please God, who winked at the times of ignorance, to raise some breathings and answer them." What! answer the breathings of abominable idolatry! I observe how warily this is worded; but it allows enough. If God ever raised and answered those prayers which were made at set times, then those prayers could not be abominable idolatry.

Again: That prayers and preachings, though made at appointed times, may yet proceed from the Spirit of God, may be clearly proved from those other words of Robert Barclay himself, p. 389:—

"That preaching or prayer which is not done by the actings and movings of God's Spirit cannot beget faith." Most true. But preaching and prayer at appointed times have begotten faith both at Pristol and Paulton. You know it well. Therefore that preaching and prayer, though at appointed times, was "done by the actings and movings of God's Spirit."

It follows that this preaching and prayer were far from "abominable idolatry." That expression can never be defended. Say, It was a rash word, and give it up.

In truth, from the beginning to the end, you set this matter upon a wrong foundation. It is not on this circumstance,—the being at set times or not, that the acceptableness of our prayers depends; but on the intention and tempers with which we pray. He that prays in faith,

at whatsoever time, is heard. In every time and place, God accepts him who "lifts up holy hands, without wrath or doubting." The charge of superstition, therefore, returns upon yourself; for what gross superstition is this, to lay so much stress on an indifferent circumstance, and so little on faith and the love of God!

But to proceed: "We confess singing of psalms to be a part of God's worship, and very sweet and refreshful when it proceeds from a true sense of God's love; but as for formal singing, it has no foundation in Scripture."

In this there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

But let it be observed here, that the Quakers in general cannot be excused, if this is true. For if they "confess singing of psalms to be a part of God's worship," how dare they either condemn or neglect it?

"Silence is a principal part of God's worship; that is, men's sitting silent together, ceasing from all outwards, from their own words and actings, in the natural will and comprehension, and feeling after the inward seed of life."

In this there is a manifest difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

This is will-worship, if there be any such thing under heaven. For there is neither command nor example for it in Scripture.

Robert Barclay indeed refers to abundance of scriptures to prove it is a command. But as he did not see good to set them down at length, I will take the trouble to transcribe a few of them:—

"Wait on the Lord: be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart," Psalm xxvii, 14. "Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently; fret not thyself at him who prospereth in his way." "Wait on the Lord, and keep his way, and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land," Psalm xxxvii, 7, 34. "Say not thou, I will recompense evil; but wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee," Prov. xx, 22.

By these one may judge of the rest. But how amazing is this! What are all these to the point in question?

For examples of silent meetings he refers to the five texts following:—

"They were all with one accord in one place," Acts ii, 1. "So they sat down with him seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his grief was very great," Job ii, 13. "Then were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of God. And I sat astonied until the evening sacrifice," Ezra ix, 4. "Then came certain of the elders of Israel unto me, and sat before me," Ezek. xiv, 1; xx, 1.

Was it possible for Robert Barclay to believe, that any one of these texts was any thing to the purpose?

The odd expressions here also, "Ceasing from all outwards, in the natural will and comprehension, and feeling after the inward seed of life," are borrowed from Jacob Behmen.

"12. As there is one Lord and one faith, so there is one baptism." Yea, one outward baptism; which you deny. Here, therefore, is another difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

But "if those whom John baptized with water were not baptized with the baptism of Christ, then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ."

This is a mere quibble. The sequel ought to be, "Then that baptism of water" (that is, John's baptism) "was not the baptism of Christ." Who says it was?

Yet Robert Barclay is so fond of this argument, that he repeats it almost in the same words:

"If John, who administered the baptism of water, yet did not baptize with the baptism of Christ, then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ."

This is the same fallacy still. The sequel here also should be, "Then that baptism of water was not the baptism of Christ."

He repeats it with a little variation a third time: "Christ himself saith, 'John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.'"

He repeats it a fourth time: "Peter saith, 'Then remembered I the word of the Lord, John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' From all which it follows, that such as John baptized with water, yet were not baptized with the baptism of Christ." Very true. But this proves neither more nor less than that the baptism of John differed from the baptism of Christ. And so doubtless it did; not indeed as to the outward sign, but as to the inward grace.

"13. The breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was but a figure, and ceases in such as have obtained the substance."

Here is another manifest difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

From the very time that our Lord gave that command, "Do this in remembrance of me," all Christians throughout the habitable world did eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of him.

Allowing, therefore, all that Robert Barclay affirms for eighteen or twenty pages together, viz. (1.) That believers partake of the body and blood of Christ in a spiritual manner: (2.) That this may be done, in some sense, when we are not eating bread and drinking wine: (3.) That the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Papists, differ from each other, with regard to the Lord's Supper: And, (4.) That many of them have spoken wildly and absurdly concerning it: yet all this will never prove, that we need not do what Christ has expressly commanded to be done; and what the whole body of Christians in all ages have done, in obedience to that command.

That there was such a command, you cannot deny. But you say, "It is ceased in such as have obtained the substance."

St. Paul knew nothing of this. He says nothing of its ceasing in all he writes of it to the Corinthians. Nay, quite the contrary. He says, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." O, say you, the Apostle means "his inward coming, which some of the Corinthians had not yet known." Nay, this cannot be his meaning. For he saith to all the Corinthian communicants, "Ye do show the Lord's death till he come." Now, if he was not come (spiritually) in some of these, undoubtedly he was in others. Consequently, he cannot be speaking here of that coming which, in many of them at least, was already past. It remains, that he speaks of his coming in the clouds, to judge both the quick and dead.

In what Robert Barclay teaches concerning the Scriptures, justification, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, lies the main difference between Quakerism and Christianity.

14. Since God hath assumed to himself the dominion of the conscience who alone can rightly instruct and govern it; therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever to force the consciences of others."

In this there is no difference at all between Quakerism and Christianity.

"15. It is not lawful for Christians to give or receive titles of honour, as, Your Majesty, Your Lordship, &c."

In this there is a difference between Quakerism and Christianity. Christians may give titles of honour, such as are usually annexed to certain offices.

Thus St. Paul gives the usual title of "Most Noble" to the Roman Governor. Robert Barclay indeed says, "He would not have called him such, if he had not been truly noble; as indeed he was, in that he would not give way to the fury of the Jews against him."

The Scripture says quite otherwise; that he did give way to the fury of the Jews against him. I read: "Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, (who had desired a favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, lying in wait in the way to kill him,) said to Paul, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? Then said Paul, I stand at Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest. If I have done any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die; but if there be none of these things whereof these accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them."

Hence it plainly appears, that Festus was a very wicked person, one who, "to do the Jews a pleasure," would have betrayed the innocent blood. But although St. Paul was not ignorant of his character, still he calls him, "Most Noble Festus," giving him the title of his office; which, indeed, was neither more nor less than saying, "Governor Festus," or "King Agrippa."

It is therefore mere superstition to scruple this. And it is, if possible, greater superstition still to scruple saying, *you*, *vous*, or *ihr*, whether to one or more persons, as is the common way of speaking in any country. It is this which fixes the language of every nation. It is this which makes me say *you* in England, *vous* in France, and *ihr* in Germany, rather than *thou*, *tu*, or *du*, rather than συ, σε, or אתה; which, if we speak strictly, is the only Scriptural language; not *thou*, or *thee*, any more than *you*. But the placing religion in such things as these is such egregious trifling, as naturally tends to make all religion stink in the nostrils of Infidels and Heathens.

And yet this, by a far greater abuse of words than that you would reform, you call the plain language. O my friend! he uses the plain language who speaks the truth from his heart; not he who says *thee* or *thou*, and in the mean time will dissemble or flatter, like the rest of the world.

"It is not lawful for Christians to kneel, or bow the body, or uncover the head, to any man."

If this is not lawful, then some law of God forbids it. Can you show me that law? If you cannot, then the scrupling this is another plain instance of superstition, not Christianity.

"It is not lawful for a Christian to use superfluities in apparel; as neither to use such games, sports, and plays, under the notion of recreations, as are not consistent with gravity and godly fear."

As to both these propositions, there is no difference between Quakerism and Christianity. Only observe, touching the former, that the sin of superfluous apparel lies chiefly in the superfluous expense. To make it therefore a point of conscience to differ from others, as to the shape or colour of your apparel, is mere superstition; let the difference lie in the price, that you may have the more wherewith to clothe them that have none.

"It is not lawful for Christians to swear before a magistrate, nor to fight in any case."

Whatever becomes of the latter proposition, the former is no part of Christianity; for Christ himself answered upon oath before a magistrate. Yea, he would not answer till he was put to his oath; till the high priest said unto him, "I adjure thee by the living God."

Friend, you have an honest heart, but a weak head; you have a zeal, but not according to knowledge. You was zealous once for the love of God and man, for holiness of heart and holiness of life. You are now zealous for particular forms of speaking, for a set of phrases and opinions. Once your zeal was against ungodliness and unrighteousness, against evil tempers and evil works. Now it is against forms of prayer, against singing psalms or hymns, against appointing times of praying or preaching; against saying *you* to a single person, uncovering your head, or having too many buttons upon your coat. O what a fall is here! What poor trifles are these, that now well nigh engross your thoughts! Come back, come back, to the weightier matters of the law, to spiritual, rational, Scriptural religion. No longer waste your time and strength in beating the air, in vain controversies and strife of words; but bend your whole soul to the growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the continually advancing in that holiness, without which you cannot see the Lord.

A TREATISE ON BAPTISM.

Concerning baptism I shall inquire, what it is; what benefits we receive by it; whether our Saviour designed it to remain always in his Church; and who are the proper subjects of it.

I. 1. What it is. It is the initiatory sacrament which enters us into covenant with God. It was instituted by Christ, who alone has power to institute a proper sacrament, a sign, seal, pledge, and means of grace, perpetually obligatory on all Christians. We know not, indeed, the exact time of its institution; but we know it was long before our Lord's ascension. And it was instituted in the room of circumcision. For, as that was a sign and seal of God's covenant, so is this.

2. The matter of this sacrament is water; which, as it has a natural power of cleansing, is the more fit for this symbolical use. Baptism is performed by washing, dipping, or sprinkling the person, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who is hereby devoted to the ever-

blessed Trinity. I say, *by washing, dipping, or sprinkling;* because it is not determined in Scripture in which of these ways it shall be done, neither by any express precept, nor by any such example as clearly proves it; nor by the force or meaning of the word *baptize.*

3. That there is no express precept, all calm men allow. Neither is there any conclusive example. John's baptism in some things agreed with Christ's, in others differed from it. But it cannot be certainly proved from Scripture, that even John's was performed by dipping. It is true, he baptized in Enon, near Salim, where there was much water. But this might refer to breadth rather than depth; since a narrow place would not have been sufficient for so great a multitude. Nor can it be proved, that the baptism of our Saviour, or that administered by his disciples, was by immersion. No, nor that of the eunuch baptized by Philip; though "they both went down to the water:" for that going down may relate to the chariot, and implies no determinate depth of water. It might be up to their kness; it might not be above their ankles.

4. And as nothing can be determined from Scripture precept or example, so neither from the force or meaning of the word. For the words *baptize* and *baptism* do not necessarily imply *dipping*, but are used in other senses in several places. Thus we read, that the Jews "were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea;" 1 Cor. x, 2; but they were not plunged in either. They could therefore be only sprinkled by drops of the sea water, and refreshing dews from the cloud; probably intimated in that, "Thou sentest a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshedst it when it was weary," Psalm lxviii, 9. Again: Christ said to his two disciples, "Ye shall be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with," Mark x, 38; but neither he nor they were dipped, but only sprinkled or washed with their own blood. Again we read, Mark vii, 4, of the baptisms (so it is in the original) of pots and cups, and tables or beds. Now, pots and cups are not necessarily dipped when they are washed. Nay, the Pharisees washed the outsides of them only. And as for tables or beds, none will suppose they could be dipped. Here, then, the word *baptism*, in its natural sense, is not taken for dipping, but for washing or cleansing. And, that this is the true meaning of the word *baptize*, is testified by the greatest scholars and most proper judges in this matter. It is true, we read of being "buried with Christ in baptism." But nothing can be inferred from such a figurative expression. Nay, if it held exactly, it would make as much for sprinkling as for plunging; since, in burying, the body is not plunged through the substance of the earth, but rather earth is poured or sprinkled upon it.

5. And as there is no clear proof of dipping in Scripture, so there is very probable proof of the contrary. It is highly probable, the Apostles themselves baptized great numbers, not by dipping, but by washing, sprinkling, or pouring water. This clearly represented the cleansing from sin, which is figured by baptism. And the quantity of water used was not material; no more than the quantity of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. The jailer "and all his house were baptized" in the prison; Cornelius with his friends, (and so several households,) at home. Now, is it likely, that all these had ponds or rivers, in or near their houses, sufficient to plunge them all? Every unprejudiced person must

allow, the contrary is far more probable. Again: Three thousand at one time, and five thousand at another, were converted and baptized by St. Peter at Jerusalem; where they had none but the gentle waters of Siloam, according to the observation of Mr. Fuller: "There were no water mills in Jerusalem, because there was no stream large enough to drive them." The place, therefore, as well as the number, makes it highly probable that all these were baptized by sprinkling or pouring, and not by immersion. To sum up all, the manner of baptizing (whether by dipping or sprinkling) is not determined in Scripture. There is no command for one rather than the other. There is no example from which we can conclude for dipping rather than sprinkling. There are probable examples of both; and both are equally contained in the natural meaning of the word.

II. 1. What are the benefits we receive by baptism, is the next point to be considered. And the first of these is, the washing away the guilt of original sin, by the application of the merits of Christ's death. That we are all born under the guilt of Adam's sin, and that all sin deserves eternal misery, was the unanimous sense of the ancient Church, as it is expressed in the Ninth Article of our own. And the Scripture plainly asserts, that we were "shapen in iniquity, and in sin did our mother conceive us;" that "we were all by nature children of wrath, and dead in trespasses and sins;" that "in Adam all die;" that "by one man's disobedience all were made sinners;" that "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; which came upon all men, because all had sinned." This plainly includes infants; for they too die; therefore they have sinned: but not by actual sin; therefore by original; else what need have they of the death of Christ? Yea, "death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned" actually "according to the similitude of Adam's transgression." This, which can relate to infants only, is a clear proof that the whole race of mankind are obnoxious both to the guilt and punishment of Adam's transgression. But "as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men, to justification of life." And the virtue of this free gift, the merits of Christ's life and death, are applied to us in baptism. "He gave himself for the Church, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word;" Eph. v, 25, 26; namely, in baptism, the ordinary instrument of our justification. Agreeably to this, our Church prays in the baptismal office, that the person to be baptized may be "washed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and, being delivered from God's wrath, receive remission of sins, and enjoy the everlasting benediction of his heavenly washing;" and declares in the rubric at the end of the office, "It is certain, by God's word, that children who are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin are saved." And this is agreeable to the unanimous judgment of all the ancient Fathers.

2. By baptism we enter into covenant with God; into that everlasting covenant, which he hath commanded for ever; Psalm cxi, 9; that new covenant, which he promised to make with the spiritual Israel; even to "give them a new heart and a new spirit, to sprinkle clean water upon them," (of which the baptismal is only a figure,) "and to remember their sins and iniquities no more;" in a word, to be their God, as he promised

to Abraham, in the evangelical covenant which he made with him and all his spiritual offspring, Gen. xvii, 7, 8. And as circumcision was then the way of entering into this covenant, so baptism is now; which is therefore styled by the Apostle, (so many good interpreters render his words,) "the stipulation, contract, or covenant of a good conscience with God."

3. By baptism we are admitted into the church, and consequently made members of Christ, its head. The Jews were admitted into the Church by circumcision, so are the Christians by baptism. For "as many as are baptized into Christ," in his name, "have" thereby "put on Christ;" Gal. iii, 27; that is, are mystically united to Christ, and made one with him. For "by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body," 1 Cor. xii, 13, namely, the Church, "the body of Christ," Eph. iv, 12. From which spiritual, vital union with him, proceeds the influence of his grace on those that are baptized; as from our union with the Church, a share in all its privileges, and in all the promises Christ has made to it.

4. By baptism, we who were "by nature children of wrath," are made the children of God. And this regeneration which our Church in so many places ascribes to baptism is more than barely being admitted into the Church, though commonly connected therewith; being "grafted into the body of Christ's Church, we are made the children of God by adoption and grace." This is grounded on the plain words of our Lord, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," John iii, 5. By water then, as a means, the water of baptism, we are regenerated or born again; whence it is also called by the Apostle, "the washing of regeneration." Our Church therefore ascribes no greater virtue to baptism than Christ himself has done. Nor does she ascribe it to the outward washing, but to the inward grace, which, added thereto, makes it a sacrament. Herein a principle of grace is infused, which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God by long continued wickedness.

5. In consequence of our being made children of God, we are heirs of the kingdom of heaven. "If children," (as the Apostle observes,) "then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ." Herein we receive a title to, and an earnest of, "a kingdom which cannot be moved." Baptism doth now save us, if we live answerable thereto; if we repent, believe, and obey the Gospel: supposing this, as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter.*

III. 1. But did our Saviour design this should remain always in his Church? This is the Third thing we are to consider. And this may be dispatched in few words, since there can be no reasonable doubt, but it was intended to last as long as the Church into which it is the appointed means of entering. In the ordinary way, there is no other means of entering into the Church or into heaven.

2. In all ages, the outward baptism is a means of the inward; as out-

[* That Mr. Wesley, as a clergyman of the Church of England, was originally a *high-churchman*, in the fullest sense, is well known. When he wrote this treatise, in the year 1756, he seems still to have used some expressions, in relation to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which we at this day should not prefer. Some such, in the judgment of the reader, may perhaps be found under this second head. This last sentence, however, contains a guarded corrective. It explains also the sense in which we believe Mr. W. intended much of what goes before to be understood.]

ward circumcision was of the circumcision of the heart. Nor would it have availed a Jew to say, "I have the inward circumcision, and therefore do not need the outward too:" that soul was to be cut off from his people. He had despised, he had broken, God's everlasting covenant, by despising the seal of it, Gen. xvii, 14. Now, the seal of circumcision was to last among the Jews as long as the law lasted, to which it obliged them. By plain parity of reason, baptism, which came in its room, must last among Christians as long as the Gospel covenant into which it admits, and whereunto it obliges, all nations.

3. This appears also from the original commission which our Lord gave to his Apostles: "Go, disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them. And lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world." Now, as long as this commission lasted, as long as Christ promised to be with them in the execution of it, so long doubtless were they to execute it, and to baptize as well as to teach. But Christ hath promised to be with them, that is, by his Spirit, in their successors to the end of the world. So long, therefore, without dispute, it was his design that baptism should remain in his Church.

VI. 1. But the grand question is, Who are the proper subjects of baptism? grown persons only, or infants also? In order to answer this fully, I shall, First, lay down the grounds of infant baptism, taken from Scripture, reason, and primitive, universal practice; and, Secondly, answer the objections against it.

2. As to the grounds of it: If infants are guilty of original sin, then they are proper subjects of baptism; seeing, in the ordinary way, they cannot be saved, unless this be washed away by baptism. It has been already proved, that this original stain cleaves to every child of man; and that hereby they are children of wrath, and liable to eternal damnation. It is true, the Second Adam has found a remedy for the disease which came upon all by the offence of the first. But the benefit of this is to be received through the means which he hath appointed; through baptism in particular, which is the ordinary means he hath appointed for that purpose; and to which God hath tied us, though he may not have tied himself. Indeed, where it cannot be had, the case is different; but extraordinary cases do not make void a standing rule. This therefore is our First ground. Infants need to be washed from original sin; therefore they are proper subjects of baptism.

3. Secondly. If infants are capable of making a covenant, and were and still are under the evangelical covenant, then they have a right to baptism, which is the entering seal thereof. But infants are capable of making a covenant, and were and still are under the evangelical covenant.

The custom of nations and common reason of mankind prove that infants may enter into a covenant, and may be obliged by compacts made by others in their name, and receive advantage by them. But we have stronger proof than this, even God's own word: "Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord,—your captains, with all the men of Israel; your little ones, your wives and the stranger,—that thou shouldest enter into covenant with the Lord thy God," Deut. xxix, 10–12. Now, God would never have made a covenant with little ones, if they had not been

capable of it. It is not said children only, but little children, the Hebrew word properly signifying infants. And these may be still, as they were of old, obliged to perform, in aftertime, what they are not capable of performing at the time of their entering into that obligation.

4. The infants of believers, the true children of faithful Abraham, always were under the Gospel covenant. They were included in it, they had a right to it and to the seal of it; as an infant heir has a right to his estate, though he cannot yet have actual possession. The covenant with Abraham was a Gospel covenant; the condition the same, namely, faith, which the Apostle observes was "imputed unto him for righteousness." The inseparable fruit of this faith was obedience; for by faith he left his country, and offered his son. The benefits were the same; for God promised, "I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee:" and he can promise no more to any creature; for this includes all blessings, temporal and eternal. The Mediator is the same; for it was in his Seed, that is, in Christ, (Gen. xxii, 18; Gal. iii, 16,) that all nations were to be blessed; on which very account, the Apostle says, "The Gospel was preached unto Abraham," Gal. iii, 8. Now, the same promise that was made to him, the same covenant that was made with him, was made "with his children after him," Gen. xvii, 7; Gal. iii, 7. And upon that account it is called "an everlasting covenant." In this covenant children were also obliged to what they knew not, to the same faith and obedience with Abraham. And so they are still; as they are still equally entitled to all the benefits and promises of it.

5. Circumcision was then the seal of the covenant; which is itself therefore figuratively termed *the covenant:* Acts vii, 8. Hereby the children of those who professed the true religion were then admitted into it, and obliged to the conditions of it; and when the law was added, to the observance of that also. And when the old seal of circumcision was taken off, this of baptism was added in its room; our Lord appointing one positive institution to succeed another. A new seal was set to Abraham's covenant; the seals differed, but the deed was the same; only that part was struck off which was political or ceremonial. That baptism came in the room of circumcision, appears as well from the clear reason of the thing, as from the Apostle's argument, where, after circumcision, he mentions baptism, as that wherein God had "forgiven us our trespasses;" to which he adds, the "blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances," plainly relating to circumcision and other Jewish rites; which as fairly implies, that baptism came in the room of circumcision, as our Saviour's styling the other sacrament *the passover*, (Col. ii, 11–13; Luke xxii, 15,) shows that it was instituted in the place of it. Nor is it any proof that baptism did not succeed circumcision, because it differs in some circumstances, any more than it proves the Lord's Supper did not succeed the passover, because in several circumstances it differs from it. This then is a Second ground. Infants are capable of entering into covenant with God. As they always were, so they still are, under the evangelical covenant. Therefore they have a right to baptism, which is now the entering seal thereof.

6. Thirdly. If infants ought to come to Christ, if they are capable of admission into the Church of God, and consequently of solemn sacra-

mental dedication to him, then they are proper subjects of baptism. But infants are capable of coming to Christ, of admission into the Church, and solemn dedication to God.

That infants ought to come to Christ, appears from his own words: "They brought little children to Christ, and the disciples rebuked them. And Jesus said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix, 13, 14. St. Luke expresses it still more strongly: "They brought unto him even infants, that he might touch them," xviii, 15. These children were so little, that they were *brought* to him; yet he says, "Suffer them to *come* unto me:" so little, that he "took them up in his arms;" yet he rebukes those who would have hindered their coming to him. And his command respected the future as well as the present. Therefore his disciples or ministers are still to suffer infants to come, that is, to be brought, unto Christ. But they cannot now come to him, unless by being brought into the Church; which cannot be but by baptism. Yea, and "of such," says our Lord, "is the kingdom of heaven;" not of such only as were like these infants. For if they themselves were not fit to be subjects of that kingdom, how could others be so, because they were like them? Infants, therefore, are capable of being admitted into the Church, and have a right thereto. Even under the Old Testament they were admitted into it by circumcision. And can we suppose they are in a worse condition under the Gospel, than they were under the law? and that our Lord would take away any privileges which they then enjoyed? Would he not rather make additions to them? This, then, is a Third ground. Infants ought to come to Christ, and no man ought to forbid them. They are capable of admission into the Church of God. Therefore, they are proper subjects of baptism.

7. Fourthly. If the Apostles baptized infants, then are they proper subjects of baptism. But the Apostles baptized infants, as is plain from the following consideration: the Jews constantly baptized as well as circumcised all infant proselytes. Our Lord, therefore, commanding his Apostles to proselyte or disciple all nations by baptizing them, and not forbidding them to receive infants as well as others, they must needs baptize children also.

That the Jews admitted proselytes by baptism as well as by circumcision, even whole families together, parents and children, we have the unanimous testimony of their most ancient, learned, and authentic writers. The males they received by baptism and circumcision; the women by baptism only. Consequently, the Apostles, unless our Lord had expressly forbidden it, would of course do the same thing.

Indeed, the consequence would hold from circumcision only. For if it was the custom of the Jews, when they gathered proselytes out of all nations, to admit children into the Church by circumcision, though they could not actually believe the law or obey it; then the Apostles, making proselytes to Christianity by baptism, could never think of excluding children, whom the Jews always admitted, (the reason for their admission being the same,) unless our Lord had expressly forbidden it. It follows, the Apostles baptized infants. Therefore, they are proper subjects of baptism.

8. If it be objected "There is no express mention in Scripture of

any infants whom the Apostles baptized," I would ask, Suppose no mention had been made in the Acts of those two women baptized by the Apostles, yet might we not fairly conclude, that when so many thousands, so many entire households, were baptized, women were not excluded? especially since it was the known custom of the Jews to baptize them? The same holds of children; nay, more strongly, on the account of circumcision. Three thousand were baptized by the Apostles in one day and five thousand in another. And can it be reasonably supposed tha there were no children among such vast numbers? Again: The Apostles baptized many families; nay, we hardly read of one master of a family, who was converted and baptized, but his whole family (as was before the custom among the Jews) were baptized with him: thus the "jailer's household, he and all his; the household of Caius, of Stephanus, of Crispus." And can we suppose that in all these households, which, we read, were, without exception, baptized, there should not be so much as one child or infant? But, to go one step farther: St. Peter says to the multitude, "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, for the remission of sins. For the promise is to you, and to your children," Acts ii, 38, 39. Indeed, the answer is made directly to those who asked, "What shall we do?" But it reaches farther than to those who asked the question. And though children could not actually repent, yet they might be baptized. And that they are included, appears, (1.) Because the Apostle addresses to "every one" of them, and in "every one" children must be contained. (2.) They are expressly mentioned: "The promise is to you, and to your children."

9. Lastly. If to baptize infants has been the general practice of the Christian Church in all places and in all ages, then this must have been the practice of the Apostles, and, consequently, the mind of Christ. But to baptize infants has been the general practice of the Christian Church, in all places and in all ages. Of this we have unexceptionable witnesses: St. Austin for the Latin Church, who flourished before the year 400; and Origen for the Greek, born in the second century; both declaring, not only that the whole Church of Christ did then baptize infants, but likewise that they received this practice from the Apostles themselves. (*August. de Genesi*, l. 10, c. 23; *Orig. in Rom.* vi.) St. Cyprian likewise is express for it, and a whole council with him. (*Epist. ad Fidum.*) If need were, we might cite likewise Athanasius, Chrysostom, and a cloud of witnesses. Nor is there one instance to be found in all antiquity, of any orthodox Christian who denied baptism to children when brought to be baptized; nor any one of the Fathers, or ancient writers, for the first eight hundred years at least who held it unlawful. And that it has been the practice of all regular cnurches ever since, is clear and manifest. Not only our own ancestors when first converted to Christianity, not only all the European churches, but the African too and the Asiatic, even those of St. Thomas in the Indies, do, and ever did, baptize their children. The fact being thus cleared, that infant baptism has been the general practice of the Christian Church in all places and in all ages, that it has continued without interruption in the church of God for above seventeen hundred years, we may safely conclude, it was handed down from the Apostles, who best knew the mind of Christ.

10. To sum up the evidence: If outward baptism be generally, in an

ordinary way, necessary to salvation, and infants may be saved as well as adults, nor ought we to neglect any means of saving them; if our Lord commands such to come, to be brought unto him, and declares, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven;" if infants are capable of making a covenant, or having a covenant made for them by others, being included in Abraham's covenant, (which was a covenant of faith, an evangelical covenant,) and never excluded by Christ; if they have a right to be members of the church, and were accordingly members of the Jewish; if, suppose our Lord had designed to exclude them from baptism, he must have expressly forbidden his Apostles to baptize them, (which none dares to affirm he did,) since otherwise they would do it of course, according to the universal practice of their nation; if it is highly probable they did so, even from the letter of Scripture, because they frequently baptized whole households, and it would be strange if there were no children among them; if the whole church of Christ, for seventeen hundred years together, baptized infants, and were never opposed till the last century but one, by some not very holy men in Germany; lastly, if there are such inestimable benefits conferred in baptism, the washing away the guilt of original sin, the engrafting us into Christ, by making us members of his church, and thereby giving us a right to all the blessings of the Gospel; it follows, that infants may, yea, ought to be baptized, and that none ought to hinder them.

I am, in the Last place, to answer those objections which are commonly brought against infant baptism:—

1. The chief of these is: "Our Lord said to his Apostles, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' Matt. xxviii, 19. Here Christ himself put teaching before baptizing. Therefore, infants, being incapable of being taught, are incapable of being baptized."

I answer, (1.) The order of words in Scripture is no certain rule for the order of things. We read in St. Mark i, 4: "John baptized in the wilderness, and preached the baptism of repentance;" and, verse 5, "They were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins." Now, either the order of words in Scripture does not always imply the same order of things; or it follows, that John baptized before his hearers either confessed or repented. But, (2.) The words are manifestly mistranslated. For if we read, "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them, —teaching them to observe all things," it makes plain tautology, vain and senseless repetition. It ought to be translated, (which is the literal meaning of the words,) "Go and make disciples of all nations, by baptizing them." That infants are capable of being made proselytes or disciples has been already proved; therefore this text, rightly translated, is no valid objection against infant baptism.

2. Their next objection is: "The Scripture says, 'Repent and be baptized; believe and be baptized.' Therefore, repentance and faith ought to go before baptism. But infants are incapable of these; therefore they are incapable of baptism."

I answer: Repentance and faith were to go before circumcision, as well as before baptism. Therefore, if this argument held, it would prove just as well, that infants were incapable of circumcision. But we know God himself determined the contrary, commanding them to be circum-

cised at eight days old. Now, if infants were capable of being circumcised, notwithstanding that repentance and faith were to go before circumcision in grown persons, they are just as capable of being baptized; notwithstanding that repentance and faith are, in grown persons, to go before baptism. This objection, therefore, is of no force; for it is as strong against circumcision of infants as infant baptism.

3. It is objected, Thirdly, "There is no command for it in Scripture. Now, God was angry with his own people, because they did that which, he said, 'I commanded them not,' Jer. vii, 31. One plain text would end all the dispute."

I answer, (1.) We have reason to fear it would not. It is as positively commanded in a very plain text of Scripture, that we should "teach and admonish one another with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing to the Lord with grace in our hearts," Ephesians v, 19, as it is to honour our father and mother: but does this put an end to all dispute? Do not these very persons absolutely refuse to do it, notwithstanding a plain text, an express command?

I answer, (2.) They themselves practise what there is neither express command nor clear example for in Scripture. They have no express command for baptizing women. They say, indeed, "Women are implied in 'all nations.'" They are; and so are infants too: but the command is not express for either. And for admitting women to the Lord's Supper, they have neither express command, nor clear example. Yet they do it continually, without either one or the other. And they are justified therein by the plain reason of the thing. This also justifies us in baptizing infants, though without express command or clear example.

If it be said, "But there is a command, 'Let a man,' ανθρωπος, 'examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread;' 1 Cor. xi, 28; the word 'man,' in the original, signifying indifferently either men or women:" I grant it does in other places; but here the word "himself," immediately following, confines it to men only. "But women are implied in it, though not expressed." Certainly; and so are infants in "all nations."

"But we have Scripture example for it: for it is said in the Acts, 'The Apostles continued in prayer and supplication with the women.'" True, in prayer and supplication; but it is not said, "in communicating:" nor have we one clear example of it in the Bible.

Since, then, they admit women to the communion, without any express command or example, but only by consequence from Scripture, they can never show reason why infants should not be admitted to baptism, when there are so many scriptures which by fair consequence show they have a right to it, and are capable of it.

As for the texts wherein God reproves his people for doing "what he commanded them not;" that phrase evidently means, what he had forbidden; particularly in that passage of Jeremiah. The whole verse is, "They have built the high places of Tophet, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not." Now, God had expressly forbidden them to do this; and that on pain of death. But surely there is a difference between the Jews offering their sons and daughters to devils, and Christians offering theirs to God.

On the whole, therefore, it is not only lawful and innocent, but meet, right, and our bounden duty, in conformity to the uninterrupted practice of the whole Church of Christ from the earliest ages, to consecrate our children to God by baptism, as the Jewish Church were commanded to do by circumcision.

November 11, 1756.

AN EXTRACT

FROM

"A SHORT VIEW OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN (SO CALLED,) AND THE REV. MR. JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY."

TO THE READER.

As those who are under the direction of Count Zinzendorf (vulgarly called Moravian Brethren) are the most plausible, and therefore far the most dangerous, of all the Antinomians now in England, I first endeavour to guard such as are simple of heart against being taken by those cunning hunters.

The difference between the Moravian doctrine and ours (in this respect) lies here:—

They believe and teach,—

"1. That Christ has done all which was necessary for the salvation of all mankind.

"2. That, consequently, we are to do nothing, as necessary to salvation, but simply to believe in him.

"3. That there is but one duty now, but one command, viz. to believe in Christ.

"4. That Christ has taken away all other commands and duties, having wholly "abolished the law;" that a believer is therefore "free from the law," is not obliged thereby to do or omit any thing; it being inconsistent with his liberty to do any thing as commanded.

"5. That we are sanctified wholly the moment we are justified, and are neither more nor less holy to the day of our death; entire sanctification, and entire justification, being in one and the same instant.

"6. That a believer is never sanctified or holy in himself, but in Christ only; he has no holiness in himself at all, all his holiness being imputed, not inherent.

"7. That if a man regards prayer, or searching the Scriptures, or communicating, as matter of duty; if he judges himself obliged to do these things, or is troubled when he does them not; he is in bondage; he has no faith at all, but is seeking salvation by the works of the law."

We believe that the first of these propositions is ambiguous, and all the rest utterly false.

"1. Christ has done all that was necessary for the salvation of all mankind."

This is ambiguous. Christ has not done all which was necessary for the absolute salvation of all mankind. For notwithstanding all that Christ has done, he that believeth not shall be damned. But he has done all which was necessary for the conditional salvation of all mankind; that is, if they believe; for through his merits all that believe to the end, with the faith that worketh by love, shall be saved.

"2. We are to do nothing as necessary to salvation, but simply to believe in him."

If we allow the Count's definition of faith, namely, "the historical knowledge of this truth, that Christ has been a man and suffered death for us," (*Sixteen Discourses*, p. 57,) then is this proposition directly subversive of the whole revelation of Jesus Christ.

"3. There is but one duty now, but one command, viz. to believe in Christ."

Almost every page in the New Testament proves the falsehood of this assertion.

"4. Christ has taken away all other commands and duties, having wholly abolished the law."

How absolutely contrary is this to his own solemn declaration!—"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the Prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till heaven and earth pass."

"Therefore a believer is free from the law." That he is "free from the curse of the law," we know; and that he is "free from the law," or power, "of sin and death:" but where is it written that he is free from the law of God?

"He is not obliged thereby to do or omit any thing, it being inconsistent with his liberty to do any thing as commanded."

So your liberty is a liberty to disobey God; whereas ours is a liberty to obey him in all things: so grossly, while we "establish the law," do you "make void the law through faith!"

"5. We are sanctified wholly the moment we are justified, and are neither more nor less holy to the day of our death; entire sanctification and entire justification being in one and the same instant."

Just the contrary appears both from the tenor of God's word, and the experience of his children.

"6. A believer is never sanctified or holy in himself, but in Christ only. He has no holiness in himself at all; all his holiness being imputed, not inherent."

Scripture holiness is the image of God; the mind which was in Christ; the love of God and man; lowliness, gentleness, temperance, patience, chastity. And do you coolly affirm, that this is only imputed to a believer, and that he has none at all of this holiness in him? Is temperance imputed only to him that is a drunkard still; or chastity, to her that goes on in whoredom? Nay, but a believer is really chaste and temperate. And if so, he is thus far holy in himself.

Does a believer love God, or does he not? If he does, he has the love of God in him. Is he lowly, or meek, or patient at all? If he is, he has these tempers in himself; and if he has them not in himself, he is not lowly, or meek, or patient. You cannot therefore deny, that every believer has holiness in, though not from, himself; else you deny, that he is holy at all; and if so, he cannot see the Lord.

And indeed, if holiness in general be the mind which was in Christ, what can any one possibly mean by, "A believer is not holy in himself, but in Christ only? that the mind which was in Christ is in a believer

also; but it is in Him,—not in himself, but in Christ!" What a heap of palpable self-contradiction, what senseless jargon, is this!

"7. If a man regards prayer, or searching the Scriptures, or communicating, as matter of duty; if he judges himself obliged to do these things, or is troubled when he does them not, he is "in bondage," he has no faith at all, but is seeking salvation by the works of the law."

Thus obedience with you is a proof of unbelief, and disobedience a proof of faith! What is it, to put darkness for light, and light for darkness, if this is not?

PREDESTINATION CALMLY CONSIDERED.

THAT to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.—MILTON.

1. I AM inclined to believe, that many of those who enjoy the "faith which worketh by love," may remember some time when the power of the Highest wrought upon them in an eminent manner; when the voice of the Lord laid the mountains low, brake all the rocks in pieces, and mightily shed abroad his love in their hearts, by the Holy Ghost given unto them. And at that time it is certain they had no power to resist the grace of God. They were then no more able to stop the course of that torrent which carried all before it, than to stem the waves of the sea with their hand, or to stay the sun in the midst of heaven.

2. And the children of God may continually observe how his love leads them on from faith to faith; with what tenderness he watches over their souls; with what care he brings them back if they go astray, and then upholds their going in his path, that their footseps may not slide. They cannot but observe how unwilling he is to let them go from serving him; and how, notwithstanding the stubbornness of their wills, and the wildness of their passions, he goes on in his work, conquering and to conquer, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet.

3. The farthert his work is carried on in their hearts, the more earnestly do they cry out, "Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name give the praise, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake!" the more deeply are they convinced that "by grace we are saved; not of works, lest any man should boast;" that we are not pardoned and accepted with God for the sake of any thing we have done, but wholly and solely for the sake of Christ, of what he hath done and suffered for us; the more assuredly likewise do they know, that the condition of this acceptance is faith alone; before which gift of God no good work can be done, none which hath not in it the nature of sin.

4. How easily then may a believer infer, from what he hath experienced in his own soul, that the true grace of God always works irresistibly in every believer! that God will finish wherever he has begun this work, so that it is impossible for any believer to fall from grace! and, lastly, that the reason why God gives this to some only and not to others, is, because, of his own will, without any previous regard either to their

faith or works, he hath absolutely, unconditionally, predestinated them to life before the foundation of the world!

5. Agreeable hereto, in "The Protestant Confession of Faith," drawn up at Paris, in the year 1559, we have these words:—

"We believe, that out of the general corruption and condemnation in which all men are plunged, God draws those whom, in his eternal and unalterable counsel, he has elected by his own goodness and mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without considering their works, leaving the others in the same corruption and condemnation." (Art. 12.)

6. To the same effect speak the Dutch Divines, assembled at Dort in the year 1618. Their words are:—

"Whereas, in process of time, God bestowed faith on some, and not on others,—this proceeds from his eternal decree; according to which, he softens the hearts of the elect, and leaveth them that are not elect in their wickedness and hardness.

"And herein is discovered the difference put between men equally lost; that is to say, the decree of election and reprobation.

"Election is the unchangeable decree of God, by which, before the foundation of the world, he hath chosen in Christ unto salvation a set number of men. This election is one and the same of all which are to be saved.

"Not all men are elected, but some not elected; whom God, in his unchangeable good pleasure, hath decreed to leave in the common misery, and not to bestow saving faith upon them; but, leaving them in their own ways, at last to condemn and punish them everlastingly, for their unbelief, and also for their other sins. And this is the decree of reprobation." (Art. 6, *et seq.*)

7. Likewise in "The Confession of Faith," set forth by the Assembly of English and Scotch Divines, in the year 1646, are these words:—

"God from all eternity did unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass.

"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

"These angels and men thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, without any foresight of faith or good works.

"The rest of mankind God was pleased, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath." (Chap. 3.)

No less express are Mr. Calvin's words, in his "Christian Institutions:—

"All men are not created for the same end; but some are foreordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation. So according as every man was created for the one end or the other, we say, he was elected, that is, predestinated to life, or reprobated, that is, predestinated to damnation." (Chap. 21, sec. 1.)

8. Indeed there are some who assert the decree of election, and not the decree of reprobation. They assert that God hath, by a positive, unconditional decree, chosen some to life and salvation; but not that he hath by any such decree devoted the rest of mankind to destruction. These are they to whom I would address myself first. And let me beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, to lift up your hearts to him, and to beg of him to free you from all prepossession, from the

prejudices even of your tender years, and from whatsoever might hinder the light of God from shining in upon your souls. Let us calmly and fairly weigh these things in the balance of the sanctuary. And let all be done in love and meekness of wisdom, as becomes those who are fighting under one Captain, and who humbly hope they are joint-heirs through him of the glory which shall be revealed.

I am verily persuaded, that, in the uprightness of your hearts, you defend the decree of unconditional election; even in the same uprightness wherein you reject and abhor that of unconditional reprobation. But consider, I entreat you, whether you are consistent with yourselves; consider, whether this election can be separate from reprobation; whether one of them does not imply the other, so that, in holding one, you must hold both.

9. That this was the judgment of those who had the most deeply considered the nature of these decrees, of the Assembly of English and Scotch Divines, of the Reformed Churches both in France and the Low Countries, and of Mr. Calvin himself, appears from their own words, beyond all possibility of contradiction. "Out of the general corruption," saith the French Church, "he draws those whom he hath elected; leaving the others in the same corruption, according to his immovable decree." "By the decree of God," says the Assembly of English and Scotch Divines, "some are predestinated unto everlasting life, others foreordained to everlasting death." "God hath once for all," saith Mr. Calvin, "appointed, by an eternal and unchangeable decree, to whom he would give salvation, and whom he would devote to destruction." (*Inst.* cap. 3, sect. 7.) Nay, it is observable, Mr. Calvin speaks with utter contempt and disdain of all who endeavour to separate one from the other, who assert election without reprobation. "Many," says he, "as it were to excuse God, own election, and deny reprobation. But this is quite silly and childish. For election cannot stand without reprobation. Whom God passes by, those he reprobates. It is one and the same thing." (*Inst.* l. 3, c. 23, sect. 1.)

10. Perhaps upon deeper consideration, you will find yourself of the same judgment. It may be, you also hold reprobation, though you know it not. Do not you believe, that God who made "one vessel unto honour," hath made "another unto" eternal "dishonour?" Do not you believe, that the men who "turn the grace of our God into lasciviousness, were before ordained of God unto this condemnation?" Do not you think, that for "this same purpose God raised Pharaoh up, that he might show his sovereign power in his destruction?" and that "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," refers to their eternal state? Why, then, you hold absolute reprobation, and you think Esau and Pharaoh were instances of it, as well as all those "vessels made unto dishonour," those men "before ordained unto condemnation."

11. To set this matter in a still clearer light, you need only answer one question: Is any man saved who is not elected? Is it possible, that any not elected should be saved? If you say, "No," you put an end to the doubt. You espouse election and reprobation together. You confirm Mr. Calvin's words, that "without reprobation, election itself cannot stand." You allow, (though you was not sensible of it before,) that "whom God elects not, them he reprobates."

Try whether it be possible, in any particular case, to separate election from reprobation. Take one of those who are supposed not to be elected; one whom God hath not chosen unto life and salvation. Can this man be saved from sin and hell? You answer, "No." Why not? "Because he is not elected. Because God hath unchangeably decreed to save so many souls, and no more; and he is not of that number. Him God hath decreed to pass by; to leave him to everlasting destruction; in consequence of which irresistible decree, the man perishes everlastingly." O, my brethren, how small is the difference between this, and a broad, barefaced reprobation!

12. Let me intreat you to make this case your own. In the midst of life, you are in death; your soul is dead while you live, if you live in sin, if you do not live to God. And who can deliver you from the body of this death? Only the grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord. But God hath decreed to give this grace to others only, and not to you; to leave you in unbelief and spiritual death, and for that unbelief to punish you with death everlasting. Well then mayest thou cry, even till thy throat is dry, "O wretched man that I am!" For an unchangeable, irresistible decree standeth between thee and the very possibility of salvation. Go now and find out how to split the hair between thy being reprobated and not elected; how to separate reprobation, in its most effectual sense, from unconditional election!

13. Acknowledge then that you hold reprobation. Avow it in the face of the sun. To be consistent with yourself, you must openly assert, that "without reprobation this election cannot stand." You know it cannot. You know, if God hath fixed a decree that these men only shall be saved, in such a decree it is manifestly implied, that all other men shall be damned. If God hath decreed that this part of mankind, and no more, shall live eternally, you cannot but see it is therein decreed, that the other part shall never see life. O let us deal ingenuously with each other! What we really hold, let us openly profess. And if reprobation be the truth, it will bear the light; for "the word of our God shall stand for ever."

14. Now then, without any extenuation on the one hand, or exaggeration on the other, let us look upon this doctrine, call it what you please, naked and in its native colour. Before the foundations of the world were laid, God of his own mere will and pleasure fixed a decree concerning all the children of men who should be born unto the end of the world. This decree was unchangeable with regard to God, and irresistible with regard to man. And herein it was ordained, that one part of mankind should be saved from sin and hell, and all the rest left to perish for ever and ever, without help, without hope. That none of these should have that grace which alone could prevent their dwelling with everlasting burnings, God decreed, for this cause alone, "because it was his good pleasure;" and for this end, "to show forth his glorious power, and his sovereignty over all the earth."

15. Now, can you, upon reflection, believe this? Perhaps you will say, "I do not think about it." That will never do. You not only think about it, (though it may be confusedly,) but speak about it too, whenever you speak of unconditional election. You do not think about it! What do you mean? Do you never think about Esau or Pharaoh? or,

in general, about a certain number of souls whom alone God hath decreed to save? Why, in that very thought reprobation lurks; it entered your heart the moment that entered: it stays as long as that stays; and you cannot speak that thought, without speaking of reprobation. True, it is covered with fig leaves, so that a heedless eye may not observe it to be there. But, if you narrowly observe, unconditional election cannot appear without the cloven foot of reprobation.

16. "But do not the Scriptures speak of election? They say, St. Paul was 'an elected or chosen vessel;' nay, and speak of great numbers of men as 'elect according to the foreknowledge of God.' You cannot, therefore, deny there is such a thing as election. And, if there is, what do you mean by it?"

I will tell you, in all plainness and simplicity. I believe it commonly means one of these two things: First, a divine appointment of some particular men, to do some particular work in the world. And this election I believe to be not only personal, but absolute and unconditional. Thus Cyrus was elected to rebuild the temple, and St. Paul, with the twelve, to preach the Gospel. But I do not find this to have any necessary connection with eternal happiness. Nay, it is plain it has not; for one who is elected in this sense may yet be lost eternally. "Have I not chosen" (elected) "you twelve?" saith our Lord; "yet one of you hath a devil." Judas, you see, was elected as well as the rest; yet is his lot with the devil and his angels.

17. I believe election means, Secondly, a divine appointment of some men to eternal happiness. But I believe this election to be conditional, as well as the reprobation opposite thereto. I believe the eternal decree concerning both is expressed in those words: "He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." And this decree, without doubt, God will not change, and man cannot resist. According to this, all true believers are in Scripture termed elect, as all who continue in unbelief are so long properly reprobates, that is, unapproved of God, and without discernment touching the things of the Spirit.

18. Now, God, to whom all things are present at once, who sees all eternity at one view, "calleth the things that are not as though they were;" the things that are not yet as though they were now subsisting. Thus he calls Abraham the "father of many nations," before even Isaac was born. And thus Christ is called "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;" though he was not slain, in fact, till some thousand years after. In like manner, God calleth true believers, "elect from the foundation of the world;" although they were not actually elect, or believers, till many ages after, in their several generations. Then only it was that they were actually elected, when they were made the "sons of God by faith." Then were they, in fact, "chosen and taken out of the world; elect," saith St. Paul, "through belief of the truth;" or, as St. Peter expresses it, "elect according to the foreknowledge of God, through sanctification of the Spirit."

19. This election I as firmly believe, as I believe the Scripture to be of God. But unconditional election I cannot believe; not only because I cannot find it in Scripture, but also (to waive all other considerations) because it necessarily implies unconditional reprobation. Find out any election which does not imply reprobation, and I will gladly agree to it.

But reprobation I can never agree to while I believe the Scripture to be of God; as being utterly irreconcilable to the whole scope and tenor both of the Old and New Testament.

O that God would give me the desire of my heart! that he would grant the thing which I long for! even that your mind might now be free and calm, and open to the light of his Spirit! that you would impartially consider how it is possible to reconcile reprobation with the following Scriptures:—

"Because thou hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," Gen. iii, 17. The curse shall come on thee and thine offspring, not because of any absolute decree of mine, but because of thy sin.

"If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door," Gen. iv, 7. Sin only, not the decree of reprobation, hinders thy being accepted.

"Know that the Lord thy God, he is the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations; and repayeth them that hate him to their face, to destroy them. Wherefore, if ye hearken to these judgments, and keep, and do them, the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the covenant which he sware unto thy fathers," Deut. vii, 9, 12. "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God; and a curse, if you will not obey," xi, 26, 27, 28. "See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and the Lord thy God shall bless thee. But if thou wilt not hear, I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish. I call heaven and earth to record this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Therefore, choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live," xxx, 15, &c.

"And the Spirit of God came upon Azariah, and he said, The Lord is with you while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you," 2 Chron. xv, 1, 2.

"After all that is come upon us, for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass; should we again break thy commandments, wouldest thou not be angry with us, till thou hadst consumed us?" Ezra ix, 13, 14.

"Behold, God is mighty, and despiseth not any," Job xxxvi, 5. Could he then reprobate any?

"The Lord is good to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works," Psalm cxlv, 9.

"Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you. Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded: I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me," Prov. i, 23, &c. Why? because of my decree? No; but, "because they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord."

"I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people; a people that provoked me to anger continually to my face. Therefore will I measure their former work into their bosom. Ye shall all bow down to the slaughter, because when I called ye did not answer. Therefore, ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen; for the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his servants by another name," Isaiah lxv, 2, &c.

"The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear" (eternally) "the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord; and not that he should return from his ways, and live?" Ezek. xviii, 20.

"Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand," Matt. vii, 26. Nay, he could not help it, if he was ordained thereto.

"Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not. Wo unto thee, Chorazin! Wo unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes." (What if they were not elected? And if they of Bethsaida had been elected, would they not have repented too?) "Therefore I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell. For if the mighty works which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee," Matt. xi, 20, &c.

"The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here," xii, 41. But what was this to the purpose, if the men of Nineveh were elected, and this generation of men were not?

"It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but unto them it is not given. For whosoever hath," (that is, uses what he hath,) "to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath," xiii, 11, 12.

"They which were called were not worthy," xxii, 8, were shut out from the marriage of the Lamb:—Why so? Because "they would not come," verse 3.

The whole twenty-fifth chapter requires, and will reward, your most serious consideration. If you can reconcile unconditional reprobation with this, you may reconcile it with the eighteenth of Ezekiel.

"This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love" (or choose) "darkness rather than light," John iii, 19.

"How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh of God?" verse 44. Observe the reason why they could not believe: it is not in God, but in themselves.

"Thy money perish with thee!" (And so doubtless it did.) "Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee," Acts viii, 20, &c. So that St. Peter had no thought of any absolute reprobation even in the case of Simon Magus.

"They are without excuse; because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God--wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness—who changed the truth of God into a lie.—For this cause God gave them up to vile affections.—As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient," Rom. i, 20, &c.

"Them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, to believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness," 2 Thess. ii, 10, &c.

20. How will you reconcile reprobation with the following scriptures, which declare God's willingness that all should be saved?

"As many as ye shall find, bid" (invite) "to the marriage," Matt. xxii, 9.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," Mark xvi, 15.

"And when he came near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If" (rather, *O that*) "thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace!" Luke xix, 41, &c.

"These things I say, that ye may be saved," John v, 34, viz. those who persecuted him, and "sought to slay him," verse 16, and of whom he complains, "Ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life," verse 40.

"God that made the world and all things therein—giveth to all life, and breath, and all things, and hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth—That they should seek the Lord," Acts xvii, 24. Observe, this was God's end in creating all nations on all the earth.

"As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life," Rom. v, 18. "The same Lord over all is rich" (in mercy) "unto all that call upon him," x, 12.

"This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who willeth all men to be saved," 1 Tim. ii, 3, 4. "Who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe;" iv, 10; that is, intentionally of all, and actually of believers.

"If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not," James i, 5.

"The Lord is longsuffering toward us, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance," 2 Peter iii, 9.

"We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world," 1 John iv, 14.

21. How will you reconcile reprobation with the following scriptures, which declare that Christ came to save all men; that he died for all; that he atoned for all, even for those that finally perish?

"The Son of man is come to save that which is lost," Matt. xviii, 11, without any restriction.

"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," John i, 29. "God sent his Son into the world, that the world through him might be saved," iii, 17. "I came not" (now) "to judge the world, but to save the world," xii, 47.

"Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died," Rom. xiv, 15.

"Through thy knowledge shall thy weak brother perish, for whom Christ died," 1 Cor. viii, 11.

"We thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that those" (or all) "who live should live unto him which died for them," 2 Cor. v, 14, &c. Here you see, not only that Christ died for all men, but likewise the end of his dying for them.

"Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all," 1 Tim. ii, 6.

"We see Jesus made lower than the angels, that he might taste death for every man," Heb. ii, 9.

"There shall be false teachers among you, who shall privately bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring

upon themselves swift destruction," 2 Peter ii, 1. You see he bought or redeemed even those that perish, that bring upon themselves swift destruction.

"If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins," (who are elect, according to the knowledge of God,) "and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world," 1 John ii, 1, 2.

You are sensible, these are but a very small part of the scriptures which might be brought on each of these heads. But they are enough; and they require no comment: taken in their plain, easy, and obvious sense, they abundantly prove, that there is not, cannot be, any such thing as unconditional reprobation.

22. But to be a little more particular: How can you possibly reconcile reprobation with those scriptures that declare the justice of God? To cite one for all:

"What mean ye that ye use this proverb, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so the soul of the son is mine;" (and however I may temporally visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, yet this visitation extends no farther; but) "the soul that sinneth, it shall die," for its own sin, and not another's. "But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. If he beget a son which is a robber, shall he then live? He shall not live,—he shall surely die. Yet say ye, Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?" (Temporally he doth, as in the case of Achan, Korah, and a thousand others; but not eternally.) "When the son hath done that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live. The soul that sinneth, it shall die;" shall die the second death. "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. Yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O Israel Is not my way equal?" (equitable, just?) "Are not your ways unequal? When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them, for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die. Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord God. Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions. So iniquity shall not be your ruin," Ezek. xviii, 2, &c.

Through this whole passage God is pleased to appeal to man himself touching the justice of his proceedings. And well might he appeal to our own conscience, according to the account of them which is here given. But it is an account which all the art of man will never reconcile with unconditional reprobation.

23. Do you think it will cut the knot to say, "Why, if God might justly have passed by all men," (speak out, "If God might justly have reprobated all men,"—for it comes to the same point,) "then he may justly pass by some. But God might justly have passed by all men."

Are you sure he might? Where is it written? I cannot find it in the word of God. Therefore I reject it as a bold, precarious assertion, utterly unsupported by Holy Scripture.

If you say, "But you know in your own conscience, God might justly have passed by you:" I deny it. That God might justly, for my unfaithfulness to his grace, have given me up long ago, I grant: but this concession supposes me to have had that grace which you say a reprobate never had.

But besides, in making this supposition, of what God might have justly done, you suppose his justice might have been separate from his other attributes, from his mercy in particular. But this never was, nor ever will be; nor indeed is it possible it should. All his attributes are inseparably joined: they cannot be divided, no, not for a moment. Therefore this whole argument stands, not only on an unscriptural, but on an absurd, impossible supposition.

24. Do you say, "Nay, but it is just for God to pass by whom he will, because of his sovereignty; for he saith himself, 'May not I do what I will with my own?' and, 'Hath not the potter power over his own clay?'" I answer, The former of these sentences stands in the conclusion of that parable, (Matthew xx,) wherein our Lord reproves the Jews for murmuring at God's giving the same reward to the Gentiles as to them. To one of these murmurers it is that God says, "Friend, I do thee no wrong. Take that thine is, and go thy way. I will give unto this last even as unto thee." Then follows: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good?" As if he had said, "May I not give my own kingdom to whom I please? Art thou angry because I am merciful?" It is then undeniably clear, that God does not here assert a right of reprobating any man. Here is nothing spoken of reprobation, bad or good. Here is no kind of reference thereto. This text therefore has nothing to do with the conclusion it was brought to prove.

25. But you add: "Hath not the potter power over his own clay?" Let us consider the context of these words also. They are found in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans; an Epistle, the general scope and intent of which is, to publish the eternal, unchangeable προθεσις, purpose or decree of God, "He that believeth shall be saved: he that believeth not shall be damned." The justice of God in condemning those that believed not, and the necessity of believing in order to salvation, the Apostle proves at large in the three first chapters, which he confirms in the fourth by the example of Abraham. In the former part of the fifth and in the sixth chapter, he describes the happiness and holiness of true believers. (The latter part of the fifth is a digression, concerning the extent of the benefits flowing from the death of Christ.) In the seventh he shows in what sense believers in Christ are delivered from the law; and describes the miserable bondage of those who are still under the law; that is, who are truly convinced of sin, but not able to conquer it. In the eighth he again describes the happy liberty of those who truly believe in Christ; and encourages them to suffer for the faith, as by other considerations, so by this in particular, "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called" (by the preaching of his word) "according to his pur-

pose," (verse 28,) or decree, unalterably fixed from eternity, "He that believeth shall be saved. For whom he did foreknow" as believing, "he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called," by his word; (so that term is usually taken in St. Paul's Epistles;) "and whom he called, them he also justified;" (the word is here taken in its widest sense, as including sanctification also;) "and whom he justified, them he glorified." Thence to the end of the chapter, he strongly encourages all those who had the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, to have a good hope, that no sufferings should ever "be able to separate them from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus."

26. But as the Apostle was aware how deeply the Jews were offended at the whole tenor of his doctrine, and more especially at his asserting, (1.) That the Jews themselves could not be saved without believing in Jesus; and, (2.) That the Heathens by believing in him might partake of the same salvation; he spends the whole ninth chapter upon them; wherein, (1.) He declares the tender love he had for them. (Verses 1–3.) (2.) Allows the great national privileges they enjoyed above any people under heaven. (Verses 4, 5.) (3.) Answers their grand objection to his doctrine, taken from the justice of God to their fathers. (Verses 6–13.) (4.) Removes another objection, taken from the justice of God; interweaving all along strong reproofs to the Jews, for priding themselves on those privileges which were owing merely to the good pleasure of God, not to their fathers' goodness, any more than their own. (Verses 14–23.) (5.) Resumes and proves by Scripture his former assertion, that many Jews would be lost, and many Heathens saved. (Ver. 24–29.) And, lastly, sums up the general drift of this chapter, and indeed of the whole Epistle. "What shall we say then?" What is the conclusion from the whole? the sum of all which has been spoken? Why, that many Gentiles already partake of the great salvation, and many Jews fall short of it. Wherefore? Because they would not receive it by faith. And whosoever believeth not, cannot be saved; whereas, "whosoever believeth in Christ," whether Jew or Gentile, "shall not be ashamed." (Verses 30–33.)

27. Those words, "Hath not the potter power over his own clay?" are part of St. Paul's answer to that objection, That it was unjust for God to show that mercy to the Gentiles which he withheld from his own people. This he first simply denies, saying, "God forbid!" And then observes, that, according to his own words to Moses, God has a right to fix the terms on which he will show mercy, which neither the will nor the power of man can alter; (verses 15, 16;) and to withdraw his mercy from them who, like Pharaoh, will not comply with those terms. (Verse 17.) And that accordingly "he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy," namely, those that truly believe; "and whom he will," namely, obstinate unbelievers, he suffers to be "hardened."

28. But "why then," say the objectors, "doth he find fault" with those that are hardened? "for who hath resisted his will?" (Verse 19.) To this insolent misconstruction of what he had said, the Apostle first gives a severe rebuke; and then adds, "Shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" Why hast thou made me capable of salvation only on those terms? None indeed hath

resisted this will of God, "He that believeth not shall be damned." But is this any ground for arraigning his justice? "Hath not" the great "Potter power over his own clay? to make," or appoint, one sort of "vessels," namely, believers, "to honour, and" the others "to dishonour?" Hath he not a right to distribute eternal honour and dishonour, on whatever terms he pleases? especially, considering the goodness and patience he shows, even toward them that believe not; considering that when they have provoked him "to show his wrath, and to make the power" of his vengeance "known, yet" he "endures, with much long-suffering," even those "vessels of wrath," who had before "fitted" themselves "to destruction." There is then no more room to reply against God, for making his vengeance known on those vessels of wrath, than for "making known" his glorious love "on the vessels of mercy whom he had before" by faith "prepared for glory; even us, whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles."

29. I have spoken more largely than I designed, in order to show, that neither our Lord, in the above-mentioned parable, nor St. Paul, in these words, had any view to God's sovereign power, as the ground of unconditional reprobation. And beware you go no farther therein, than you are authorized by them. Take care, whenever you speak of these high things, to "speak as the oracles of God." And if so, you will never speak of the sovereignty of God, but in conjunction with his other attributes. For the Scripture no where speaks of this single attribute, as separate from the rest. Much less does it any where speak of the sovereignty of God as singly disposing the eternal states of men. No, no; in this awful work, God proceeds according to the known rules of his justice and mercy; but never assigns his sovereignty as the cause why any man is punished with everlasting destruction.

30. Now then, are you not quite out of your way? You are not in the way which God hath revealed. You are putting eternal happiness and misery on an unscriptural and a very dreadful footing. Make the case your own: Here are you, a sinner, convinced that you deserve the damnation of hell. Sorrow, therefore, and fear have filled your heart. And how shall you be comforted? By the promises of God? But perhaps you have no part therein; for they belong only to the elect. By the consideration of his love and tender mercy? But what are these to you, if you are a reprobate? God does not love you at all; you, like Esau, he hath hated even from eternity. What ground then can you have for the least shadow of hope? Why, it is possible, (that is all,) that God's sovereign will may be on your side. Possibly God may save you, because he will! O poor encouragement to despairing sinners! I fear "faith" rarely "cometh by hearing" this!

31. The sovereignty of God is then never to be brought to supersede his justice. And this is the present objection against unconditional reprobation; (the plain consequence of unconditional election;) it flatly contradicts, indeed utterly overthrows, the Scripture account of the justice of God. This has been proved in general already; let us now weigh a few particulars. And, (1.) The Scripture describes God as the Judge of the earth. But how shall God in justice judge the world? (O consider this, as in the presence of God, with reverence and godly fear!) How shall God in justice judge the world, if there be any decree of

reprobation? On this supposition, what should those on the left hand be condemned for? For their having done evil? They could not help it. There never was a time when they could have helped it. God, you say, "of old ordained them to this condemnation." And "who hath resisted his will?" He "sold" them, you say, "to work wickedness," even from their mother's womb. He "gave them up to a reprobate mind," or ever they hung upon their mother's breast. Shall he then condemn them for what they could not help? Shall the Just, the Holy One of Israel, adjudge millions of men to everlasting pain, because their blood moved in their veins? Nay, this they might have helped, by putting an end to their own lives. But could they even thus have escaped from sin? Not without that grace which you suppose God had absolutely determined never to give them. And yet you suppose him to send them into eternal fire, for not escaping from sin! that is, in plain terms, for not having that grace which God had decreed they should never have! O strange justice! What a picture do you draw of the Judge of all the earth!

32. Are they not rather condemned for not doing good, according to those solemn words of the great Judge, "Depart, ye cursed; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they answer." But how much better an answer do you put into their mouths! Upon your supposition, might they not say, (O consider it well, in meekness and fear!) "Lord, we might have done the outward work; but thou knowest it would have but increased our damnation. We might have fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, and covered the naked with a garment. But all these works, without thy special grace, which we never had, nor possibly could have, seeing thou hast eternally decreed to withhold it from us, would only have been splendid sins. They would only have heated the furnace of hell seven times hotter than before." Upon your supposition, might they not say, "Righteous art thou, O Lord; yet let us plead with thee. O, why dost thou condemn us for not doing good? Was it possible for us to do any thing well? Did we ever abuse the power of doing good? We never received it, and that thou knowest. Wilt thou, the Holy One, the Just, condemn us for not doing what we never had the power to do? Wilt thou condemn us for not casting down the stars from heaven? for not holding the winds in our fist? Why, it was as possible for us to do this, as to do any work acceptable in thy sight! O Lord, correct us but with judgment! And, before thou plungest us into everlasting fire, let us know how it was ever possible for us to escape the damnation of hell."

33. Or, how could they have escaped (suppose you assign that as the cause of their condemnation) from inward sin, from evil desires, from unholy tempers and vile affections? Were they ever able to deliver their own souls, to rescue themselves from this inward hell? If so, their not doing it might justly be laid to their charge, and would leave them without excuse. But it was not so; they never were able to deliver their own souls; they never had the power to rescue themselves from the hands of these bosom enemies. This talent was never put into their hands. How then can they be condemned for hiding it in the earth, for non-improvement of what they never had? Who is able to purify a cor-

rupt heart; to bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Is man, mere man, sufficient for this? No, certainly. God alone. To him only can the polluted of heart say, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." But what, if he answer, "I will not, because I will not: be thou unclean still?" Will God doom that man to the bottomless pit, because of that uncleanness which he could not save himself from, and which God could have saved him from, but would not? Verily, were an earthly king to execute such justice as this upon his helpless subjects, it might well be expected that the vengeance of the Lord would soon sweep him from the face of the earth.

34. Perhaps you will say, They are not condemned for actual but for original sin. What do you mean by this term? The inward corruption of our nature? If so, it has been spoken of before. Or do you mean, the sin which Adam committed in paradise? That this is imputed to all men, I allow; yea, that by reason hereof "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." But that any will be damned for this alone, I allow not, till you show me where it is written. Bring me plain proof from Scripture, and I submit; but till then I utterly deny it.

35. Should you not rather say, that unbelief is the damning sin? and that those who are condemned in that day will be therefore condemned, "because they believed not on the name of the only-begotten Son of God?" But could they believe? Was not this faith both the gift and the work of God in the soul? And was it not a gift which he had eternally decreed never to give them? Was it not a work which he was of old unchangeably determined never to work in their souls? Shall these men be condemned, because God would not work; because they did not receive what God would not give? Could they "ungrasp the hold of his right hand, or force omnipotence?"

36. There is, over and above, a peculiar difficulty here. You say, Christ did not die for these men. But if so, there was an impossibility, in the very nature of the thing, that they should ever savingly believe. For what is saving faith, but "a confidence in God through Christ, that loved me, and gave himself for me?" Loved thee, thou reprobate! gave himself for thee! Away! thou hast neither part nor lot herein. Thou believe in Christ, thou accursed spirit! damned or ever thou wert born! There never was any object for thy faith; there never was any thing for thee to believe. God himself, (thus must you speak, to be consistent with yourself,) with all his omnipotence, could not make thee believe Christ atoned for thy sins, unless he had made thee believe a lie.

37. If then God be just, there cannot, on your scheme, be any judgment to come. We may add, nor any future state, either of reward or punishment. If there be such a state, God will therein "render to every man according to his works. To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life; but to them that do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil."

But how is this reconcilable with your scheme? You say, The reprobates cannot but do evil; and that the elect, from the day of God's power, cannot but continue in well-doing. You suppose all this is

unchangeably decreed; in consequence whereof, God acts irresistibly on the one, and Satan on the other. Then it is impossible for either one or the other to help acting as they do; or rather, to help being acted upon, in the manner wherein they are. For if we speak properly, neither the one nor the other can be said to act at all. Can a stone be said to act, when it is thrown out of a sling? or a ball, when it is projected from a cannon? No more can a man be said to act, if he be only moved by a force he cannot resist. But if the case be thus, you leave no room either for reward or punishment. Shall the stone be rewarded for rising from the sling, or punished for falling down? Shall the cannon ball be rewarded for flying toward the sun, or punished for receding from it? As incapable of either punishment or reward is the man who is supposed to be impelled by a force he cannot resist. Justice can have no place in rewarding or punishing mere machines, driven to and fro by an external force. So that your supposition of God's ordaining from eternity whatsoever should be done to the end of the world; as well as that of God's acting irresistibly in the elect, and Satan's acting irresistibly in the reprobates; utterly overthrows the Scripture doctrine of rewards and punishments, as well as of a judgment to come.

38. Thus ill does that election which implies reprobation agree with the Scripture account of God's justice. And does it agree any better with his truth? How will you reconcile it with those plain passages?—"Have I any pleasure at all, that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God; and not that he should return from his ways and live? Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord: wherefore, turn yourselves, and live ye," Ezek. xviii, 23, &c.

"As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" Ezek. xxxiii, 11.

39. But perhaps you will say, "These ought to be limited and explained by other passages of Scripture; wherein this doctrine is as clearly affirmed, as it is denied in these." I must answer very plain: If this were true, we must give up all the Scriptures together; nor would the Infidels allow the Bible so honourable a title as that of a "cunningly-devised fable." But it is not true. It has no colour of truth. It is absolutely, notoriously false. To tear up the very roots of reprobation, and of all doctrines that have a necessary connection therewith, God declares in his word these three things, and that explicitly, in so many terms: (1.) "Christ died for all," 2 Cor. v, 14, namely, all that were dead in sin, as the words immediately following fix the sense: Here is the fact affirmed. (2.) "He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world," 1 John ii, 2, even of all those for whom he died: Here is the consequence of his dying for all. And, (3.) "He died for all, that they should not live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them," 2 Cor. v, 15, that they might be saved from their sins: Here is the design, the end of his dying for them. Now, show me the scriptures wherein God declares in equally express terms, (1.) "Christ" did not die "for all," but for some only. (2.) Christ is not "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world;" and, (3.) "He" did not die "for all,"

at least, not with that intent, "that they should live unto him who died for them." Show me, I say, the scriptures that affirm these three things in equally express terms. You know there are none. Nor is it possible to evade the force of those above recited, but by supplying in number what is wanting in weight; by heaping abundance of texts together, whereby (though none of them speak home to the point) the patrons of that opinion dazzle the eyes of the unwary, and quite overlay the understanding both of themselves and those that hear them.

40. To proceed: What an account does this doctrine give of the sincerity of God in a thousand declarations, such as these?—"O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever!" Deut. v, 29. "My people would not hear my voice, and Israel would not obey me. So I gave them up unto their own hearts' lusts, and let them follow their own imaginations. O that my people would have hearkened unto me! For if Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have put down their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries," Psalm lxxxi, 12, &c. And all this time, you suppose God had unchangeably ordained, that there never should be "such a heart in them!" that it never should be possible for the people whom he thus seemed to lament over, to hearken unto him, or to walk in his ways!

How clear and strong is the reasoning of Dr. Watts on this head! "It is very hard indeed, to vindicate the sincerity of the blessed God or his Son, in their universal offers of grace and salvation to men, and their sending ministers with such messages and invitations to accept of mercy, if there be not at least a conditional pardon and salvation provided for them.

"His ministers indeed, as they know not the event of things, may be sincere in offering salvation to all persons, according to their general commission, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' But how can God or Christ be sincere in sending them with this commission, to offer his grace to all men, if God has not provided such grace for all men, no, not so much as conditionally?

"It is hard to suppose, that the great God, who is truth itself, and faithful in all his dealings, should call upon dying men, to trust in a Saviour for eternal life, when this Saviour has not eternal life intrusted with him to give them if they do as he requires. It is hard to conceive, how the great Governor of the world can be sincere in inviting sinners, who are on the brink of hell, to cast themselves upon an empty word of invitation, a mere shadow and appearance of support, if there be nothing real to bear them up from those deeps of destruction, nothing but mere words and empty invitations! Can we think, that the righteous and holy God would encourage his ministers to call them to leave and rest the weight of their immortal concerns upon a Gospel, a covenant of grace, a Mediator, and his merit and righteousness? all which are a mere nothing with regard to them, a heap of empty names, an unsupporting void which cannot uphold them?"

41. Our blessed Lord does indisputably command and invite "all men every where to repent." He calleth all. He sends his ambassadors, in his name, to "preach the Gospel to every creature." He himself "preached deliverance to the captives," without any hint of restriction or limitation. But now, in what manner do you represent him, while he is employed in this work? You suppose him to be stand-

ing at the prison doors, having the keys thereof in his hands, and to be continually inviting the prisoners to come forth, commanding them to accept of that invitation, urging every motive which can possibly induce them to comply with that command; adding the most precious promises, if they obey, the most dreadful threatenings, if they obey not; and all this time you suppose him to be unalterably determined in himself never to open the doors for them! even while he is crying, "Come ye, come ye, from that evil place: For why will ye die, O house of Israel!" "Why!" might one of them reply, "because we cannot help it. We cannot help ourselves; and thou wilt not help us. It is not in our power to break the gates of brass, and it is not thy pleasure to open them. *Why will we die!* We must die; because it is not thy will to save us." Alas! my brethren, what kind of sincerity is this, which you ascribe to God our Saviour?

42. So ill do election and reprobation agree with the truth and sincerity of God! But do they not agree least of all with the Scriptural account of his love and goodness? that attribute which God peculiarly claims, wherein he glories above all the rest. It is not written, "God is justice," or "God is truth:" (although he is just and true in all his ways:) But it is written, "God is love," love in the abstract, without bounds; and "there is no end of his goodness." His love extends even to those who neither love nor fear him. He is good, even to the evil and the unthankful; yea, without any exception or limitation, to all the children of men. For "the Lord is loving" (or good) "to every man, and his mercy is over all his works."

But how is God good or loving to a reprobate, or one that is not elected? (You may choose either term: For if none but the unconditionally elect are saved, it comes precisely to the same thing.) You cannot say, he is an object of the love or goodness of God, with regard to his eternal state, whom he created, says Mr. Calvin plainly and fairly, *in vitæ contumeliam et mortis exitium*, "to live a reproach, and die everlastingly." Surely, no one can dream, that the goodness of God is at all concerned with this man's eternal state. "However, God is good to him in this world." What! when by reason of God's unchangeable decree, it had been good for this man never to have been born? when his very birth was a curse, not a blessing? "Well, but he now enjoys many of the gifts of God, both gifts of nature and of providence. He has food and raiment, and comforts of various kinds. And are not all these great blessings?" No, not to him. At the price he is to pay for them, every one of these also is a curse. Every one of these comforts is, by an eternal decree, to cost him a thousand pangs in hell. For every moment's pleasure which he now enjoys, he is to suffer the torments of more than a thousand years; for the smoke of that pit which is preparing for him ascendeth up for ever and ever. God knew this would be the fruit of whatever he should enjoy, before the vapour of life fled away. He designed it should. It was his very purpose, in giving him those enjoyments. So that, by all these, (according to your account,) he is, in truth and reality, only fatting the ox for the slaughter. "Nay, but God gives him grace too." Yes; but what kind of grace? Saving grace, you own, he has none; none of a saving nature. And the common grace he has was not given with any design to save his

soul; nor with any design to do him any good at all; but only to restrain him from hurting the elect. So far from doing him good, that this grace also necessarily increases his damnation. "And God knows this," you say, "and designed it should; it was one great end for which he gave it!" Then I desire to know, how is God good or loving to this man, either with regard to time or eternity?

43. Let us suppose a particular instance: Here stands a man who is reprobated from all eternity; or, if you would express it more smoothly, one who is not elected, whom God eternally decreed to pass by. Thou hast nothing therefore to expect from God after death, but to be cast into the lake of fire burning with brimstone; God having consigned thy unborn soul to hell, by a decree which cannot pass away. And from the time thou wast born under the irrevocable curse of God, thou canst have no peace. For there is no peace to the wicked; and such thou art doomed to continue, even from thy mother's womb. Accordingly, God giveth thee of this world's goods, on purpose to enhance thy damnation. He giveth thee now substance or friends, in order hereafter to heap the more coals of fire upon thy head. He filleth thee with food, he maketh thee fat and well liking, to make thee a more specious sacrifice to his vengeance. Good nature, generosity, a good understanding, various knowledge, it may be, or eloquence, are the flowers wherewith he adorneth thee, thou poor victim, before thou art brought to the slaughter. Thou hast grace too! but what grace? Not saving grace. That is not for thee, but for the elect only. Thine may properly be termed, damning grace; since it is not only such in the event, but in the intention. Thou receivedst it of God for that very end, that thou mightest receive the greater damnation. It was given, not to convert thee, but only to convince; not to make thee without sin, but without excuse; not to destroy but to arm the worm that never dieth, and to blow up the fire that never shall be quenched.

44. Now, I beseech you to consider calmly, how is God good or loving to this man? Is not this such love as makes your blood run cold? as causes the ears of him that heareth to tingle? And can you believe there is that man on earth or in hell, who can truly tell God, "Thus hast thou done?" Can you think, that the loving, the merciful God, ever dealt thus with any soul which he hath made? But you must and do believe this, if you believe unconditional election. For it holds reprobation in its bosom; they never were, never can be, divided. Take then your choice. If, for the sake of election, you will swallow reprobation, well. But if you cannot digest this, you must necessarily give up unconditional election.

45. "But you cannot do this; for then you should be called a Pelagian, an Arminian, and what not." And are you afraid of hard names? Then you have not begun to be a disciple of Jesus Christ. "No, that is not the case. But you are afraid, if you do not hold election, you must hold free-will, and so rob God of his glory in man's salvation."

I answer, (1.) Many of the greatest maintainers of election utterly deny the consequence, and do not allow, that even natural free-will in man is repugnant to God's glory. These accordingly assert, that every man living has a measure of natural free-will. So the Assembly of Divines, (and therein the body of Calvinists both in England and Scotland,) "God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty that

is neither forced, nor, by an absolute necessity of nature, determined to do good or evil:" chap. ix: and this they assert of man in his fallen state even before he receives the grace of God.

But I do not carry free-will so far: (I mean, not in moral things:) natural free-will, in the present state of mankind, I do not understand: I only assert, that there is a measure of free-will supernaturally restored to every man, together with that supernatural light which "enlightens every man that cometh into the world." But indeed, whether this be natural or no, as to your objection it matters not. For that equally lies against both, against any free-will of any kind; your assertion being thus, "If man has any free-will, God cannot have the whole glory of his salvation;" or, "It is not so much for the glory of God, to save man as a free agent, put into a capacity of concurring with his grace on the one hand, and of resisting it on the other; as to save him in the way of a necessary agent, by a power which he cannot possibly resist."

46. With regard to the former of these assertions, "If man has any free-will, then God cannot have the whole glory of his salvation," is your meaning this: "If man has any power to 'work out his own salvation,' then God cannot have the whole glory?" If it be, I must ask again, What do you mean by God's "having the whole glory?" Do you mean, "His doing the whole work, without any concurrence on man's part?" If so, your assertion is, "If man do at all 'work together with God,' in 'working out his own salvation,' then God does not do the whole work, without man's 'working together with him.'" Most true, most sure: but cannot you see, how God nevertheless may have all the glory? Why, the very power to "work together with him" was from God. Therefore to him is all the glory. Has not even experience taught you this? Have you not often felt, in a particular temptation, power either to resist or yield to the grace of God? And when you have yielded to "work together with him," did you not find it very possible, notwithstanding, to give him all the glory? So that both experience and Scripture are against you here, and make it clear to every impartial inquirer, that though man has freedom to work or not "work together with God," yet may God have the whole glory of his salvation.

47. If then you say, "We ascribe to God alone the whole glory of our salvation;" I answer, So do we too. If you add, "Nay, but we affirm, that God alone does the whole work, without man's working at all;" in one sense, we allow this also. We allow, it is the work of God alone to justify, to sanctify, and to glorify; which three comprehend the whole of salvation. Yet we cannot allow, that man can only resist, and not in any wise "work together with God;" or that God is so the whole worker of our salvation, as to exclude man's working at all. This I dare not say; for I cannot prove it by Scripture; nay, it is flatly contrary thereto; for the Scripture is express, that (having received power from God) we are to "work out our own salvation;" and that (after the work of God is begun in our souls) we are "workers together with him."

48. Your objection, proposed in another form, is this: "It is not so much for the glory of God, to save man as a free agent, put into a capacity of either concurring with, or resisting his grace; as to save him in the way of a necessary agent, by a power which he cannot possibly resist."

O that the Lord would answer for himself! that he would arise and maintain his own cause! that he would no longer suffer his servants, few as they are, to weaken one another's hands, and to be wearied not only with the "contradiction of sinners," but even of those who are in a measure saved from sin! "Wo is me, that I am constrained to dwell with Meshech! among them that are enemies to peace! I labour for peace, but when I speak thereof, they still make themselves ready for battle."

49. If it must be, then, let us look one another in the face. How is it more for the glory of God to save man irresistibly, than to save him as a free agent, by such grace as he may either concur with or resist? I fear you have a confused unscriptural notion of "the glory of God." What do you mean by that expression? The glory of God, strictly speaking, is his glorious essence and his attributes, which have been ever of old. And this glory admits of no increase, being the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. But the Scripture frequently speaks of the glory of God, in a sense something different from this; meaning thereby, the manifestation of his essential glory, of his eternal power and Godhead, and of his glorious attributes, more especially, his justice, mercy, and truth. And it is in this sense alone that the glory of God is said to be advanced by man. Now, then, this is the point which it lies on you to prove: "That it does more eminently manifest the glorious attributes of God, more especially his justice, mercy, and truth, to save man irresistibly, than to save him by such grace as it is in his power either to concur with, or to resist."

50. But you must not imagine I will be so unwise as to engage you here on this single point. I shall not now dispute (which yet might be done) whether salvation by irresistible grace, (which indeed makes man a mere machine, and, consequently, no more rewardable and punishable,) whether, I say, salvation by irresistible grace, considered apart from its consequences, manifest the glory of God more or less than salvation by grace which may be resisted. Not so; but, by the assistance of God, I shall take your whole scheme together; irresistible grace for the elect, implying the denial of saving grace to all others; or unconditional election with its inseparable companion, unconditional reprobation.

The case is clearly this: You may drive me on the one hand, unless I will contradict myself, or retract my principles, to own a measure of free-will in every man; (though not by nature as the Assembly of Divines;) and, on the other hand, I can drive you, and every asserter of unconditional election, unless you will contradict yourself, or retract your principles, to own unconditional reprobation.

Stand forth, then, free-will on the one side, and reprobation on the other; and let us see whether the one scheme, attended with the absurdity, as you think it, of free-will, or the other scheme, attended with the absurdity of reprobation, be the more defensible. Let us see (if it please the Father of lights to open the eyes of our understanding) which of these is more for the glory of God, for the display of his glorious attributes, for the manifestation of his wisdom, justice, and mercy, to the sons of men.

51. First, his wisdom. If man be in some measure free; if, by that light which "lighteneth every man that comes into the world," there be "set before him life and death, good and evil;" then how gloriously

does the manifold wisdom of God appear in the whole economy of man's salvation! Being willing that all men should be saved, yet not willing to force them thereto; willing that men should be saved, yet not as trees or stones, but as men, as reasonable creatures, endued with understanding to discern what is good, and liberty either to accept or refuse it; how does he suit the whole scheme of his dispensations to this his προθέσις, his plan, "the counsel of his will!" His first step is to enlighten the understanding by that general knowledge of good and evil. To this he adds many secret reproofs, if they act contrary to this light; many inward convictions, which there is not a man on earth who has not often felt. At other times he gently moves their wills, he draws and woos them, as it were, to walk in the light. He instils into their hearts good desires, though perhaps they know not from whence they come. Thus far he proceeds with all the children of men, yea, even with those who have not the knowledge of his written word. But in this, what a field of wisdom is displayed, suppose man to be in some degree a free agent! How is every part of it suited to this end! to save man, as man; to set life and death before him, and then persuade (not force) him to choose life. According to this grand purpose of God, a perfect rule is first set before him, to serve as a "lantern to his feet, and a light in all his paths." This is offered to him in a form of a law, enforced with the strongest sanctions, the most glorious rewards for them that obey, the severest penalties on them that break it. To reclaim these, God uses all manner of ways; he tries every avenue of their souls. He applies sometimes to their understanding, showing them the folly of their sins; sometimes to their affections, tenderly expostulating with them for their ingratitude, and even condescending to ask, "What could I have done for" you (consistent with my eternal purpose, not to force you) "which I have not done?" He intermixes sometimes threats,—"Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;" sometimes promises,—"Your sins and your iniquities will I remember no more." Now, what wisdom is seen in all this, if man may indeed choose life or death! But if every man be unalterably consigned to heaven or hell before he comes from his mother's womb, where is the wisdom of this; of dealing with him, in every respect, as if he were free, when it is no such thing? What avails, what can this whole dispensation of God avail a reprobate? What are promises or threats, expostulations or reproofs to thee, thou firebrand of hell? What, indeed, (O my brethren, suffer me to speak, for I am full of matter!) but empty farce, but mere grimace, sounding words, that mean just nothing? O where (to waive all other considerations now) is the wisdom of this proceeding! To what end does all this apparatus serve? If you say, "To insure his damnation;" alas, what needeth that, seeing this was insured before the foundation of the world! Let all mankind then judge, which of these accounts is more for the glory of God's wisdom!

52. We come next to his justice. Now, if man be capable of choosing good or evil, then he is a proper object of the justice of God, acquitting or condemning, rewarding or punishing. But otherwise he is not. A mere machine is not capable of being either acquitted or condemned. Justice cannot punish a stone for falling to the ground; nor, on your scheme, a man for falling into sin. For he can no more help it than the stone, if he be, in your sense, foreordained to this condemnation.

Why does this man sin? "He cannot cease from sin." Why cannot he cease from sin? "Because he has no saving grace." Why has he no saving grace? "Because God, of his own good pleasure, hath eternally decreed not to give it him." Is he then under an unavoidable necessity of sinning? "Yes, as much as a stone is of falling. He never had any more power to cease from evil, than a stone has to hang in the air." And shall this man, for not doing what he never could do, and for doing what he never could avoid, be sentenced to depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels? "Yes, because it is the sovereign will of God." Then "you have either found a new God, or made one!" This is not the God of the Christians. Our God is just in all his ways; he reapeth not where he hath not strowed. He requireth only according to what he hath given; and where he hath given little, little is required. The glory of his justice is this, to "reward every man according to his works." Hereby is that glorious attribute shown, evidently set forth before men and angels, in that it is accepted of every man according to that he hath, and not according to that he hath not. This is that just decree which cannot pass, either in time or in eternity.

Thus one scheme gives the justice of God its full scope, leaves room for it to be largely displayed in all its branches; whereas the other makes it a mere shadow; yea, brings it absolutely to nothing.

53. Just as gloriously does it display his love; supposing it to be fixed on one in ten of his creatures, (might I not rather say, on one in a hundred?) and to have no regard to the rest. Let the ninety-and-nine reprobates perish without mercy. It is enough for him, to love and save the one elect. But why will he have mercy on these alone, and leave all those to inevitable destruction? "He will—because he will!" O that God would give unto you who thus speak, meekness of wisdom! Then would I ask, What would the universal voice of mankind pronounce of the man that should act thus? that being able to deliver millions of men from death with a single breath of his mouth, should refuse to save any more than one in a hundred, and say, "I will not, because I will not!" How then do you exalt the mercy of God, when you ascribe such a proceeding to him? What a strange comment is this on his own word, that "his mercy is over all his works!"

Do you think to evade this by saying, "His mercy is more displayed, in irresistibly saving the elect, than it would be in giving the choice of salvation to all men, and actual salvation to those that accepted it?" How so? Make this appear if you can. What proof do you bring of this assertion? I appeal to every impartial mind, whether the reverse be not obviously true; whether the mercy of God would not be far less gloriously displayed, in saving a few by his irresistible power, and leaving all the rest without help, without hope, to perish everlastingly, than in offering salvation to every creature, actually saving all that consent thereto, and doing for the rest all that infinite wisdom, almighty power, and boundless love can do, without forcing them to be saved, which would be to destroy the very nature that he had given them. I appeal, I say, to every impartial mind, and to your own, if not quite blinded with prejudice, which of these accounts places the mercy of God in the most advantageous light.

54. Perhaps you will say, "But there are other attributes of God, namely, his sovereignty, unchangeableness, and faithfulness. I hope you do not deny these." I answer, No; by no means. The sovereignty of God appears, (1.) In fixing from eternity that decree touching the sons of men, "He that believeth shall be saved: he that believeth not shall be damned." (2.) In all the general circumstances of creation; in the time, the place, the manner of creating all things; in appointing the number and kinds of creatures, visible and invisible. (3.) In allotting the natural endowments of men, these to one, and those to another. (4.) In disposing the time, place, and other outward circumstances (as parents, relations) attending the birth of every one. (5.) In dispensing the various gifts of his Spirit, for the edification of his Church. (6.) In ordering all temporal things, as health, fortune, friends, every thing short of eternity. But in disposing the eternal states of men, (allowing only what was observed under the first article,) it is clear, that not sovereignty alone, but justice, mercy, and truth hold the reins. The Governor of heaven and earth, the I AM, over all, God blessed for ever, takes no step here but as these direct, and prepare the way before his face. This is his eternal and irresistible will, as he hath revealed unto us by his Spirit; declaring in the strongest terms, adding his oath to his word, and, because he could swear by no greater, swearing by himself, "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth." The death of him that dieth can never be resolved into my pleasure or sovereign will. No; it is impossible. We challenge all mankind, to bring one clear, Scriptural proof to the contrary. You can bring no Scripture proof that God ever did, or assertion that he ever will, act as mere sovereign in eternally condemning any soul that ever was or will be born into the world.

55. Now, you are probably thinking of Esau and Pharaoh. Do you then set it down as an unquestionable truth, that these were eternally condemned by the mere sovereign will of God? Are you sure that they were eternally condemned? Even that point is not altogether certain. It is no where asserted in holy writ; and it would cost you some pains to prove it. It is true, Pharaoh's death was a punishment from God; but it does not follow, that he was punished everlastingly. And if he was, it was not by the mere sovereign will of God, but because of his own stubbornness and impenitence.

Of this Moses has given us a particular account: Accordingly we read, "When Pharaoh saw that there was respite," (after he was delivered from the plague of frogs,) "he hardened his heart, and hearkened not unto them," Exod viii, 15. So after the plague of flies, "Pharaoh hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go," verse 32. Again: "When Pharaoh saw that the rain and the hail were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, he and his servants," ix, 34. After God had given him all this space to repent, and had expostulated with him for his obstinate impenitence, in those solemn words, "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?" x, 3; what wonder is it, if God then "hardened his heart," that is, permitted Satan to harden it? if he at length wholly withdrew his softening grace, and "gave him up to a reprobate mind?"

56. The case of Esau is widely different from this; although his con-

duct also is blamable in many points. The first was, the selling his birthright to Jacob. (Gen. xxv, 31, &c.) The next, his marrying against his father's consent. (xxvi, 34, 35.) But it is highly probable he was sensible of his fault; because Isaac appears to have been fully reconciled to him when he said, "My son, make me savoury meat, that my soul may bless thee before I die," xxvii, 4.

In the following verses we have an account of the manner wherein he was supplanted by his brother Jacob. Upon Isaac's relation of this, "Esau cried with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father!" verse 34. But "he found no place," says the Apostle, "for repentance," for recovering tne blessing, "though he sought it carefully with tears." "Thy brother," said Isaac, "hath taken away thy blessing: I have blessed him, yea, and he shall be blessed." So that all Esau's sorrow and tears could not recover his birthright, and the blessing annexed thereto.

And yet there is great reason to hope, that Esau (as well as Jacob) is now in Abraham's bosom. For although for a time "he hated Jacob," and afterward came against him "with four hundred men," very probably designing to take revenge for the injuries he had sustained; yet we find, when they met, "Esau ran and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him." So throughly had God changed his heart! And why should we doubt but that happy change continued?

57. You can ground no solid objection to this on St. Paul's words in the Epistle to the Romans: "It was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," ix, 12, 13. For it is undeniably plain, that both these Scriptures relate, not to the persons of Jacob and Esau, but to their descendants: the Israelites sprung from Jacob, and the Edomites sprung from Esau. In this sense only did "the elder" (Esau) "serve the younger;" not in his person, (for Esau never served Jacob,) but in his posterity. The posterity of the elder brother served the posterity of the younger.

The other text referred to by the Apostle runs thus: "I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness," Mal. i, 2, 3. Whose heritage was it that God laid waste? Not that which Esau personally enjoyed; but that of his posterity, the Edomites, for their enormous sins, largely described by several of the Prophets. So neither here is there any instance of any man being finally condemned by the mere sovereign will of God.

58. The unchangeableness of God, we allow likewise. "In Him is no variableness neither shadow of turning." But you seem to lie under a mistake concerning this also, for want of observing the Scripture account of it. The Scripture teaches, (1.) That God is unchangeable with regard to his decrees. But what decrees? The same that he has commanded to be preached to every creature: "He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." The Scripture teaches, (2.) That God is unchangeable with regard to his love and hatred. But how? Observe this well; for it is your grand mistake, and the root of almost all the rest. God unchangeably loveth righteousness, and hateth iniquity. Unchangeably he loveth faith, and unchangeably hateth unbelief. In consequence hereof he unchangeably loves the righteous, and hateth the workers of iniquity. He unchangeably loves them that believe,

and hates wilful, obstinate unbelievers. So that the Scripture account of God's unchangeableness with regard to his decrees, is this: He has unchangeably decreed to save holy believers, and to condemn obstinate, impenitent unbelievers. And according to Scripture, his unchangeableness of affection properly and primarily regards tempers and not persons; and persons (as Enoch, Noah, Abraham) only as those tempers are found in them. Let then the unchangeableness of God be put upon the right foot; let the Scripture be allowed to fix the objects of it, and it will as soon prove transubstantiation, as unconditional election.

59. The faithfulness of God may be termed a branch of his truth. He will perform what he hath promised. But then let us inquire of the oracles of God, To whom are the promises made? the promises of life and immortality? The answer is, "To Abraham and his seed;" that is, to those who "walk in the steps of that faith of their father Abraham." To those who believe, as believers, are the Gospel promises made. To these hath the faithful God engaged, that he will do what he hath spoken. "He will fulfil his covenant and promise which he hath made to a thousand generations:" the sum of which is, (as we find it expressly declared by the Spirit of God,) "The Lord will give grace" (more grace) "and glory; and no good thing will he withhold from them that live a godly life."

60. This covenant of God I understand; but I have heard of another which I understand not. I have heard, "that God the Father made a covenant with his Son, before the world began, wherein the Son agreed to suffer such and such things, and the Father to give him such and such souls for a recompense; that in consequence of this, those souls must be saved, and those only, so that all others must be damned." I beseech you, where is this written? In what part of Scripture is this covenant to be found? We may well expect a thing of this moment to be revealed very expressly, with the utmost clearness and solemnity. But where is this done? And if it is not done, if there is no such account in all the Bible; which shall we wonder at most, that any serious man should advance, or that thousands should believe, so strange an assertion, without one plain text of Scripture to support it, from Genesis to the Revelation?

61. I suppose you do not imagine that the bare word *covenant*, if it occurred ever so often in holy writ, is a proof of any such covenant as this. The grand covenant which we allow to be mentioned therein, is a covenant between God and man, established in the hands of a Mediator, "who tasted death for every man," and thereby purchased it for all the children of men. The tenor of it (so often mentioned already) is this: "Whosoever believeth unto the end, so as to show his faith by his works, I the Lord will reward that soul eternally. But whosoever will not believe, and consequently dieth in his sins, I will punish him with everlasting destruction."

62. To examine throughly whether this covenant between God and man be unconditional or conditional, it may be needful to go back as far as Abraham, the father of the faithful; to inquire what manner of covenant it was which God made with him; and whether any reason be assigned of God's peculiarly blessing Abraham, and all the nations of the earth in him.

The first mention of the covenant between God and him, occurs Gen. xv, 18: "The same day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land." But this is much more explicitly related in chap. xvii, 1, &c: "The Lord appeared unto Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: And God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. Every man-child among you shall be circumcised;—it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. The uncircumcised man-child shall be cut off; he hath broken my covenant." So we see, this original covenant, though everlasting, was conditional, and man's failing in the condition cleared God.

63. We have St. Paul's account of this covenant of God with Abraham, in the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, verse 3, &c: "Abraham," saith he, "believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness." (This was a little before God established his covenant with him, and is related Gen. xv, 6.) "And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised, that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed unto them also; and the father of circumcision" (that is, of them that are circumcised) "to them who are not of the circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised." Now, if these words do not express a conditional covenant, certainly none can.

64. The nature and ground of this covenant of God with Abraham is farther explained: "And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do, seeing all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him? For I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him: And they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring unto Abraham that which he hath spoken of him," Gen. xviii, 19, &c.

Does God say here, "*I will* do it, because *I will?*" Nothing less. The reason is explicitly assigned: "All nations shall be blessed in him; for he will command his children, and they shall keep the way of the Lord."

The reason is yet more (clearly it cannot, but more) fully set down in the twenty-second chapter, verse 16, &c: "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, *because* thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: That in blessing I will bless thee; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" that is, The Messiah shall spring from thee, "*because* thou hast obeyed my voice."

This is yet again declared: "And the Lord appeared unto Isaac, and said,—Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and bless thee: For unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will perform the oath which I sware

unto Abraham thy father. In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed: *Because* that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws," Gen. xxvi, 2, &c.

65. This covenant, made to Abraham and his seed, is mentioned again: "And the Lord called unto Moses, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people," Exod. xix, 3, &c.

In the following chapter, God declares the terms of the covenant they were to keep, in ten commandments. And these themselves are sometimes termed "the covenant," sometimes "the book of the covenant." So, after God had made an end of speaking to the people, it is said, "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning,—and he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people; and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do. And Moses took the blood," (of the burnt-offering,) "and sprinkled it on the people, and said, Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words," xxiv, 4, &c.

After the people had broken this covenant by worshipping the golden calf, God renews it, Exodus xxxiv, where we read, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel—and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments," verses 27, 28.

66. According to the tenor of this covenant, made to Abraham and his seed, God afterward declares, "If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them; then I will establish my covenant with you, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people. But if ye will not hearken unto me, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant; I will set my face against you, and I will avenge the quarrel of my covenant. Yet if they shall confess their iniquity, and if their uncircumcised hearts be humbled; then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember," Lev. xxvi, 3, &c. Consequently the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was conditional, as well as that with their posterity.

67. "But is not the faithfulness of God engaged to keep all that now believe from falling away?" I cannot say that. Whatever assurance God may give to particular souls, I find no general promise in holy writ, "that none who once believes shall finally fall." Yet, to say the truth, this is so pleasing an opinion, so agreeable to flesh and blood, so suitable to whatever of nature remains in those who have tasted the grace of God, that I see nothing but the mighty power of God which can restrain any who hears it from closing with it. But still it wants one thing to recommend it,—plain, cogent Scripture proof.

Arguments from experience alone will never determine this point. They can only prove thus much, on the one hand, that our Lord is exceeding patient; that he is peculiarly unwilling any believer should perish; that he bears long, very long, with all their follies, waiting to be

gracious, and to heal their backsliding; and that he does actually bring back many lost sheep, who, to man's apprehensions, were irrecoverable: but all this does not amount to a convincing proof, that no believer can or does fall from grace. So that this argument, from experience, will weigh little with those who believe the possibility of falling.

And it will weigh full as little with those who do not; for if you produce ever so many examples of those who were once strong in faith, and are now more abandoned than ever, they will evade it by saying, "O, but they will be brought back; they will not die in their sins." And if they do die in their sins, we come no nearer; we have not gained one point still: for it is easy to say, "They were only hypocrites; they never had true faith." Therefore Scripture alone can determine this question; and Scripture does so fully determine it, that there needs only to set down a very few texts, with some short reflections upon them.

68. That one who is a true believer, or, in other words, one who is holy or righteous in the judgment of God himself, may nevertheless finally fall from grace, appears, (1.) From the word of God by Ezekiel: "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die," xviii, 24.

Do you object, "This chapter relates wholly and solely to the Jewish Church and nation?"* I answer, Prove this. Till then, I shall believe that many parts of it concern all mankind.

If you say, (2.) "The righteousness spoken of in this chapter was merely an outward righteousness, without any inward principle of grace or holiness:" I ask, How is this consistent with the thirty-first verse: "Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit?" Is this a "merely outward righteousness, without any inward principle of grace or holiness?"

69. Will you add, "But admitting the person here spoken of to be a truly righteous man, what is here said is only a supposition?" That I flatly deny. Read over the chapter again; and you will see the facts there laid down to be not barely supposed, but expressly asserted.

That the death here mentioned is eternal death, appears from the twenty-sixth verse: "When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them,"—here is temporal death; "for his iniquity that he hath done he shall die." Here is death eternal.

If you assert, "Both these expressions signify the same thing, and not two different deaths," you put a palpable force upon the text, in order to make the Holy Ghost speak nonsense.

"'Dying *in* his iniquity,'" you say, "is the same thing as 'dying *for* his iniquity.'" Then the text means thus: "When he dieth in them, he shall die in them." A very deep discovery!

But you say, "It cannot be understood of eternal death; because they might be delivered from it by repentance and reformation." And why might they not by such repentance as is mentioned in the thirty-first verse be delivered from eternal death?

* See a pamphlet, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Saints' Final Perseverance, Asserted and Vindicated."

"But the whole chapter," you think, "has nothing to do with the spiritual and eternal affairs of men."

I believe every impartial man will think quite the contrary, if he reads calmly either the beginning of it,—"All souls are mine, saith the Lord God; the soul that sinneth, it shall die;" where I can by no means allow that by the death of the soul is meant only a temporal affliction; or the conclusion,—"Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart, and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel?"

It remains then, one who is righteous in the judgment of God himself, may finally fall from grace.

70. Secondly. That one who is endued with the faith which produces a good conscience, may nevertheless finally fall, appears from the words of St. Paul to Timothy: "War a good warfare; holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck," 1 Tim. i, 18, 19.

Observe, (1.) These men had once the faith that produces "a good conscience;" which they once had, or they could not have "put it away."

Observe, (2.) They made shipwreck of the faith, which necessarily implies the total and final loss of it.

You object: "Nay, the putting away a good conscience does not suppose they had it, but rather that they had it not."

This is really surprising. But how do you prove it? "Why, by Acts xiii, 46, where St. Paul says to the Jews, 'It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.' Here you see the Jews, who never had the Gospel, are said to put it away."

How! Are you sure they "never had what they are here said to put away?" Not so: what they put away, it is undeniable, they had, till they put it away; namely, "the word of God spoken" by Paul and Barnabas. This instance, therefore, makes full against you. It proves just the reverse of what you cited it for.

But you object farther: "Men may have a good conscience, in some sense, without true faith."

I grant it, in a restrained, limited sense; but not a good conscience, simply and absolutely speaking. But such is that of which the Apostle here speaks, and which he exhorts Timothy to "hold fast." Unless you apprehend that the holding it fast likewise "rather supposes he never had it."

"But the faith here mentioned means only the doctrine of faith." I want better proof of this.

It remains, then, one who has the faith which produces a good conscience may yet finally fall.

71. Thirdly. Those who are grafted into the good olive tree, the spiritual, invisible church, may nevertheless finally fall.

For thus saith the Apostle: "Some of the branches are broken off, and thou art grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree. Be not high minded, but fear: if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee. Behold the goodness and severity of God! On them which fell, severity;

but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou shalt be cut off," Rom. xi, 17, &c.

We may observe here, (1.) The persons spoken to were actually ingrafted into the olive tree.

(2.) This olive tree is not barely the outward, visible Church, but the invisible, consisting of holy believers. So the text: "If the first fruit be holy, the lump is holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches." And "because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith."

(3.) Those holy believers were still liable to be cut off from the invisible Church, into which they were then grafted.

(4.) Here is not the least intimation of their being ever grafted in again.

To this you object, (1.) "This olive tree is not the invisible Church, but only the outward Gospel Church state." You affirm this; and I prove the contrary; namely, that it is the invisible Church; for it "consists of holy believers," which none but the invisible Church does.

You object, (2.) "The Jews who were broken off were never true believers in Christ."

I am not speaking of the Jews, but of those Gentiles who are mentioned in the twenty-second verse; whom St. Paul exhorts to "continue in his goodness;" otherwise, saith he, "thou shalt be cut off." Now, I presume these were true believers in Christ. Yet they were still liable to be cut off.

You assert, (3.) "This is only a cutting off from the outward Church state." But how is this proved? So forced and unnatural a construction requires some argument to support it.

You say, (4.) "There is a strong intimation that they shall be grafted in again." No, not that those Gentiles who did not continue in his goodness should be grafted in after they were once cut off. I cannot find the least intimation of this. "But all Israel shall be saved." I believe they will; but this does not imply the reingrafting of these Gentiles.

It remains, then, that those who are grafted into the spiritual, invisible Church, may nevertheless finally fall.

72. Fourthly. Those who are branches of Christ, the true vine, may yet finally fall from grace.

For thus saith our blessed Lord himself: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away. I am the vine, ye are the branches. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned," John xv, 1, &c.

Here we may observe, (1.) The persons spoken of were in Christ, branches of the true vine.

(2.) Some of these branches abide not in Christ, but "the Father taketh them away."

(3.) The branches which "abide not" are "cast forth," cast out from Christ and his Church.

(4.) They are not only "cast forth," but "withered;" consequently, never grafted in again.

(5.) They are not only "cast forth and withered," but also "cast into the fire." And,

(6.) "They are burned." It is not possible for words more strongly to declare that those who are branches of the true vine may finally fall.

"But this," you say, "furnishes an argument for, not against, the persevering of the saints."

Yes, just such an argument for final perseverance, as the above cited words of St. Paul to Timothy.

But how do you make it out? "Why thus: There are two sorts of branches in Christ the vine; the one fruitful, the other unfruitful. The one are eternally chosen; and these abide in him, and can never withdraw away." Nay, this is the very point to be proved. So that you now immediately and directly beg the question.

"The other sort of branches are such as are in Christ only by profession; who get into Churches, and so are reckoned in Christ; and these in time wither away. These never had any life, grace, or fruitfulness from him."

Surely you do not offer this by way of argument! You are again taking for granted the very point to be proved.

But you will prove that "those are branches in Christ, who never had any life or grace from him, because the churches of Judea and Thessalonica are said to be in Christ, though every individual member was not savingly in him." I deny the consequence; which can never be made good, unless you can prove that those very Jews or Thessalonians who never had any life or grace from him are nevertheless said by our Lord to be "branches in him."

It remains, that true believers, who are branches of the true vine, may nevertheless finally fall.

73. Fifthly. Those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollutions of the world, may yet fall back into those pollutions, and perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the Apostle Peter, "If, after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," (the only possible way of escaping them,) "they are entangled again therein and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning," 2 Pet. ii, 20.

But you say, (1.) "Their knowledge was not an experimental knowledge." And how do you prove this? "Because had it been such, they could not have lost it." You are begging the question again.

You say, (2.) "Escaping the pollutions of the world signifies no more than an outward reformation." How prove you that? You aim at no proof at all. But he that will grant it, may.

You say, (3.) "These persons never had any change wrought upon them. They were no other than dogs and swine, not only before and after, but even while they outwardly abstained from gross enormities."

I grant, that before and after that time, during which they "escaped the pollutions of the world," (or, as St. Peter words it in his former Epistle, "the corruption that is in the world,") they might well be termed either "dogs" or "swine," for their gross enormities. But that they deserved such an appellation during that time, I cannot grant without some proof.

It remains, that those who, by the inward knowledge of Christ, have escaped the pollutions of the world may yet fall back into those pollutions, and perish everlastingly.

74. Sixthly. Those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and the fruits of the Spirit, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the writer to the Hebrews: "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame," vi, 4–6.

Must not every unprejudiced person see, the expressions here used are so strong and clear, that they cannot, without gross and palpable wresting, be understood of any but true believers?

"But the Apostle makes only a supposition, 'If they shall fall away.'"

The Apostle makes no supposition at all. There is no *if* in the original. The words are, Αδυνατον τους απαξ φωτισθεντας—και παραπεσοντας; that is, in plain English, "It is impossible to renew again unto repentance those who were once enlightened and have fallen away."

"No. The words in the original lie literally thus: 'It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and they falling away, to renew them again unto repentance;' that is, should they fall away, which is in plain English, if they fall away."

Excuse me for speaking plain English here. "Shall a man lie for God?" Either you or I do; for I flatly aver, (and let all that understand Greek judge between us,) that the words in the original do not lie literally thus, "and they falling away;" (if so, they must be και παραπιπτοντας, in the present tense; not και παραπεσοντας, in the indefinite;) but that they are translated, "and have fallen away," as literally as the English tongue will bear.

Therefore here is no *if* in the case, no supposition at all, but a plain declaration of matter of fact.

75. "But why do you imagine these persons were true believers?" Because all the expressions, in their easy, natural sense, imply it.

They "were once enlightened;" an expression familiar with the Apostle, and never by him applied to any but believers. So "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation: the eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling; and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward that believe," Eph. i, 17, &c. So again: "God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv, 6.

"Nay, 'they were enlightened' means only, they were baptized, or knew the doctrines of the Gospel."

I cannot believe this, till you bring me a few passages from St. Paul's writings, wherein that expression is evidently taken in either of these senses.

Again. They "had tasted of the heavenly gift," (emphatically so

called,) "and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost." So St. Peter likewise couples them together: "Be baptized for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost;" Acts ii, 38; whereby the love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, with all the other fruits of the Spirit.

The expression, "They had tasted of the heavenly gift," is taken from the Psalmist, "Taste and see that the Lord is good." As if he had said, Be ye as assured of his love, as of any thing you see with your eyes. And let the assurance thereof be sweet to your soul, as honey is to your tongue.

"But this means only, they had some notions of remission of sins and heaven, and some desires after them; and they had received the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost." This you affirm; but without any colour of proof.

It remains, that those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and the fruits of the Spirit, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

76. Seventhly. Those who live by faith may yet fall from God, and perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the Apostle: "The just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him," Heb. x, 38. "The just" (the justified person, of whom only this can be said) "shall live by faith;" even now shall live the life which is hid with Christ in God; and if he endure unto the end, shall live with God for ever. "But if any man draw back," saith the Lord, "my soul shall have no pleasure in him;" that is, I will utterly cast him off: and accordingly the drawing back here spoken of, is termed in the verse immediately following, "drawing back to perdition."

"But the person supposed to draw back, is not the same with him that is said to live by faith."

I answer, (1.) Who is it then? Can any man draw back from faith who never came to it? But, (2.) Had the text been fairly translated, there had been no pretence for this objection. For the original runs thus, Ο δικαιος εκ πιςεως ζησεται· και εαν υποςειληται. If ο δικαιος, "the just man that lives by faith" (so the expression necessarily implies, there being no other nominative to the verb) "draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

"But your translation too is inaccurate." Be pleased to show me wherein.

"I grant he may draw back; and yet not draw back to perdition." But then it is not the drawing back which is here spoken of.

"However, here is only a supposition, which proves no fact." I observe, you take that as a general rule, Suppositions prove no facts. But this is not true. They do not always; but many times they do. And whether they do or no in a particluar text, must be judged from the nature of the supposition, and from the preceding and following words.

"But the inserting *any man* into the text is agreeable to the grammatical construction of the words." This I totally deny. There is no need of any such insertion. The preceding nominative suffices.

"But one that lives by faith cannot draw back. For 'whom he justi-

fied, them he also glorified.'" This proves no more than, that all who are glorified are pardoned and sanctified first.

"Nay, but St. Paul says, 'Ye are dead; and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory.'" Most sure, if you endure to the end. "Whosoever believeth in him" to the end "shall never die."

77. "But, to come more home to the point: I say, this text is so far from militating against perseverance, that it greatly establishes it."

You are very unhappy in your choice of texts to establish this doctrine. Two of these establish it, just as this does, as we have seen already. Now, pray let us hear how you prove perseverance from this text.

"Very easily. Here are two sorts of persons mentioned; he that lives by faith, and he that draws back to perdition."

Nay, this is the very question. I do not allow that two persons are mentioned in the text. I have shown it is one and the same person, who once lived by faith, and afterward draws back.

Yet thus much I allow: Two sorts of believers are in the next verse mentioned; some that draw back, and some that persevere. And I allow, the Apostle adds, "We are not of them who draw back unto perdition." But what will you infer from thence? This is so far from contradicting what has been observed before, that it manifestly confirms it. It is a farther proof, that there are those who draw back unto perdition, although these were not of that number.

"I must still aver, that the text is rightly translated; which I prove thus:—

"The original text runs thus: 'Behold, his soul who is lifted up is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faith,' Hab. ii, 4.

"This the Seventy render, Εαν υποςειληται, ȣκ ευδοκει η ψυχη μȣ εν αυτῳ· ο δε δικαιος εκ πιςεως μȣ ζησεται, 'If a man draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him. But the just shall live by my faith;' that is, faith in me.

"Now, here the man, in the former clause, who 'draws back,' is distinguished from him, in the following clause, who lives by faith.

"But the Apostle quotes the text from this translation."

True; but he does not "distinguish the man in the former clause who 'draws back,' from him, in the latter, who 'lives by faith.'" So far from it, that he quite inverts the order of the sentence, placing the latter clause of it first. And by this means it comes to pass, that although, in translating this text from the Septuagint, we must insert, "a man," (because there is no nominative preceding,) yet in translating it from the Apostle there is no need or pretence for inserting it, seeing ο δικαιος stands just before.

Therefore, such an insertion is a palpable violence to the text; which, consequently, is not rightly translated.

It remains, that those who live by faith may yet fall from God, and perish everlastingly.

78. Eighthly. Those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant may so fall as to perish everlastingly.

For thus again saith the Apostle: "If we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which

shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing?"

It is undeniably plain, (1.) That the person mentioned here was once sanctified by the blood of the covenant. (2.) That he afterward, by known, wilful sin, trod under foot the Son of God. And, (3.) That he hereby incurred a sorer punishment than death; namely, death ever lasting.

"Nay, the immediate antecedent to the relative 'he,' is the Son of God. Therefore it was He, not the apostate, who was sanctified (set apart for his priestly office) by the blood of the covenant."

Either you forgot to look at the original, or your memory fails. The Son of God is not the immediate antecedent to the relative "he." The words run thus: "Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God? και το αιμα της διαθηκης κοινον ηγησαμενος, εν ῳ ηγιασθη. You see ηγησαμενος, not υιος, is the immediate antecedent to the relative "he." Consequently, it is the apostate, not the Son of God, who is here said to be sanctified.

"If he was sanctified, yet this cannot be understood of inward sanctification. Therefore it must mean, either that he said he was sanctified, or that he made an outward profession of religion."

Why cannot the word be understood in its proper, natural sense, of inward sanctification?

"Because that is by the Spirit of God." From this very consideration it appears, that this must be understood of inward sanctification; for the words immediately following are, "and hath done despite to the Spirit of grace," even that grace whereby he was once sanctified.

It remains, that those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant may yet perish everlastingly.

79. If you imagine these texts are not sufficient to prove that a true believer may finally fall, I will offer a few more to your consideration, which I would beg you to weigh farther at your leisure:—

"Ye" Christians "are the salt of the earth. But if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men," Matt. v, 13. "When the unclean spirit goeth out of a man," (as he does out of every true believer,) "he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return: and he taketh with him seven other spirits; and they enter in and dwell there. And the last state of that man is worse than the first," xii, 43–45. "And then shall many be offended; and the love" (toward God and man) "of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved," xxiv, 10, &c. "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household? But if that evil servant" (wise and faithful as he was once) "shall begin to smite his fellow servants; the Lord shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites," (verse 45, &c,) apostates, being no better than they.

"Take heed to yourselves," ye that believe, "lest at any time your

heart be overcharged with the cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares," Luke xxi, 34: plainly implying, that otherwise they would not be "accounted worthy to stand before the Son of man."

"If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," John viii, 31, 32.

"I keep my body under; lest by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway," 1 Cor. ix, 27. "Our fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Christ. But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now, these things were for our examples: wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall," x, 3, &c.

"We therefore, as workers together with him, beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain," 2 Cor. vi, 1. But this were impossible, if none that ever had it could perish.

"Ye are fallen from grace," Gal. v, 4. "We shall reap, if we faint not," vi, 9. Therefore we shall not reap, if we do.

"We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end," Heb. iii, 14.

"Beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness," 2 Peter iii, 17.

"Look to yourselves, that we lose not the things which we have wrought," 2 John 8.

"Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown," Rev. iii, 11. And, to conclude:—

"So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses," Matthew xviii, 35. *So!* How? He will retract the pardon he had given, and deliver you to the tormentors.

80. "Why, then you make salvation conditional." I make it neither conditional nor unconditional. But I declare just what I find in the Bible, neither more nor less; namely, that it is bought for every child of man, and actually given to every one that believeth. If you call this conditional salvation, God made it so from the beginning of the world; and he hath declared it so to be, at sundry times and in divers manners; of old by Moses and the Prophets, and in later times by Christ and his Apostles.

"Then I never can be saved; for I can perform no conditions; for I can do nothing." No, nor I, nor any man under heaven,—without the grace of God. "But I can do all things through Christ strengthening me." So can you; so can every believer. And he has strengthened, and will strengthen, you more and more, if you do not wilfully resist till you quench his Spirit.

81. "Nay, but God must work irresistibly in me, or I shall never be saved!" Hold! Consider that word. You are again advancing a doctrine which has not one plain, clear text to support it. I allow, God may possibly, at some times, work irresistibly in some souls. I believe he does. But can you infer from hence, that he always works thus in all that are saved? Alas! my brother, what kind of conclusion is this? And by what scripture will you prove it? Where, I pray, is it written, that none are saved but by irresistible grace? By Almighty grace, I

grant; by that power alone, to which all things are possible. But show me any one plain scripture for this,—that "all saving grace is irresistible."

82. But this doctrine is not only unsupported by Scripture, it is flatly contrary thereto. How will you reconcile it (to instance in a very few) with the following texts?—

"He sent to call them, and they would not come," Matthew xxii, 3, &c "He could do no mighty works there, because of their unbelief," Mark vi 5, 6. "There were Pharisees, and the power of the Lord was present to heal them," Luke v, 17. Nevertheless, they were not healed in fact, as the words immediately following show.

"The Pharisees and Lawyers made void the counsel of God against themselves," Luke vii, 30. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children, and ye would not!" xiii, 34. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit. But there are some of you that believe not," John vi, 63, &c. Therefore, that Spirit did not work irresistibly. "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye," Acts vii, 51. "Ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life," xiii, 46. "While it is called to-day, harden not your heart. Take heed lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, departing from the living God," Heb. iii, 8, 12. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh," xii, 25.

83. I do but just give you a specimen of the innumerable scriptures which might be produced on this head. And why will you adhere to an opinion not only unsupported by, but utterly contrary both to, reason and Scripture? Be pleased to observe here also, that you are not to consider the doctrine of irresistible grace by itself, any more than that of unconditional election, or final perseverance; but as it stands in connection with unconditional reprobation: that millstone which hangs about the neck of your whole hypothesis.

Will you say, "I adhere to it, because of its usefulness?" Wherein does that usefulness lie? "It exalts God and debases man." In what sense does it exalt God? God in himself is exalted above all praise. Your meaning, therefore, I suppose, is this: It displays to others how highly he is exalted in justice, mercy, and truth. But the direct contrary of this has been shown at large; it has been shown, by various considerations, that God is not exalted, but rather dishonoured, and that in the highest degree, by supposing him to despise the work of his own hands, the far greater part of the souls which he hath made. And as to the debasing man; if you mean, this opinion truly humbles the men that hold it, I fear it does not: I have not perceived, (and I have had large occasion to make the trial,) that all, or even the generality of them that hold it, are more humble than other men. Neither, I think, will you say, that none are humble who hold it not: so that it is neither a necessary nor a certain means of humility. And if it be so sometimes, this only proves that God can bring good out of evil.

84. The truth is, neither this opinion nor that, but the love of God, humbles man, and that only. Let but this be shed abroad in his heart, and he abhors himself in dust and ashes. As soon as this enters into his soul, lowly shame covers his face. That thought, "What is God? What hath he done for me?" is immediately followed by, "What am I?" And he knoweth not what to do, or where to hide, or how to abase himself enough, before the great God of love, of whom he now knoweth,

that as his majesty is, so is his mercy. Let him who has felt this (whatever be his opinion) say, whether he could then take glory to himself; whether he could ascribe to himself any part of his salvation, or the glory of any good word or thought. Lean, then, who will, on that broken reed for humility; but let the love of God humble my soul!

85. "Why, this is the very thing which recommends it. This doctrine makes men love God." I answer as before: Accidentally it may; because God can draw good out of evil. But you will not say, all who hold it love God; so it is no certain means to that end. Nor will you say, that none love him who hold it not: neither, therefore, is it a necessary means. But, indeed, when you talk at all of its "making men love God," you know not what you do. You lead men into more danger than you are aware of. You almost unavoidably lead them into resting on that opinion; you cut them off from a true dependence on the fountain of living waters, and strengthen them in hewing to themselves broken cisterns, which can hold no water.

86. This is my grand objection to the doctrine of reprobation, or (which is the same) unconditional election. That it is an error, I know; because, if this were true, the whole Scripture must be false. But it is not only for this—because it is an error—that I so earnestly oppose it, but because it is an error of so pernicious consequence to the souls of men; because it directly and naturally tends to hinder the inward work of God in every stage of it.

87. For instance: Is a man careless and unconcerned, utterly dead in trespasses and sins?—Exhort him then (suppose he is of your own opinion) to take some care of his immortal soul. "I take care!" says he, "What signifies my care? Why, what must be, must be. If I am elect, I must be saved; and if I am not, I must be damned." And the reasoning is as just and strong, as it is obvious and natural. It avails not to say, "Men may abuse any doctrine." So they may. But this is not abusing yours. It is the plain natural use of it. The premises cannot be denied, (on your scheme,) and the consequence is equally clear and undeniable. Is he a little serious and thoughtful now and then, though generally cold and lukewarm?—Press him then to stir up the gift that is in him; to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. "Alas," says he, "what can I do! You know, man can do nothing." If you reply: "But you do not desire salvation; you are not willing to be saved:" "It may be so," says he, "but God shall make me willing in the day of his power." So, waiting for irresistible grace, he falls faster asleep than ever. See him again, when he throughly awakes out of sleep; when, in spite of his principles, fearfulness and trembling are come upon him, and a horrible dread hath overwhelmed him. How then will you comfort him that is well nigh swallowed up of over-much sorrow? If at all, by applying the promises of God. But against these he is fenced on every side. "These indeed," says he, "are great and precious promises. But they belong to the elect only. Therefore they are nothing to me. I am not of that number. And I never can be; for his decree is unchangeable." Has he already tasted of the good word, and the powers of the world to come? Being justified by faith, hath he peace with God? Then sin hath no dominion over him. But by and by, considering he may fall foully indeed, but cannot fall finally, he is not so

jealous over himself as he was at first; he grows a little and a little slacker, till ere long he falls again into the sin from which he was clean escaped. As soon as you perceive he is entangled again and overcome, you apply the scriptures relating to that state. You conjure him not to harden his heart any more, lest his last state be worse than the first. "How can that be?" says he: "Once in grace, always in grace; and I am sure I was in grace once. You shall never tear away my shield." So he sins on, and sleeps on, till he awakes in hell.

88. The observing these melancholy examples day by day, this dreadful havoc which the devil makes of souls, especially of those who had begun to run well, by means of this anti-scriptural doctrine, constrains me to oppose it from the same principle whereon I labour to save souls from destruction. Nor is it sufficient to ask, Are there not also many who wrest the opposite doctrine to their own destruction? If there are, that is nothing to the point in question; for that is not the case here. Here is no wresting at all: the doctrine of absolute predestination naturally leads to the chambers of death.

Let an instance in each kind be proposed, and the difference is so broad, he that runneth may read it. I say, "Christ died for all. He tasted death for every man, and he willeth all men to be saved." "O," says a hearer, "then I can be saved when I will; so I may safely sin a little longer." No; this is no consequence from what I said; the words are wrested to infer what does not follow. You say, "Christ died only for the elect; and all these must and shall be saved." "O," says a hearer, "then if I am one of the elect, I must and shall be saved. Therefore I may safely sin a little longer; for my salvation cannot fail." Now, this is a fair consequence from what you said: The words are not wrested at all. No more is inferred than what plainly and undeniably follows from the premises. And the very same observation may be made on every article of that doctrine. Every branch of it, as well as this, (however the wisdom of God may sometimes draw good out of it,) has a natural, genuine tendency, without any wresting, either to prevent or obstruct holiness.

89. Brethren, would ye lie for the cause of God? I am persuaded ye would not. Think then that as ye are, so am I: I speak the truth, before God my Judge; not of those who were trained up therein, but of those who were lately brought over to your opinion. Many of these have I known; but I have not known one in ten of all that number, in whom it did not speedily work some of the above named effects, according to the state of soul they were then in. And one only have I known among them all, after the closest and most impartial observation, who did not evidently show, within one year, that his heart was changed, not for the better, but for the worse.

90. I know, indeed, ye cannot easily believe this. But whether ye believe it or no, you believe, as well as I, that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. May we not then, at least, join in this,—in declaring the nature of inward holiness, and testifying to all the necessity of it? May we not all thus far join in tearing away the broken reeds wherein so many rest, without either inward or outward holiness, and which they idly trust will supply its place? As far as is possible, let us join in destroying the works of the devil, and in setting up the kingdom

of God upon earth, in promoting righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Of whatever opinion or denomination we are, we must serve either God or the devil. If we serve God, our agreement is far greater than our difference. Therefore, as far as may be, setting aside that difference, let us unite in destroying the works of the devil, in bringing all we can from the power of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son. And let us assist each other to value more and more the glorious grace whereby we stand, and daily to grow in that grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A PREDESTINARIAN AND HIS FRIEND.

Out of thine own mouth!

TO ALL PREDESTINARIANS.

1. I AM informed, some of you have said, that the following quotations are false; that these words were not spoken by these authors; others, that they were not spoken in this sense; and others, that neither you yourself, nor any true Predestinarian, ever did, or ever would, speak so.

2. My friends, the authors here quoted are well known, in whom you may read the words with your own eyes. And you who have read them, know in your own conscience, they were spoken in this sense, and no other; nay, that this sense of them is professedly defended throughout the whole treatises whence they are taken.

3. But, be this as it may, do you indeed say, "No true Predestinarian ever did or would speak so?" Why every true Predestinarian must speak so, and so must you yourself too, if you dare speak out, unless they and you renounce your fundamental principle.

4. Your fundamental principle is this: "God from eternity ordained whatsoever should come to pass." But from this single position undeniably follows every assertion hereafter mentioned. It remains therefore only that you choose which you please (for one you must choose) of these three things: Either, (1.) To equivocate, evade the question, and prevaricate without end; or, (2.) To swallow all these assertions together, and honestly to avow them; or, (3.) To renounce them all together, and believe in Christ, the Saviour of all.

FRIEND.—Sir, I have heard that you make God the author of all sin, and the destroyer of the greater part of mankind without mercy.

PREDESTINARIAN.—I deny it; I only say, "God did from all eternity unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass." (*Assembly's Catechism*, chap. 3.)

Friend.—Do you make no exception?

Pred.—No, surely; for "nothing is more absurd than to think any thing at all is done but by the ordination of God." (*Calvin's Institutes*, Book i, chap. 16, sect. 3.)

Friend.—Do you extend this to the actions of men?

Pred.—Without doubt: "Every action and motion of every creature is so governed by the hidden counsel of God, that nothing can come to pass, but what was ordained by him." (*Ib.* sect. 3.)

Friend.—But what then becomes of the wills of men?

Pred.—"The wills of men are so governed by the will of God, that they are carried on straight to the mark which he has foreordained." (*Ib.* sect. 8.)

Friend.—I suppose you mean the permissive will of God?

Pred.—No: I mean, "all things come to pass by the efficacious and irresistible will of God." (*Dr. Twissi Vindiciæ Gratiæ Potestatis & Providentiæ Dei. Editio Jensoniana.* pars 3, p. 19.)

Friend.—Why, then, all men must do just what they do?

Pred.—True: "It is impossible that any thing should ever be done, but that to which God impels the will of man." (*Ib.* p. 19.)

Friend.—But does not this imply the necessity of all events?

Pred.—"I will not scruple to own that the will of God lays a necessity on all things, and that every thing he wills necessarily comes to pass." (*Calvin's Inst.* b. 3, c. 24, sec. 8.)

Friend.—Does sin then necessarily come to pass?

Pred.—Undoubtedly: for "the almighty power of God extends itself to the first fall, and all other sins of angels and men." (*Assembly's Catechism*, c. 5.)

Friend.—I grant, God foresaw the first man would fall.

Pred.—Nay, "God not only foresaw that Adam would fall, but also ordained that he should." (*Calvin's Inst.* b. 3, c. 23, sec. 7.)

Friend.—I know God permitted Adam's fall.

Pred.—I tell you, "he fell not only by the permission, but also by the appointment, of God." (*Calvini Responsio ad Calumnias Nebulonis cujusdam ad Articulum primum.*) "He sinned because God so ordained, because the Lord saw good." (*Calvin's Inst.* b. 3, c. 24, sec. 8.)

Friend.—But do not those who differ from you, raise many objections against you as to this point?

Pred.—Yes: "Those poisonous dogs vomit out many things against God." (*Ib.* b. 3, c. 23, sec. 2.) "They deny that the Scripture says God decreed Adam's fall. They say he might have chose either to fall or not; and that God foreordained only to treat him according to his desert: as if God had created the noblest of all his creatures, without foreordaining what should become of him!" (*Ib.* sec. 7.)

Friend.—Did God then make Adam on purpose that he might fall?

Pred.—Undoubtedly. "God made Adam and Eve to this very purpose, that they might be tempted and led into sin. And by force of his decree, it could not otherwise be but they must sin." (*Piscatoris Disput. Prædest. Præf.* p. 6.)

Friend.—But do not you ground God's decree on God's foreknowledge rather than his will?

Pred.—No: "God foresees nothing but what he has decreed, and his decree precedes his knowledge." (*Piscat. Disput. Prædest.*)

Friend.—Well, this may truly be termed, *a horrible decree.*

Pred.—"I confess it is a horrible decree; yet no one can deny but God foreknew Adam's fall, and therefore foreknew it, because he had ordained it so by his own decree." (*Calv. Inst.* l. 3, c. 23, sec. 7.)

Friend.—Do you believe, then, that God has by his own positive decree, not only elected some men to life, but also reprobated all the rest?

Pred.—Most surely, if I believe one, I believe the other. "Many indeed (thinking to excuse God) own election, and yet deny reprobation; but this is quite silly and childish. For without reprobation, election itself cannot stand; whom God passes by, those he reprobates." (*Calv. Inst.* b. 3, c. 23, sec. 1.)

Friend.—Pray explain what you mean by election and reprobation.

Pred.—With all my heart. "All men are not created for the same end; but some are foreordained to eternal life; others to eternal damnation. So according as every man was created for the one end or the other, we say he was elected or predestinated to life, or reprobated, that is, predestinated to destruction." (*Ib.* c. 21, sec. 1.)

Friend.—Pray, repeat your meaning.

Pred.—"God hath once for all appointed by an eternal and unchangeable decree, to whom he would give salvation, and whom he would devote to destruction." (*Ib.* sec. 7.)

Friend.—Did God make any man on purpose that he might be damned?

Pred.—Did not I tell you before? 'God's first constitution was, that some should be destined to eternal ruin; and to this end their sins were ordained, and denial of grace in order to their sins." (*Zanchius de Natura Dei*, pp. 553, 554.)

Friend.—But is not God's predestinating men to life or death grounded on his foreknowledge?

Pred.—"So the vulgar think; that God, as he foresees every man will deserve, elects them to life, or devotes them to death and damnation." (*Calv. Inst.* b. 3, c. 22, sec. 1.)

Friend.—And do not you think that reprobation, at least, is grounded on God's foreknowing men's sins?

Pred.—No indeed: "God of his own good pleasure ordains that many should be born, who are from the womb devoted to inevitable damnation. If any man pretend that God's foreknowledge lays them under no necessity of being damned, but rather that he decreed their damnation, because he foreknew their wickedness, I grant that God's foreknowledge alone lays no necessity on the creature; but eternal life and death depend on the will rather than the foreknowledge of God. If God only foreknew all things that relate to all men, and did not decree and ordain them also, then it might be inquired whether or no his foreknowledge necessitates the thing foreknown. But seeing he herefore foreknows all things that will come to pass, because he has decreed they shall come to pass, it is vain to contend about foreknowledge, since it is plain all things come to pass by God's positive decree." (*Ib.* c. 23, s. 6.)

Friend.—But if God has positively decreed to damn the greater part of mankind, why does he call upon them to repent and be saved?

Pred.—"As God has his effectual call, whereby he gives the elect the salvation to which he ordained them, so he has his judgments toward the reprobates, whereby he executes his decree concerning them. As many, therefore, as he created to live miserably, and then perish everlastingly; these, that they may be brought to the end for which they were created, he sometimes deprives of the possibility of hearing the

word, and at other times, by the preaching thereof, blinds and stupifies them the more." (*Ib.* c. 24, s. 12.)

Friend.—How is this? I say, if God has created them for never-ending death, why does he call to them to turn and live?

Pred.—"He calls to them, that they may be more deaf; he kindles a light, that they may be the more blind; he brings his doctrine to them, that they may be more ignorant; and applies the remedy to them, that they may not be healed." (*Ib.* b. 3, c. 24, s. 13.)

Friend.—Enough, enough. Yet you do not make God the author of sin!

Pred.—No certainly: "God cannot be termed the author of sin, though he is the cause of those actions which are sins." (*Petri Martyris Vermillii Com. in Roman.* p. 413.)

Friend.—How is he the cause of them then?

Pred.—Two ways: First, by his eternal, unchangeable decree; Secondly, by his present irresistible power.

Friend.—Did God then foreordain the sins of any man?

Pred.—"Both the reprobates and the elect were foreordained to sin, as sin, that the glory of God might be declared thereby." (*Zanchius de Nat. Dei.* p. 555.) "The reprobates," more especially, "who were predestinated to damnation and the causes of damnation, and created to that end, that they may live wickedly, and be vessels full of the dregs of sin." (*Piscator contra Tauffium*, p. 47.)

Friend.—But surely the sins of the elect were not foreordained!

Pred.—Yes, but they were: "For we neither can do more good than we do, nor less evil than we do; because God from eternity has precisely decreed that both the good and the evil should be so done." (*Piscatoris Responsio ad Amicam Duplicationem Conradi Vorstii*, p. 176.)

Friend.—I understand you as to God's decreeing sin. But how is his irresistible power now concerned in the sins of men?

Pred.—"God is the author of that action, which is sinful, by his irresistible will." (*Dr. Twisse*, pars 3, p. 21.)

Friend.—How do you mean?

Pred.—"God procures adultery, cursings, lyings." (*Piscat. Responsio ad Apologiam Bertii.*) "He supplies wicked men with opportunities of sinning, and inclines their hearts thereto. He blinds, deceives, and seduces them. He, by his working on their hearts, bends and stirs them up to do evil." (*Pet. Martyr. Ver. Comment. in Rom.* pp. 36, 413.) And thus "thieves, murderers, and other malefactors are God's instruments, which he uses to execute what he hath decreed in himself." (*Calv. Inst.* b. 1, c. 17, s. 5.)

Friend.—Do you not then charge God himself with sin?

Pred.—No: "God necessitates them only to the act of sin, not to the deformity of sin." (*Twissi Vindiciæ*, pars 3, p. 22.) Besides, "when God makes angels or men sin, he does not sin himself, because he does not break any law. For God is under no law, and therefore cannot sin." (*Zuinglius in Serm. de Provid.* c. 5, 6.)

Friend.—But how does God make angels or men to sin?

Pred.—"The devil and wicked men are so held in on every side with the hand of God, that they cannot conceive, or contrive, or execute any mischief, any farther than God himself doth not permit only, but com-

mand. Nor are they only held in fetters, but compelled also, as with a bridle, to perform obedience to those commands." (*Calv. Inst.* b. 1 c. 17, s. 11.)

Friend.—This is true Turkish doctrine, and ought so to be exploded as that used to be in these words:—

"I do anathematize the blasphemy of Mohammed, which saith that God deceiveth whom he will, and whom he will he leadeth to that which is good. Himself doeth what he willeth, and is himself the cause of all good and all evil. Fate and destiny govern all things." (*Niceius Saracenita.*)

Pred.—Nay, our doctrine is more ancient than Mohammed: it was maintained by St. Augustine.

Friend.—Augustine speaks sometimes for it, and sometimes against it. But all antiquity for the four first centuries is against you, as is the whole Eastern Church to this day; and the Church of England, both in her Catechism, Articles, and Homilies. And so are divers of our most holy martyrs, Bishop Hooper and Bishop Latimer in particular.

Pred.—But does not antiquity say, Judas was predestinated to damnation?

Friend.—Quite the contrary. St. Chrysostom's express words are, "Judas, my beloved, was at first a child of the kingdom, and heard it said to him with the disciples, 'Ye shall sit on twelve thrones;' but afterward he became a child of hell."

Pred.—However, you will own that Esau was predestinated to destruction.

Friend.—Indeed I will not. Some of your own writers believe he was finally saved, which was the general opinion of the ancient fathers. And that scripture, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated," plainly relates not to their persons but their posterities.

But, supposing Esau or Judas to be damned, what is he damned for?

Pred.—Without question, for unbelief. For as we are saved by faith alone, so unbelief is the only damning sin.

Friend.—By what faith are you saved?

Pred.—By faith in Christ, who gave himself for me.

Friend.—But did he give himself for Esau and Judas? If not, you say they are damned for not believing a lie.

This consideration it was which forced Archbishop Usher to cry out, "What would not a man fly unto, rather than yield, that Christ did not die for the reprobates; and that none but the elect had any kind of title to him; and yet many thousands should be bound in conscience to believe that he died for them, and tied to accept him for their Redeemer and Saviour? Whereby they should have believed that which in itself is most untrue, and laid hold of that in which they had no kind of interest."

Pred.—But what then do you mean by the words, election and reprobation?

Friend.—I mean this: First, God did decree from the beginning to elect or choose, in Christ, all that should believe to salvation. And this decree proceeds from his own goodness, and is not built upon any goodness in the creature. Secondly: God did from the beginning decree to reprobate all who should obstinately and finally continue in unbelief.

Pred.—What then do you think of absolute, unconditional election and reprobation?

Friend.—I think it cannot be found in holy writ, and that it is a plant which bears dismal fruit. An instance of which we have in Calvin himself; who confesses that he procured the burning to death of Michael Servetus, purely for differing from him in opinion in matters of religion.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

AN ANTINOMIAN AND HIS FRIEND.

Antinomian.—Well met, my friend. I am glad to see you. But I am sorry to hear you have changed your religion.

Friend.—Changed my religion! I do not know what you mean.

Ant.—Why, you once believed, we are saved by faith.

Friend.—Undoubtedly; and so I do still.

Ant.—Do you believe, then, that the "whole work of man's salvation was accomplished by Jesus Christ on the cross?"*

Friend.—I believe, that, by that one offering, he made a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.

Ant.—But do you believe that "Christ's blood and our sins went away together?"

Friend.—To say the truth, I do not understand it.

Ant.—No! Why, did not Christ, "when he was upon the cross, take away, put an end to, blot out, and utterly destroy, all our sins for ever?"

Friend.—He did then pay the price, for the sake of which, all who truly believe in him are now saved from their sins; and, if they endure to the end, shall be saved everlastingly. Is this what you mean?

Ant.—I mean, He did then "heal, take away, put an end to, and utterly destroy, all our sins."

Friend.—Did he then heal the wound before it was made, and put an end to our sins before they had a beginning? This is so glaring, palpable an absurdity, that I cannot conceive how you can swallow it.

Ant.—I thought you would come to your "carnal reasoning." What has faith to do with reasoning?

Friend.—Do you ever read the Bible? Does not God himself say to sinners, "Come now, and let us reason together?" Isaiah i, 18. Does not our Lord reason continually with the Scribes and Pharisees; St. Peter with the Jews; (Acts ii, 14, &c;) and St. Paul both with the Jews and Gentiles? Nay, is not great part of his Epistles, both to the Romans and to the Galatians, and the far greatest part of that to the Hebrews, one entire chain of reasoning?

Ant.—You may do what you please. But I do not reason; I believe.

* The words printed as quotations, within inverted commas, are transcribed from late authors. I am not willing to name them.

Friend.—Now, I believe and reason too: for I find no inconsistency between them. And I would just as soon put out my eyes to secure my faith, as lay aside my reason.

Ant.—But do not men abuse their reason continually? Therefore it is best to have nothing to do with it.

Friend.—So, now you are doing the very thing you condemn! You are reasoning against reasoning. And no wonder; for it is impossible, without reasoning, either to prove or disprove any thing.

Ant.—But can you deny the fact? Do not men abuse their reason continually?

Friend.—They do. The fact I deny not. But I deny the inference drawn from it. For if we must lay aside whatever men abuse continually, we must lay aside the Bible; nay, and meat and drink too.

Ant.—Well, but come to the point. In what do you trust for justification and salvation?

Friend.—In the alone merits of Christ, which are mine, if I truly believe that he loved me, and gave himself for me.

Ant.—*If!* So you make salvation conditional!

Friend.—And do not you? Else you make God a liar: for his express words are, "He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned." What is this but to say, *If* thou believest, (there is the condition,) thou shalt be saved?

Ant.—But I do not like that word, *condition.*

Friend.—Then find a better, and we will lay it aside.

Ant.—However, I insist upon it, "nothing else beside faith is required" in order to justification and salvation.

Friend.—What do you mean by *nothing else is required?*

Ant.—I mean, "there is but one duty, which is that of believing. One must do nothing, but quietly attend the voice of the Lord. The gates of heaven are shut upon workers, and open to believers. If we do nothing for heaven, we do as much as God requires."

Friend.—Do you really mean, we are to do nothing, in order to present or final salvation, but "only to believe?"

Ant.—Do not I tell you so? "To believe certainly, that Christ suffered death for us, is enough; we want no more. We are justified by our submitting in our judgments to the truth of God's grace in Christ Jesus. It is not necessary that a man do any works, that he may be justified and saved. God doth not require thee to do any thing, that thou mayest be saved or justified. The law sets thee to work; but the Gospel binds thee to do nothing at all. Nay, the works are not only not required, but forbidden. God forbids us to work for justification. And when the Apostle Paul presseth men to believe, it is as much as if he had bid them not to work."

Friend.—Let Paul be permitted to answer for himself. In the twenty-sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, he relates how our Lord sent him "to open the eyes of the Gentiles,—that they might receive remission of sins," verses 17, 18. "Whereupon," saith he, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision; but showed—to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance." Observe: He "obeyed the heavenly vision," by teaching the Gentiles before they were justified, before they had "received forgiveness of

sins," to "repent and do works meet for repentance." So far was he from 'bidding them not to work," while he was "pressing them to believe."

Ant.—You are got to your "carnal reasoning" again.

Friend.—*Carnal reasoning*, I perceive, is a cant term, which you use when you know not what else to say. But I have not done with this instance yet. Did St. Paul, indeed, preach to those Heathens according to the instructions given him from heaven, or did he not?

Ant.—Without doubt, he did; otherwise he would have been, "disobedient unto the heavenly vision."

Friend.—How then say you that a minister of Christ ought to preach nothing but "Believe, believe?" and, that to tell men of doing any thing, is "preaching the law?" Do you not herein condemn, not only the great Apostle, but also Him that sent and commanded him "thus to preach?"

Ant.—Why, surely, you would not have us to be "under the law!"

Friend.—I fear you know not what that expression means. St. Paul uses it thrice in his Epistle to the Romans, five times in that to the Galatians, and in one passage of his former Epistle to the Corinthians; where he declares in what sense he was himself "under the law," and in what sense he was not. "Unto them that are under the law," (that still adhere to the whole Jewish dispensation,) "I became as under the law," (I conformed to their ceremonies,) "that I might gain them that are under the law: But unto them that are without the law," (unto the Gentiles or Heathens,) "as without the law: Being," meantime, "not without law to God, but under the law to Christ," 1 Cor. ix, 20, 21. It is plain, therefore, the Apostle was "under the law" of Christ, though he was not "under the law" of ceremonies.

Ant.—But does not St. Paul say to the believers at Rome, "Ye are not under the law, but under grace?"

Friend.—He does; and his meaning is, "Ye are not under the Jewish, but the gracious Christian, dispensation:" As also in the next verse, where he says, "We are not under the law, but under grace."

Ant.—But what does he mean, when he says to the Galatians, "Before faith came, we were kept under the law?"

Friend.—Doubtless he means, we were kept under the Jewish dispensation, till we believed in Christ: iii, 19. And so we read in the next chapter, "When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made under the law," (the Jewish dispensation,) "to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons;" verses 4, 5; might serve God, without fear, in righteousness and holiness, with a free, loving, child-like spirit.

Ant.—You cannot persuade me to this; I know better. The law of works (the moral law, as you call it) is nothing to me. "From any demand of the law, no man is obliged to go one step, to give away one farthing, to eat, or omit one morsel. For what did our Lord do with the law? He abolished it."

Friend.—However, ought not we, after we believe in him, to obey all the commandments of Christ?

Ant.—*Obey! law! works! commandments!* O what "legalness is in your spirit!" So, I suppose, "your comforts vanish away when you

are not assured that you obey all Christ's commandments!" On the contrary, "a spiritual man beholdeth justifying grace in believing, without his obedience to commands for external worship and good works."

Friend.—But how does this agree with numberless texts of Scripture? in particular, with those words of our Lord, "Think not that I am come to destroy" (or abolish) "the law: I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the law. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven," Matt. v, 17, &c.

Ant.—I tell you plainly, I will not reason.

Friend.—That is as much as to say, "I will not be convinced: I love darkness rather than light."

Ant.—No; it is you that are in darkness. I was so till a few weeks since. But now my eyes are opened. I see my liberty now. Now I am free. I was in bondage long enough.

Friend.—What are you free from?

Ant.—From sin, and hell, and the devil, and the law.

Friend.—You put the law of God in goodly company. But how came you to be free from the law?

Ant.—Christ made me free from it.

Friend.—What! from his own law? Pray, where is that written?

Ant.—Here, Galatians iii, 13: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us."

Friend.—What is this to the purpose? This tells me, that "Christ hath redeemed us" (all that believe) "from the curse," or punishment, justly due to our past transgressions of God's law. But it speaks not a word of redeeming us from the law, any more than from love or heaven.

But what do you mean by bondage?

Ant.—Why, the being bound to keep the law.

Friend.—You have no tittle of Scripture for this. Bondage to fear and bondage to sin are mentioned there; and bondage to the ceremonial law of Moses: But, according to your sense of the word, all the angels in heaven are in bondage.

Ant.—Well, I am not bound. St. Paul himself says to believers, "Why are ye subject to ordinances?" Col. ii, 20.

Friend.—True; that is, Why are you Christian believers subject to Jewish ordinances? such as those which are mentioned in the very next verse, "Touch not, taste not, handle not."

Ant.—Nay, that is not all. I say, "Outward things do nothing avail to salvation." This is plain; for "if love to God, and love to our neighbour, and relieving the poor, be altogether unprofitable and unavailable either to justification or salvation; then these outward works, in submitting to outward ordinances, are much less available."

Friend.—Do you speak of the ordinances of Christ?

Ant.—I do. "They bring in the most dangerous kind of Popery, and pervert the pure Gospel of Christ, who persuade men, that if they do not submit to the ordinances of the Lord Jesus, he will not confess them before his Father." And I affirm, "it is better not to practise

outward ordinances at all, than to practise them on these Gospel-destroying principles, to the ruining of our souls."

Friend.—What scripture do you produce for this?

Ant.—I wish you would not build so much upon the letter: it is your letter learning too, makes you talk of inherent righteousness.

Friend.—Do you say then, a believer has no inherent righteousness?

Ant.—That I do. I say, "God will save us to the utmost, without any righteousness or holiness of our own." To look for inherent righteousness, "is to deny the Spirit, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant. Believers have not any inherent righteousness in them. Our righteousness is nothing but the imputation of the righteousness of Christ."

Friend.—Now, I believe that Christ by his Spirit works righteousness in all those to whom faith is imputed for righteousness.

Ant.—"By no means; all our righteousness is in Christ. It is wholly imputed, not inherent. We are always righteous in Christ, but never righteous in ourselves."

Friend.—Is not, then, every believer righteous or holy?

Ant.—Doubtless; but he is holy in Christ, not in himself.

Friend.—Does he not live a holy life; and is he not holy of heart?

Ant.—Most certainly.

Friend.—Is he not, by plain consequence, holy in himself?

Ant.—No, no, in Christ only; not holy in himself: he has no holiness at all in himself.

Friend.—Has he not in him the love of God, and of his neighbour; yea, the whole image of God?

Ant.—He has. But this is not Gospel holiness.

Friend.—What vain jangling is this! You cavil at the name, while you allow the whole thing I contend for. You allow, a believer is holy both in heart and life. This is all I mean by inherent righteousness or holiness.

Ant.—But I tell you, this is not Gospel holiness. Gospel holiness is faith.

Friend.—Stand to this, and you still give up the whole cause. For on your supposition, I argue thus:—Faith is holiness or righteousness But faith is in every believer: Therefore, holiness or righteousness is in every believer.

Ant.—Alas, alas! I pity you. Take my word for it, you are in utter darkness. You know nothing yet of true faith; nothing at all about it.

Friend.—Will you then be so kind as to explain it to me?

Ant.—I will. I will make it as clear as the sun. I will show you the very marrow of that doctrine which "I recommend, with all my heart, to all, as the most wholesome doctrine of Jesus Christ.

"Many think they know it, when they have but crude, carnal, indigested notions of it. And they imagine we rest contented with such a faith as theirs; namely, that Christ has died to ward off the wrath of God, to purchase his favour, and, as an effect of that, to obtain certain inherent qualities and dispositions, to make us meet for the kingdom of heaven. Was this our faith, it would be requisite to seek after this sort of sanctification, and not to be at rest, without we felt something of it. But, on the contrary, we believe that the blood shed upon the cross has

put away and blotted out all our sins, and that then there was an everlasting righteousness brought in: by believing which, our hearts and consciences are made as perfectly clean as though we had never sinned. In this consists true purity of soul, and not in habitual qualities. And whoso are thus made pure and perfect are delivered from the dominion of sin. They do also bear forth the fruits of righteousness, not in order to become more holy, but because they are perfectly holy, through faith. It is true, we have still the vile, sinful body, which continually disposes the mind to evil. But the blood of Jesus makes us free from sin, and, as it were, destroys the connection."

Friend.—Of all the accounts I have ever yet heard, this is the most "crude and indigested." But let us go over it step by step. You first described what you judge a false faith, viz. "A faith that Christ hath died, to ward off" (or appease) "the wrath of God, and to purchase his favour;" (suppose, for me, a lost sinner;) "and as an effect of that," (of God's favour bought with the blood of Christ,) "to obtain" for me "certain inherent qualities and dispositions, to make me meet for the kingdom of heaven." Now, how do you prove this to be a false faith?

Ant.—Easily enough; for men "are obliged to support it by frames, feelings, and works."

Friend.—And did not you allow, just now, that whoever has true faith is "holy both in heart and life!" that he has in him "the love of God and of his neighbour; yea, the whole image of God?"

Ant.—I did. And what then?

Friend.—Why then you have abundantly confuted yourself: for you have allowed, that true faith not only cannot be supported, but cannot exist, no, not for one moment, without "certain inherent qualities and dispositions," (viz. the love of God and of all mankind,) "which makes us meet for the kingdom of heaven." You have allowed, that true faith cannot subsist without a holy frame of heart, a continuance in good works, and a feeling sense of God's love to me, a sinner.

Ant.—I hear you. Go on.

Friend.—You said next, "Was this our faith, it would be requisite to seek after this sort of sanctification." From your own words it appears, that this is your faith, if you have any true faith at all. See then that you "seek after this sort of sanctification," viz. the love of God and of your neighbour. For if you can be at rest, though you feel nothing of it, it is plain your heart is not clean, but hardened.

Ant.—You may say what you please. You know no better.

Friend.—You went on: "On the contrary, we believe that the blood shed upon the cross has put away and blotted out all our sins." Why, who believes otherwise? If you mean only, that Christ then put away the punishment of all our sins, who believe in him; what a marvellous discovery is this! I pray, whom doth this arguing reprove?

Ant.—It reproves you, who deny that "an everlasting righteousness was then brought in."

Friend.—I do not deny it: no more than you understand it. But I ask, in what sense was it "brought in?" What was it brought into? Was it then first brought into the world? You cannot say this, without saying that all who went out of the world before that hour were lost. Or was it brought into the souls of believers? Then believers have an

inward or inherent righteousness. You had better, therefore, let this text alone. It will do no service at all to your cause.

Ant.—I see plain you are as blind as a beetle still. I am afraid your head-knowledge will destroy you. Did not I tell you, "Our hearts and consciences are made perfectly clean by our believing; and that in this consists true purity of soul, and not in habitual qualities? Thus we are made perfectly holy." And though "the vile, sinful body continually disposes the mind to evil," yet "the blood of Christ makes us free from sin, and, as it were, destroys the connection."

Friend.—Destroys the connection of what? I doubt you have stumbled upon another word which you do not understand. But whether you understand yourself or no, it is sure I do not understand you. How can my mind at the same time it is "continually disposed to evil," be "free from sin, perfectly clean, perfectly holy?"

Ant.—O the dulness of some men! I do not mean really holy, but holy by imputation. I told you plainly, the holiness of which we speak is not in us, but in Christ. "The fruits of the Spirit, (commonly called sanctification,) such as love, gentleness, longsuffering, goodness, meekness, temperance, neither make us holy before God, nor in our own consciences."

Friend.—I know these cannot atone for one sin. This is done by the blood of Christ alone: for the sake of which, God forgives and works these in us by faith. Do I reach your meaning now?

Ant.—No, no; I wonder at your ignorance. I mean, "we are not made good or holy by any inward qualities or dispositions: but being made pure and holy in our consciences, by believing in Christ, we bear forth, inwardly and outwardly, the fruits of holiness." Now, I hope, you understand me.

Friend.—I hope not. For if I do, you talk as gross nonsense and contradiction as ever came out of the mouth of man.

Ant.—How so?

Friend.—You say, "We are not made good or holy by any inward qualities or dispositions." No! are we not made good by inward goodness? (observe, we are not speaking of justification, but sanctification;) holy, by inward holiness? meek, by inward meekness? gentle, by inward gentleness? And are not all these, if they are any thing at all, "inward qualities or dispositions?"

Again: Just after denying that we have any inward holiness, you say, "We are made holy in our consciences, and bear forth, inwardly and outwardly, the fruits of holiness." What heaps of self-contradictions are here!

Ant.—You do not take me right. I mean, these inward dispositions "are not our holiness. For we are not more holy, if we have more love to God and man, nor less holy, if we have less."

Friend.—No! Does not a believer increase in holiness, as he increases in the love of God and man?

Ant.—I say, No. "The very moment he is justified, he is wholly sanctified. And he is neither more nor less holy, from that hour, to the day of his death. Entire justification and entire sanctification are in the same instant. And neither of them thenceforth capable either of increase or decrease."

Friend.—I thought we were to grow in grace!

Ant.—"We are so; but not in holiness. The moment we are justified, we are as pure in heart as ever we shall be. A new-born babe is as pure in heart as a father in Christ. There is no difference."

Friend.—You do well to except against Scripture and reason. For till a man has done with them, he can never swallow this. I understand your doctrine now, far better than I like it. In the main, you are talking much and saying nothing; labouring, as if you had found out the most important truths, and such as none ever knew before. And what does all this come to at the last? A mere, empty "strife of words." All that is really uncommon in your doctrine is a heap of broad absurdities, in most of which you grossly contradict yourselves, as well as Scripture and common sense. In the meantime, you boast and vapour, as if "ye were the men, and wisdom should die with you." I pray God to "humble you, and prove you, and show you what is in your hearts!"

A SECOND DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

AN ANTINOMIAN AND HIS FRIEND.

Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.
ROMANS iii, 31.

FRIEND.—Well met! You have had time to consider. What think you of our last conference?

ANTINOMIAN.—I think, "the giving of scandalous names has no warrant from Scripture." (*Mr. Cudworth's Dialogue*, p. 2.)

Friend.—*Scandalous names!*

Ant.—Yes; you called me Antinomian. But "our Saviour bids me not return railing for railing." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—St. Peter does, and that is all one. But how is that a *scandalous name?* I think it is properly your own; for it means, "one that speaks against the law." And this you did at that time very largely. But pray what would you have me call you?

Ant.—"A preacher of God's righteousness." (*Ib.* p. 1.)

Friend.—What do you call *me* then?

Ant.—"A preacher of inherent righteousness." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—That is, in opposition to God's righteousness. So you mean, a preacher of such righteousness as is inconsistent with that righteousness of God which is by faith.

Ant.—True: for "I plainly perceive you know but one sort of righteousness, that is, the righteousness of inherent qualities, dispositions, and works. And this is the reason why the language of the Holy Ghost seems foolishness unto you; even because the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." (*Ib.* pp. 11, 12.)

Friend.—Are you absolutely sure that this is the reason why I do not think or speak as you do?

Ant.—The thing itself speaks: "Thou hast forgotten the Lord, and

hast trusted in falsehood. Therefore, saith the Lord, I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, that thy shame may appear." (*Ib.* p. 1.)

Friend.—Peremptory enough! But you will "not return railing for railing!" so out of mere tenderness and respect, you pronounce me a "natural man," and one who "hath forgotten the Lord, and" hath "trusted in falsehood!"

Ant.—And so you are, if you do not believe in Christ. Pray let me ask you one question: Do you believe that "Christ hath appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself?"

Friend.—I do.

Ant.—But in what sense?

Friend.—I believe he made, by that one oblation of himself, once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. And yet he hath not "done all which was necessary for the" absolute, infallible, inevitable, "salvation of the whole world." If he had, the whole world would be saved; whereas, "he that believeth not shall be damned."

Ant.—But is it not said, "'He was wounded for our transgressions, and with his stripes we are healed?' And is he not 'the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world?'" (p. 4.)

Friend.—Yes. But this does not prove that he "put an end to our sins before they had a beginning!" (*Ib.*)

Ant.—O ignorance! Did not our sins begin in Adam?

Friend.—Original sin did. But Christ will not put an end to this before the end of the world. And, as to actual, if I now feel anger at you in my heart, and it breaks out in reproachful words; to say Christ put an end to this sin before it began, is a glaring absurdity.

Ant.—But I say, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. He hath made him sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." And St. Peter says, "Who his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree."

Friend.—To what purpose do you heap these texts together? to prove that Christ "put an end to our sins" before they had a beginning? If not, spare your labour; for they are quite foreign to the present question.

Ant.—However, that is not foreign to the present question, which you said the other day, viz. that "Christ has *only* redeemed us from the punishment due to our past transgressions." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—I neither said so nor thought so. You either carelessly or wilfully misrepresent my words. On your quoting that text, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law," I replied in these terms: "What is this to the purpose? This tells me that Christ hath redeemed us (all that believe) from the curse or punishment justly due to our past transgressions of God's law. But it speaks not a word of redeeming us from the law, any more than from love or heaven." (*First Dialogue*, p. 71.)

Ant.—*Past transgressions!* "Then who must redeem us from those which are to come, since there remains no more sacrifice for sin?" (*Cudworth's Dialogue.*)

Friend.—The same Jesus Christ, by the same merit of that one sacri-

fice, then applied to the conscience when we believe, as you yourself have often asserted. But whatever punishment he redeems us from, that punishment supposes sin to precede; which must exist first, before there is any possibility of its being either punished or pardoned.

Ant.—You have a strange way of talking. You say, "We are forgiven for the sake of the blood of Christ." (*Ib.* p. 5.)

Friend.—And do not you?

Ant.—No; I say, "We have forgiveness in his blood, and not merely for the sake of it."

Friend.—You are perfectly welcome so to say.

Ant.—Well, enough of this. Let me ask you another question. Do you affirm that salvation is "conditional?" (*Ib.*)

Friend.—I affirm, "He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned." And can you or any other deny this? If not, why do you fight about a word? especially after I have told you, "Find me a better, and I will lay this aside."

Ant.—"Then this faith leaves you just in the same state it found you; that is, still having the condition to perform." (*Ib.* p. 5.)

Friend.—Not so; for faith itself is that condition.

Ant.—Nay, "faith is only necessary in order to receive forgiveness or salvation; not to procure it by way of condition." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—Enough, enough. You grant all that I desire. If you allow that "faith is necessary in order to receive forgiveness or salvation," this is the whole of what I mean by terming it a condition. A procuring or meritorious cause is quite another thing.

Ant.—But you say that "faith is not true faith, unless it be furnished with love." (*Ib.* p. 6.)

Friend.—*Furnished with love!* Where did you pick up that awkward phrase? I never used it in my life. But I say, you have not true faith, unless your faith "worketh by love;" and that though "I have all faith, so that I could even remove mountains, yet if I have no love I am nothing."

Ant.—Will you answer me one question more? Is not a believer free from the law?

Friend.—He is free from the Jewish ceremonial law; that is, he does not, and need not, observe it. And he is free from the curse of the moral law; but he is not free from observing it. He still walks according to this rule, and so much the more, because God has written it in his heart.

Ant.—But St. Paul says, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." (*Ib.* p. 8.)

Friend.—He is so. He put an end to the Mosaic dispensation, and established a better covenant, in virtue whereof "faith is counted for righteousness to every one that believeth."

Ant.—But still "as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse," (Gal. iii, 10,) are they not?

Friend.—They are; as many as still "seek to be justified by the works of the law;" that is, by any works antecedent to, or independent on, faith in Christ.

Ant.—"But does not the Apostle say farther, 'Ye are become dead to the law?' Rom. vii, 4." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—You are so, as to its condemning power, if you truly believe in Christ. For "there is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." But not as to its directing power; for you "walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." You "love him and keep his commandments."

Ant.—That is not all. I maintain, "a believer is entirely free from the law." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—By what scripture do you prove that?

Ant.—By Gal. iv, 4, 5: "God sent forth his Son, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law."

Friend.—The plain meaning of this I mentioned before: "'God sent forth his Son, made under the law,' (the Jewish dispensation,) 'to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons;' might 'serve God without fear, in righteousness and holiness,' with a free, loving, child-like spirit." (*First Dialogue*, p. 70.)

Ant.—So you say, "Christ was made *only* under the Jewish dispensation, to redeem the Jews from that dispensation." (*Cudworth's Dialogue*, pp. 8, 9.)

Friend.—I do not say so. By inserting "only" you quite pervert my words. You cannot deny, that Christ "was made under the Jewish dispensation." But I never affirmed, He was "made under it *only* to redeem the Jews from that dispensation."

Ant.—Was he made "under the moral law" at all?

Friend.—No doubt he was. For the Jewish dispensation included the moral, as well as ceremonial, law.

Ant.—Then the case is plain. "If he was under the moral law, we are redeemed from the moral law." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—That does not follow. "He redeemed them that were under" this, as well as the ceremonial, "law." But from what did he redeem them? Not "from the law;" but "from guilt, and sin, and hell." In other words, He redeemed them from the "condemnation of this law," not from "obedience to it." In this respect they are still, "not without law to God, but under the law to Christ," 1 Cor. ix, 21.

Ant.—"'Under the law to Christ!' No. The Greek word is εννομος Χριστῳ, *in a law to Christ;* that is, the law of love and liberty." (*Ib.*)

Friend.—Very true. This is the exact thing I mean. You have spoken the very thought of my heart.

Ant.—It may be so. But "a believer is free from the law of commandments," call it moral, or what you please.

Friend.—Do you mean only, that he obeys the law of Christ, by free choice, and not by constraint? that he keeps the commandments of God, out of love, not fear? If so, you may triumph without an opponent. But if you mean, he is free from obeying that law, then your liberty is a liberty to disobey God.

Ant.—God forbid. It is "a liberty to walk in the Spirit, and not fulfil the lust (or desire) of the flesh." (*Ib.* p. 8.)

Friend.—Why this is the thing I am contending for. The very thing I daily assert is this, that Christian liberty is a liberty to obey God, and not to commit sin.

Ant.—But how do you understand those words of St. Paul, that Christ 'blotted out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way?" Col. ii, 14

Friend.—I understand them of the Jewish ordinances; as it is plain St. Paul himself did, by the inference he immediately draws: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink," (the ordinances touching these being now "taken out of the way,") "or in respect of a holy-day," (once observed,) "or of the new moon, or of the" (Jewish) "Sabbaths," verse 16.

Ant.—But how could the "hand writing" of these "ordinances" be said to be "against us," or to be "contrary to us?"

Friend.—I will not insist on the criticism of those who render the words "over against us," as alluding to that "hand writing on the wall," which appeared "over against King Belshazzar." The words of St. Peter suffice, which will bear no dispute, who, speaking of these same ordinances, calls them "a yoke which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear," Acts xv, 5, 10.

Ant.—You must then understand those words of our Lord, of the moral law alone: "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled," Matt. v, 17, 18. But I say, our Lord has fulfilled every jot and tittle of this Law too.

Friend.—I grant he has. But do you infer from thence, "therefore he has destroyed the Law?" Our Lord's arguing is the very reverse of yours. He mentions his coming to "fulfil the Law," as an evident proof that he did not come, to "destroy" or "take it away."

But suppose you could get over the former verse, what can you do with the following?—"Verily I say unto you, One jot or one tittle shall in nowise pass from the Law, till heaven and earth pass;" or, which comes to the same thing, "till all be fulfilled." The former evasion will do you no service with regard to this clause. For the word "all" in this does not refer to the Law, but to heaven and earth and "all things" therein: the original sentence running thus: Εως αν παντα γενηται. Nor indeed is the word γενηται well rendered, by the ambiguous word "fulfilled," which would easily induce an English reader to suppose it was the same word that was rendered so just before; it should rather be translated *accomplished*, *finished*, or *done;* as they will be in the great and terrible day of the Lord, when the "earth and the heaven shall flee from his face, and there shall be no place found for them."

Ant.—But why did you say, my account of sanctification was crude and indigested? (*First Dialogue*, p. 73.)

Friend.—Let me hear it again. If it be better digested than it was, I shall rejoice.

Ant.—"Our minds are either defiled and impure, or pure and holy The question is, Which way is a defiled and impure mind to be made a good one? You say, 'By love, meekness, gentleness.' I say, By believing in Christ. By this, my conscience becomes purged and clean, as though I had not committed sin. And such a purged conscience bears forth the fruit of love, meekness, gentleness, &c. It is therefore absurd to say, We are made good by goodness, meek by meekness, or gentle by gentleness. We are only denominated so from these fruits of the Spirit." (*Cudworth's Dialogue*, p. 10.)

Friend.—You have mended the matter a little, and not much.

For 1. "The question," say you, "is, Which way is a defiled and impure mind to be made a good one?" Nothing less. The present question between you and me is this, and no other, Has a believer any goodness in him at all? any love, meekness, or gentleness? 2. "You say, An impure mind is made good by goodness, &c. I say, By believing in Christ." This is mere playing upon words. If the question stood thus, "Which way is an evil mind made good?" you are conscious I should make the very same reply,—"By believing in Jesus Christ." 3. "By this my conscience becomes purged and clean, as though I had not committed sin." Here you run away from the question, notwithstanding that express caution, "Observe we are not speaking of justification, but sanctification." (*First Dialogue*, p. 74.) 4. "And such a purged conscience bears forth the fruit of love, meekness, gentleness," &c. You here give up the cause. You grant all I desire, viz. that "there are these dispositions in all believers." It avails nothing therefore to add, "But we are not made good by goodness, or gentle by gentleness. We are only denominated good or gentle from these fruits of the Spirit;" since a believer can neither be made nor denominated so, without having goodness or gentleness in him.

Ant.—Then how dare you affirm that a believer in Christ "is not really holy!"

Friend.—You have forgotten yourself. I affirm that he is. If you affirm so too, our dispute is at an end. For if he is really holy, then he is inwardly or inherently holy. And if you grant this you may express it as you please. I have no leisure for strife of words.

Ant.—But why will not you cut off all occasion of such strife, by speaking as I do?

Friend.—I cannot in conscience speak in the way that you do; and that for several plain reasons: (even setting aside that main consideration, whether the things you speak be right or wrong:)

1. Because it is a confused way of speaking; so that unless a man has both a clear apprehension, and a large measure of patience, he will hardly find out any consistent meaning in what you say.

2. Because it is an insincere way of speaking. For you seem to mean what you do not.

3. Because it is an unscriptural way of speaking: The Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament speaking, frequently and expressly, both of holiness, of good works, of the law and the commandments of God, as expressly and frequently to the full, as of believing in Jesus Christ.

4. Because by experience I find, it is a dangerous way of speaking, and that, both to the speaker and to the hearers: to the speaker, as it has a peculiar tendency to puff him up, to engender pride; to make him exalt himself, (under pretence of exalting the grace of God,) and despise others: to the hearers, as it keeps many who are before our eyes from ever awaking out of the sleep of death; as it throws others again into that fatal slumber, who were just beginning to awake; as it stops many in the midst of their Christian course, and turns others clear out of the way; yea, and plunges not a few into all the wretchedness of unclean living. In consideration of this, I the more earnestly desire, when I speak on this head in particular, to "speak as the oracles of God;" to express

Scriptural sense in Scriptural words; in every phrase I use, to keep as close as I can to "the law and the testimony;" being convinced there are no words so fit to express the deep things of God, as those which "holy men of old spake" when "they were moved by the Spirit of God"

LONDON, August 24, 1745.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

UPON

THE PERSEVERANCE OF THE SAINTS.

1. MANY large volumes have been already published on this important subject. But the very length of them makes them hard to be understood, or even purchased, by common readers. A short, plain treatise on this head is what serious men have long desired, and what is here offered to those whom God has endowed with love and meekness of wisdom.

2. By *the saints*, I understand, those who are holy or righteous in the judgment of God himself; those who are endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience; those who are grafted into the good olive tree, the spiritual, invisible Church; those who are branches of the true vine, of whom Christ says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches;" those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollutions of the world; those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and the fruits of the Spirit; those who live by faith in the Son of God; those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant; those to whom all or any of these characters belong, I mean by the term *saints*.

3. Can any of these fall away? By *falling away*, we mean, not barely falling into sin. This, it is granted, they may. But can they fall totally? Can any of these so fall from God as to perish everlastingly?

4. I am sensible either side of this question is attended with great difficulties; such as reason alone could never remove. Therefore, "to the law and to the testimony." Let the living oracles decide: and if these speak for us, we neither seek nor want farther witness.

5. On this authority, I believe a saint may fall away; that one who is holy or righteous in the judgment of God himself may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

I. For thus saith the Lord: "When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity; in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die," Ezek. xviii, 24.

That this is to be understood of eternal death appears from the twenty-sixth verse: "When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them;" (here is temporal death;) "for his iniquity that he hath done he shall die." (Here is death eternal.)

It appears farther from the whole scope of the chapter, which is to prove, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," verse 4.

If you say, "The soul here means the body," I answer, That will die whether you sin or no.

6. Again, thus saith the Lord: "When I shall say to the righteous, that he shall surely live; if he trust to his own righteousness," (yea, or to that promise as absolute and unconditional,) "and commit iniquity, all his righteousness shall not be remembered; but for the iniquity that he hath committed shall he die," xxxiii, 13.

Again: "When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and com mitteth iniquity, he shall even die thereby," verse 18.

Therefore, one who is holy and righteous in the judgment of God himself may yet so fall as to perish everlastingly.

7. "But how is this consistent with what God declared elsewhere: 'If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments,—I will visit their offences with the rod, and their sin with scourges. Nevertheless, my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my truth to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips. I have sworn once by my holiness, that I will not fail David,'" Ps. lxxxix, 30–35.

I answer, There is no manner of inconsistency between one declaration and the other. The Prophet declares the just judgment of God against every righteous man who falls from his righteousness. The Psalmist declares the old loving kindnesses which God sware unto David in his truth. "I have found," saith he, "David, my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him. My hand shall hold him fast, and my arm shall strengthen him. His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven," verses 20, 21, 29. It follows: "But if his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments;—nevertheless my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my truth to fail. My covenant will I not break. I will not fail David. His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me," verse 30, &c.

May not every man see, that the covenant here spoken of relates wholly to David and his seed or children? Where then is the inconsistency between the most absolute promise made to a particular family, and that solemn account which God has here given of his way of dealing with all mankind?

Besides, the very covenant mentioned in these words is not absolute, but conditional. The condition of repentance in case of forsaking God's law was implied, though not expressed; and so strongly implied, that, this condition failing, not being performed, God did also fail David. He did "alter the thing that had gone out of his lips," and yet without any impeachment of his truth. He "abhorred and forsook his anointed," verse 38, the seed of David, whose throne, if they had repented, should have been "as the days of heaven." He did "break the covenant of his servant, and cast his crown to the ground," verse 39. So vainly are these words of the Psalmist brought to contradict the plain, full testimony of the Prophet!

8. Nor is there any contradiction between this testimony of God by Ezekiel, and those words which he spake by Jeremiah: "I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving kindness have I

drawn thee." For do these words assert, that no righteous man ever turns from his righteousness? No such thing. They do not touch the question, but simply declare God's love to the Jewish Church. To see this in the clearest light, you need only read over the whole sentence: "At the same time, saith the Lord, I will be the God of all the families of Israel, and they shall be my people. Thus saith the Lord, The people which were left of the sword found grace in the wilderness; even Israel, when I caused him to rest. The Lord hath appeared of old unto me," saith the Prophet, speaking in the person of Israel, "saying, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: Therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee. Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel," xxxi, 1–4.

Suffer me here to observe, once for all, a fallacy which is constantly used by almost all writers on this point. They perpetually beg the question, by applying to particular persons assertions, or prophecies, which relate only to the Church in general; and some of them only to the Jewish Church and nation, as distinguished from all other people.

If you say, "But it was particularly revealed to me, that God had loved me with an everlasting love;" I answer, Suppose it was, (which might bear a dispute,) it proves no more, at the most, than that you in particular shall persevere; but does not affect the general question, whether others shall, or shall not.

9. Secondly. One who is endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the inspired Apostle, "War a good warfare; holding faith, and a good conscience; which some having put away concerning faith have made shipwreck," 1 Tim. i, 18, 19.

Observe, (1.) These men (such as Hymeneus and Alexander) had once the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience; which they once had, or they could not have "put it away."

Observe, (2.) They "made shipwreck" of the faith, which necessarily implies the total and final loss of it. For a vessel once wrecked can never be recovered. It is totally and finally lost.

And the Apostle himself, in his Second Epistle to Timothy, mentions one of these two as irrecoverably lost. "Alexander," says he, "did me much evil: The Lord shall reward him according to his works," 2 Tim. iv, 14. Therefore one who is endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

10. "But how can this be reconciled with the words of our Lord, 'He that believeth shall be saved?'"

Do you think these words mean, "he that believes" at this moment "shall" certainly and inevitably "be saved?"

If this interpretation be good, then, by all the rules of speech, the other part of the sentence must mean, "He" that does "not believe" at this moment, "shall" certainly and inevitably "be damned."

Therefore that interpretation cannot be good. The plain meaning then of the whole sentence is, "He that believeth," if he continue in faith, "shall be saved; he that believeth not," if he continue in unbelief, "shall be damned."

11. "But does not Christ say elsewhere, 'He that believeth hath everlasting life?' John iii, 36, and, 'He that believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life?'" (Verse 24.)

I answer, (1.) The love of God is everlasting life. It is, in substance, the life of heaven. Now, every one that believes, loves God, and therefore "hath everlasting life."

(2.) Every one that believes "is" therefore "passed from death," spiritual death, "unto life;" and,

(3.) "Shall not come into condemnation," if he endureth in the faith unto the end; according to our Lord's own words, "He that endureth to the end shall be saved;" and, "Verily I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death," John viii, 51.

12. Thirdly. Those who are grafted into the good olive tree, the spiritual, invisible Church, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the Apostle: "Some of the branches are broken off, and thou art grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree. Be not high minded, but fear: if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he spare not thee. Behold the goodness and severity of God! On them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou shalt be cut off," Rom. xi, 17, 20–22.

We may observe here, (1.) The persons spoken to were actually grafted into the olive tree.

(2.) This olive tree is not barely the outward visible Church, but the invisible, consisting of holy believers. So the text: "If the first fruit be holy, the lump is holy; and if the root be holy, so are the branches." (Verse 16.) And, "Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith."

(3.) These holy believers were still liable to be cut off from the invisible Church into which they were then grafted.

(4.) Here is not the least intimation of those who were so cut off being ever grafted in again.

Therefore, those who are grafted into the good olive tree, the spiritual invisible Church, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

13. "But how does this agree with the 29th verse, 'The gifts and calling of God are without repentance?'"

The preceding verse shows: "As touching the election" (the unconditional election of the Jewish nation) "they are beloved for the fathers' sake;" for the sake of their forefathers. It follows: (in proof of this, that "they are beloved for the fathers' sake," that God has still blessings in store for the Jewish nation:) "For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance;" for God doth not repent of any blessings he hath given them, or any privileges he hath called them to. The words here referred to were originally spoken with a peculiar regard to these national blessings. "God is not a man, that he should lie; neither the son of man, that he should repent," Numb. xxiii, 19.

14. "But do not you hereby make God changeable? Whereas 'with him is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,' James i, 17." By no

means. God is unchangeably holy: therefore, he always "loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity." He is unchangeably good: therefore, he pardoneth all that "repent and believe the Gospel." And he is unchangeably just: therefore, he "rewardeth every man according to his works." But all this hinders not his resisting, when they are proud, those to whom he gave grace when they were humble. Nay, his unchangeableness itself requires, that, if they grow high minded, God should cut them off; that there should be a proportionable change in all the divine dispensations toward them.

15. "But how then is God faithful?" I answer, In fulfilling every promise which he hath made, to all to whom it is made, all who fulfil the condition of that promise. More particularly, (1.) "God is faithful" in that "he will not suffer you to be tempted above that you are able to bear," 1 Cor. x, 13. (2.) "The Lord is faithful, to establish and keep you from evil;" (if you put your trust in him;) from all the evil which you might otherwise suffer, through "unreasonable and wicked men," 2 Thess. iii, 2, 3. (3.) "Quench not the Spirit; hold fast that which is good; abstain from all appearance of evil; and your whole spirit, soul, and body, shall be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it," 1 Thess. v, 19, &c. (4.) Be not disobedient unto the heavenly calling; and "God is faithful, by whom ye were called, to confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. i, 8, 9. Yet, notwithstanding all this, unless you fulfil the condition, you cannot attain the promise.

"Nay, but are not 'all the promises, yea and amen?'" They are firm as the pillars of heaven. Perform the condition, and the promise is sure. Believe, and thou shalt be saved.

"But many promises are absolute and unconditional." In many, the condition is not expressed. But this does not prove there is none implied. No promises can be expressed in a more absolute form, than those above cited from the eighty-ninth Psalm. And yet we have seen, a condition was implied even there, though none was expressed.

16. "But there is no condition, either expressed or implied, in those words of St. Paul: 'I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord,'" Rom. viii, 38, 39.

Suppose there is not, (which will bear a dispute,) yet what will this prove? Just thus much,—that the Apostle was at that time fully persuaded of his own perseverance. And I doubt not, but many believers at this day have the very same persuasion, termed in Scripture, "The full assurance of hope." But this does not prove that every believer shall persevere, any more than that every believer is thus fully persuaded of his perseverance.

IV. 17. Fourthly. Those who are branches of the true vine, of whom Christ says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus saith our blessed Lord himself, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh it away. I am the vine, ye are the branches. If a man abide

not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned," John xv, 1–6.

Here we may observe, (1.) The persons spoken of were in Christ, branches of the true vine: (2.) Some of these branches abide not in Christ, but the Father taketh them away: (3.) The branches which abide not are cast forth, cast out from Christ and his Church: (4.) They are not only cast forth, but withered; consequently, never grafted in again: nay, (5.) They are not only cast forth and withered, but also cast into the fire: and, (6.) They are burned. It is not possible for words more strongly to declare, that even those who are now branches in the true vine may yet so fall as to perish everlastingly.

18. By this clear, indisputable declaration of our Lord, we may interpret those which might be otherwise liable to dispute; wherein it is certain, whatever he meant beside, he did not mean to contradict himself. For example: "This is the Father's will, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing." Most sure; all that God hath given him; or, as it is expressed in the next verse, "every one which believeth on him," namely, to the end, he "will raise up at the last day," to reign with him for ever.

Again: "I am the living bread:—if any man eat of this bread," (by faith,) "he shall live for ever," John vi, 51. True; if he continue to eat thereof. And who can doubt of it?

Again: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand," John x, 27–29.

In the preceding text the condition is only implied; in this it is plainly expressed. They are my sheep that hear my voice, that follow me in all holiness. And "if ye do those things, ye shall never fall." None shall "pluck you out of my hands."

Again: "Having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end," John xiii, 1. "Having loved his own," namely, the Apostles, (as the very next words, "which were in the world," evidently show,) "he loved them unto the end" of his life, and manifested that love to the last.

19. Once more: "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are one," John xvii, 11.

Great stress has been laid upon this text; and it has been hence inferred, that all those whom the Father had given him (a phrase frequently occurring in this chapter) must infallibly persevere to the end.

And yet, in the very next verse, our Lord himself declares that one of those whom the Father had given him did not persevere unto the end, but perished everlastingly.

His own words are, "Those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition," John xvii, 12.

So one even of these was finally lost!—a demonstration that the phrase, "those whom thou hast given me," signifies here (if not in most other places too) the twelve Apostles, and them only.

20. On this occasion, I cannot but observe another common instance of begging the question,—of taking for granted what ought to be proved. It is usually laid down as an indisputable truth, that whatever our Lord

speaks to or of his Apostles is to be applied to all believers. But this cannot be allowed by any who impartially search the Scriptures. They cannot allow, without clear and particular proof, that any one of those texts which related primarily to the Apostles (as all men grant) belong to any but them.

V. 21. Fifthly. Those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollutions of the world, may yet fall back into those pollutions, and perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the Apostle Peter, "If after they have escaped the pollutions of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," (the only possible way of escaping them,) "they are again entangled therein and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them," 2 Pet. ii, 20, 21.

That the knowledge of the way of righteousness, which they had attained, was an inward, experimental knowledge, is evident from that other expression,—they had "escaped the pollutions of the world;" an expression parallel to that in the preceding chapter, verse 4: "Having escaped the corruption which is in the world." And in both chapters, this effect is ascribed to the same cause; termed in the first, "the knowledge of Him who hath called us to glory and virtue;" in the second, more explicitly, "the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

And yet they lost that experimental knowledge of Christ and the way of righteousness; they fell back into the same pollutions they had escaped, and were "again entangled therein and overcome." They "turned from the holy commandment delivered to them," so that their "latter end was worse than their beginning."

Therefore those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollutions of the world, may yet fall back into those pollutions, and perish everlastingly.

22. And this is perfectly consistent with St. Peter's words, in the first chapter of his former Epistle: "Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." Undoubtedly, so are all they who ever attain eternal salvation. It is the power of God only, and not our own, by which we are kept one day or one hour.

VI. 23. Sixthly. Those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and the fruits of the Spirit, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the inspired writer to the Hebrews: "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost,—if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame," Heb. vi, 4, 6.

Must not every unprejudiced person see, the expressions here used are so strong and clear, that they cannot, without gross and palpable wresting, be understood of any but true believers?

They "were once enlightened;" an expression familiar with the Apostle, and never by him applied to any but believers. So: "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ give unto you the spirit of wisdom and

revelation: the eyes of your understanding being enlightened, that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power, to us-ward that believe," Eph. i, 17–19. So again: "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined into our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv, 6. This is a light which no unbelievers have. They are utter strangers to such enlightening. "The God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should shine unto them," verse 4.

"They had tasted of the heavenly gift," (emphatically so called,) "and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost." So St. Peter likewise couples them together: "Be baptized for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost," Acts ii, 38; whereby the love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, with all the other fruits of the Spirit. Yea, it is remarkable, that our Lord himself in his grand commission to St. Paul (to which the Apostle probably alludes in these words) comprises all these three particulars. "I send thee to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God," (here contracted into that one expression, "they were enlightened,") "that they may receive forgiveness of sins," ("the heavenly gift,") "and an inheritance among them which are sanctified," Acts xxvi, 18; which are made "partakers of the Holy Ghost," of all the sanctifying influences of the Spirit.

The expression, "They tasted of the heavenly gift," is taken from the Psalmist, "Taste and see that the Lord is good," Psalm xxxiv, 8. As if he had said, Be ye as assured of his love, as of any thing you see with your eyes. And let the assurance thereof be sweet to your soul, as honey is to your tongue.

And yet those who had been thus "enlightened," had "tasted" this "gift," and been thus "partakers of the Holy Ghost," so "fell away" that it was "impossible to renew them again to repentance."

"But the Apostle makes only a supposition, 'If they shall fall away.'"

I answer: The Apostle makes no supposition at all. There is no *if* in the original. The words are, Αδυναλον τȣς απαξ φωλισθενλας, και παραπεσονλας; that is, in plain English, "It is impossible to renew again unto repentance those who were once enlightened and have fallen away;" therefore they must perish everlastingly.

24. "But if so, then farewell all my comfort."

Then your comfort depends on a poor foundation. My comfort stands not on any opinion, either that a believer can or cannot fall away, not on the remembrance of any thing wrought in me yesterday; but on what is to-day; on my present knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling me to himself; on my now beholding the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; walking in the light as he is in the light, and having fellowship with the Father and with the Son. My comfort is, that through grace I now believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that his Spirit doth bear witness with my spirit that I am a child of God. I take comfort in this and this only, that I see Jesus at the right hand of God; that I personally for myself, and not for another, have a hope full of

immortality; that I feel the love of God shed abroad in my heart, being crucified to the world, and the world crucified to me. My rejoicing is this, the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, I have my conversation in the world.

Go and find, if you can, a more solid joy, a more blissful comfort, on this side heaven. But this comfort is not shaken, be that opinion true or false; whether the saints in general can or cannot fall.

If you take up with any comfort short of this, you lean on the staff of a broken reed, which not only will not bear your weight, but will enter into your hand and pierce you.

25. Seventhly. Those who live by faith, may yet fall from God, and perish everlastingly.

For thus saith the same inspired writer, "The just shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him," Heb. x, 38. "The just," the justified person, "shall live by faith," even now shall he live the life which is hid with Christ in God; and if he endure unto the end, he shall live with God for ever. "But if any man draw back," saith the Lord, "my soul shall have no pleasure in him;" that is, I will utterly cast him off; and accordingly the drawing back here spoken of is termed, in the verse immediately following, "drawing back to perdition."

"But the person supposed to draw back, is not the same with him that is said to live by faith."

I answer, (1.) Who is it then? Can any man draw back from faith who never came to it? But,

(2.) Had the text been fairly translated, there had been no pretence for this objection. For the original runs thus: Ο δικαιος εκ πιςεως ζησεται· και εαν υποςειληται. If ο δικαιος, "the just man that lives by faith" (so the expression necessarily implies, there being no other nominative of the verb) "draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

"But the Apostle adds: 'We are not of them who draw back unto perdition.'" And what will you infer from thence? This is so far from contradicting what has been observed before, that it manifestly confirms it. It is a farther proof that there are those "who draw back unto perdition," although the Apostle was not of that number. Therefore those who live by faith may yet fall from God and perish everlastingly.

26. "But does not God say to every one that lives by faith, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee?'"

The whole sentence runs thus: "Let your conversation be without covetousness, and be content with such things as ye have; for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." True; provided "your conversation be without covetousness," and ye "be content with such things as ye have." Then you may "boldly say, The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me."

Do you not see, (1.) That this promise, as here recited, relates wholly to temporal things? (2.) That, even thus taken, it is not absolute but conditional? And, (3.) That the condition is expressly mentioned in the very same sentence?

27. Eighthly. Those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant may so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

For thus again saith the Apostle: "If we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing!" Hebrews x, 26–29.

It is undeniably plain, (1.) That the person mentioned here, was once sanctified by the blood of the covenant. (2.) That he afterward, by known, wilful sin, trod under foot the Son of God. And, (3.) That he hereby incurred a sorer punishment than death, namely, death everlasting.

Therefore, those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant may yet so fall as to perish everlastingly.

28. "What! Can the blood of Christ burn in hell? Or can the purchase of the blood of Christ go thither?"

I answer, (1.) The blood of Christ cannot burn in hell, no more than it can be spilled on the earth. The heavens must contain both his flesh and blood until the restitution of all things. But,

(2.) If the oracles of God are true, one who was purchased by the blood of Christ may go thither. For he that was sanctified by the blood of Christ was purchased by the blood of Christ. But one who was sanctified by the blood of Christ may nevertheless go to hell; may fall under that fiery indignation which shall for ever devour the adversaries.

29. "Can a child of God then go to hell? Or can a man be a child of God to-day, and a child of the devil to-morrow? If God is our Father once, is he not our Father always?"

I answer, (1.) A child of God, that is, a true believer, (for he that believeth is born of God,) while he continues a true believer, cannot go to hell. But, (2.) If a believer make shipwreck of the faith, he is no longer a child of God. And then he may go to hell, yea, and certainly will, if he continues in unbelief. (3.) If a believer may make shipwreck of the faith, then a man that believes now may be an unbeliever some time hence; yea, very possibly, to-morrow; but, if so, he who is a child of God to-day, may be a child of the devil to-morrow. For, (4.) God is the Father of them that believe, so long as they believe. But the devil is the father of them that believe not, whether they did once believe or no.

30. The sum of all is this: If the Scriptures are true, those who are holy or righteous in the judgment of God himself; those who are endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience; those who are grafted into the good olive tree, the spiritual, invisible church; those who are branches of the true vine, of whom Christ says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches;" those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollutions of the world; those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and of the fruits of the Spirit; those who live by faith in the Son of God; those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant, may nevertheless so fall from God as to perish everlastingly.

Therefore, let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.

A SUFFICIENT ANSWER

TO

LETTERS TO THE AUTHOR OF 'THERON AND ASPASIO.'"

IN A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

BRISTOL, November 1, 1757.

SIR,—It is not very material who you are. If Mr. Glass is still alive I suppose you are he. If not, you are at least one of his humble admirers, and probably not very old: so your youth may in some measure plead your excuse for such a peculiar pertness, insolence, and self sufficiency, with such an utter contempt of all mankind, as no other writer of the present age has shown.

As you use no ceremony toward any man, so neither shall I use any toward you, but bluntly propose a few objections to your late performance, which stare a man in the face as soon as he looks in it.

I object, First, that you are a gross, wilful slanderer. For, 1. You say of Mr. Hervey, "He shuts up our access to the Divine righteousness, by holding forth a preliminary human one as necessary to our enjoying the benefit of it." (p. 4.)

Again: "You set men to work to do something, in order to make their peace with God." (p. 9.) This is an absolute slander, founded on that poor pretence, that he supposes those who repent and believe, and none but those, to "enjoy the benefit of Christ's righteousness." And has he not the warrant of Christ himself for so doing,—"Repent ye, and believe the Gospel?" If this is "teaching man to acquire a righteousness of his own," the charge falls on our Lord himself.

You say, 2. "As to that strange something which you call faith, after all you have told us about it, we are at as great a loss to tell distinctly what it is, as when you began." (*Ib.*)

This is another slander. You are at no loss (as will presently appear) to tell what Mr. Hervey means by faith. Whether it be right or wrong, his account of it is as clear and distinct as any that ever was given.

You say, 3. "The popular preachers" (so you term Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Lucas, Crisp, Doddridge, Watts, Gill; Mr. Guthrie, Boston, Erskine, Willison; Mr. Flavel, Marshal; Mr. Griffith, Jones, Hervey, Romaine, Whitefield, Wesley) "never tell us what they mean by faith, but by some laboured circumlocutions." (p. 282.)

This is a third palpable slander, as your own words prove: "They say, Faith is a real persuasion that Christ hath died for me." (p. 5.) Are you not here told what they mean by faith; and that without any circumlocution at all?

You confute your own slander still farther, by adding three more: 4. "They make a pious resolve the ground of our acceptance with God." (p. 360.) No, never. Not one of the writers you have named ever did, or does so now. 5. "The faith they talk of, is only a timid resolve, joined with a fond conjecture." Or, 6. "It is a fond presumptuous wish, greatly embarrassed with doubts and difficulties." (p. 404.)

Slander all over. We make the righteousness and blood of Christ the only ground of our acceptance with God. And the faith we talk of

is neither more nor less than a divine conviction, that Christ loved me and gave himself for me.

You say, 7. "All who preach this doctrine are of the world, and speak of the world; therefore the world heareth them." (p. 14.) "Therefore they will always be attended by the body of the people." (p. 37.)

A sad mistake this, in point of fact. For whether they are of the world or no, it is certain the world, the generality of men, (good or bad,) doth not and never did hear them. At this day those who hear them are an exceeding small number, in comparison of those who do not. And if the body of the people in any place do attend some of them, how do they attend? Just as they would a mad dog; with sticks and stones, and whatever comes to hand.

And this you yourself account for extremely well. *Sed oportet Palæmonem esse memorem.* [But Palæmon ought to remember.] "What a figure would a small number of ministers make in the Church either of England or Scotland, who should agree to maintain the plain, obvious sense of their own public standards of doctrine; and insist upon an adherence to that sense, as a term of holding communion with them in the sacred institutions! Their situation in the national Church would be very uncomfortable, as well as extremely ridiculous. For many enemies would soon be awakened against them, to distress and misrepresent them in various respects." (p. 465.)

This much as a specimen of your veracity. I object, Secondly, that you know not what faith is. You talk about it, and about it, and labour and sweat, and at last come to a most lame and impotent conclusion.

You say, "That Christ died for me, is a point not easily settled, a point which the Scripture no where ascertains:" (the very thought, and nearly the words, of Cardinal Bellarmine, in his dispute with our forefathers:) "so far from it, that it affirms the final perdition of many who have great confidence of their interest in Christ;" (this only proves, that many fancy they have what they have not; which I suppose nobody will deny;) "yea, and declares, that 'wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction.'" (p. 14.) It is so; but this is nothing to the point,—the nature of true faith.

"Nature," these men say, "begins the work;" (I know none of them who say so;) "and then grace helps out the efforts of nature, and persuades a man, though he be not mentioned in Scripture, either by name or surname, that Christ died for him." (p. 33.) "So the Spirit whispers something to the heart of a sinner, beside what he publicly speaks in the Scriptures. But will any lover of the Scriptures allow the possibility of this,—that the Spirit should ever speak a syllable to any man, beside what he publicly speaks there?" (p. 35.) You will presently allow something wonderfully like it. And you suppose yourself to be a "lover of the Scriptures."

"Some of the Martyrs were assured of being the friends of Christ." (p. 398.) How? Which way? Neither their name nor surname was mentioned in Scripture! Why, "the Holy Ghost assured their hearts and the hearts of the first Christians, that their joy was not the joy of the hypocrite, but the beginning of eternal life. Thus their joy was made full, and their love perfected by the highest enjoyments it was here capable of. Every believer finds a refreshment to his mind, far superior to all the comforts of this life. They stand in God's presence, and

have their joy made full in beholding the light of his countenance." (p. 402.)

Allow, this, and we will never dispute, whether the Spirit does or does not "whisper any thing to their hearts." It is enough, that they have "the Spirit of adoption, crying in their hearts, Abba, Father;" and that this "Spirit witnesseth with their spirits that they are the children of God."

"The chief time of this agency of the Spirit is, while the preachers are declaiming. And the people are in continual expectation of the season of power in hearing them." (p. 38.)

Yea, and reason good, if, as you affirm, "hearing is the only mean whereby God gives faith." (p. 391.) But we do not affirm so much. We only maintain, that "faith" generally "cometh by hearing."

But you go on: "They who partake of Christ's joy, receive the highest evidence that he is the Christ. Thus then faith is greatly confirmed by a kind of presence of its object. Their love is joyfully inflamed, and they obtain the assurance of hope, by having in themselves an experimental foretaste of their eternal enjoyment." (p. 415.)

Why then, what are we disputing about, seeing you are now so kind as to allow, not only the possibility, but the real existence, of all that we contend for?

"O, but this is not faith. Faith is quite another thing." What is it? Let us hear your account of it.

"The essence of true faith is the eternal God." (p. 288.)

"What is faith? It is the blood of Christ." (p. 330.)

Stark, staring nonsense! Sir, you can talk sense, if you please. Why should you palm upon your readers such stuff as this?

Very little better than this is your third definition: "The truth which a man believes is his faith." (p. 301.) No, it is not; no more than the light which a man sees is his sight. You must therefore guess again. "To believe this fact, Christ rose from the dead, is faith." (p. 169.) "Ask a man, Is the Gospel true or not? If he holds it to be true, this is faith." (p. 296.) But is this saving faith? "Yes. Every one that believes the Gospel history shall be saved." (p. 333.)

This is flat and plain. And, if it is but true, every devil in hell will be saved. For it is absolutely certain, every one of these believes this fact, —Christ rose from the dead. It is certain, every one of these believes the Gospel history. Therefore this is not saving faith: Neither will every one be saved who believes this fact,—Christ rose from the dead. It follows, that, whatever others do, you know not what faith is.

I object, Thirdly, 1. That you yourself "shut up our access to the Divine righteousness." 2. That you vehemently contradict yourself, and do the very thing which you charge upon others.

1. You yourself shut up our access to the Divine righteousness by destroying that repentance which Christ has made the way to it. "Ask men," you say, "have they sinned or not? If they know they have, this is conviction. And this is preparation enough for mercy." Soft casuistry indeed! He that receives this saying, is never likely either to "repent" or "believe the Gospel." And if he do not, he can have no access to the righteousness of Christ.

Yet you strangely affirm, "A careless sinner is in full as hopeful a

way as one that is the most deeply convicted." (p. 292.) How can this be, if that conviction be from God? Where he has begun the work, will he not finish it? Have we not reason to hope this? But in a careless sinner that work is not begun; perhaps, never will be.

Again: Whereas our Lord gives a general command, "Seek, and ye shall find;" you say, "Saving faith was never yet sought, or in the remotest manner wished for, by an unbeliever:" (p. 372:) A proposition as contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, as to the experience of every true believer. Every one who now believes, knows how he sought and wished for that faith, before he experienced it. It is not true even with regard to your faith, a belief of the Bible. For I know Deists at this day, who have often wished they could believe the Bible, and owned, "it was happy for them that could."

2. You vehemently contradict yourself, and do the very thing which you charge upon others.

"If we imagine we possess or desire to attain any requisite to our acceptance with God, beside or in connection with the bare work of Christ, Christ shall profit us nothing." (p. 96.)

Again: "What is required of us in order to our acceptance with God? Nothing. The least attempt to do any thing is damnably criminal."

Very good. Now for self-consistency: "What Christ has done is that which quiets the conscience of man as soon as he knows it. So that he need ask no more than, 'Is it true or not?' If he finds it true, he is happy. If he does not, he can reap no comfort from it. Our comfort arises from the persuasion of this." (p. 12.)

Again: "Men are justified by a knowledge of the righteousness of Christ." (p. 406.) And yet again:

"The sole requisite to acceptance is, Divine righteousness brought to view." (p. 291.)

So you have brought matters to a fine conclusion; confuting a hundred of your own assertions, and doing the very thing for which you have been all along so unmercifully condemning others. You yourself here teach another "requisite to our acceptance, beside the bare work of Christ," viz. the knowing that work, the finding it true. Therefore by your own word, "Christ shall profit you nothing." In one page you say, "Nothing is required in order to our acceptance with God;" in another, "Divine righteousness brought to view, is requisite to our acceptance." *Brought to view!* What self-righteousness is this? Which of "the popular preachers" could have done worse? "Men are justified by a knowledge of the righteousness of Christ." *Knowledge!* What! our own knowledge! Knowledge in us! Why, this is the very thing which we call faith. So you have fairly given up the whole question, justified your opponents, and condemned yourself as "damnably criminal!"

I object, Fourthly, that you have no charity, and that you know not what charity is. That you know not what it is, manifestly appears from the wonderful definition you give of it. "Charity," you say, "is fellowship with God in his blessedness." (p. 453.) Muddy, confused, *ut nihil supra!* [so as not to be surpassed!] We know, he that loveth hath fellowship with God. But yet the ideas of one and of the other are widely different. We know, "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him." But yet loving him is not

the same thing with dwelling in him. If it were, the whole sentence would be flat tautology.

You say, 2. Charity is "the love of the truth." (p. 456.) Not at all: No more than it is the love of the sun. It is the love of God, and of man for God's sake: No more and no less.

You say, 3. "Christ is known to us only by report." That is not granted. "And charity is the love of that report." (p. 455.) Every intelligent reader will want no farther proof, that you know not what charity is.

No wonder then that you have it not; nay, that you are at the utmost distance, both from the love of God and of your neighbour. You cannot love God, because you do not love your neighbour. For he that loves God, loves his brother also. But such hatred, malevolence, rancour, bitterness, as you show to all who do not exactly fall in with your opinion, was scarce ever seen in a Jew, a Heathen, or a Popish inquisitor.

"Nay, but you abhor persecution. You would persecute no man." I should be very loath to trust you. I doubt, were it in your power, you would make more bonfires in Smithfield than Bonner and Gardiner put together. But if not, if you would not persecute with fire and faggot,

Mirum!
Ut neque calce lupus quenquam, neque dente petit bos:
[Wonderful!—that the bull doesn't bite, nor the wolf gore:]

What does this prove? Only that you murder in another way. You smite with the tongue; with the poison of asps, which is under your lips.

A few specimens follow:—

"The popular preachers worship another God." (p. 338.) "It can never be allowed that Dr. Doddridge worshipped the same God with Paul." (p. 470.) "Notice the difference betwixt the God of these preachers, and the true God; betwixt their Christ, and the Christ preached by the Apostles; betwixt their spirit, and the Spirit that influenced the Apostles." (p. 40.)

"I know no sinners more hardened, none greater destroyers of mankind, than they." (p. 98.) "By no small energy of deceit, they darken the revelation of God, and change the doctrine of the blessed God into a doctrine of self-dependence." Strange, that you yourself should do the very same thing! averring, that "men are justified by a knowledge of the righteousness of Christ," not by the bare work which Christ has wrought! You put me in mind of an old usurer, who vehemently thanked a minister that had preached a severe sermon against usury; and being asked, "Why do *you* talk thus?" replied, "I wish there were no usurer in London beside myself!" Sir, do not you wish there was no minister in Great Britain who taught this doctrine, beside yourself?

"That any who has learnt his religion from the New Testament, should mistake their doctrine for the Christian, is astonishing." (p. 40.) Theirs, or yours? for it happens to be one and the same with regard to the present point. "By many deceits they change the truth of God into a lie." (*Ib.*) If they do, so do you. Indeed you heavily complain of the imputation. You say, "It is both astonishing and provoking, that, after all, men will say, there is no difference between their scheme and yours." And yet, after all, so it is: truth is great, and will prevail. In the leading point, that of justification, both you and they teach. "Men

are justified by a knowledge of the righteousness of Christ." Only they think, it is a Divine, supernatural, experimental knowledge, wrought in the inmost soul; and you think, it is a bare historical knowledge, of the same kind with that which the devils have.

One specimen more of your unparalleled charity, which in any but yourself would be astonishing: "If any one chooses to go to hell by a devout path, let him study any one of those four famous treatises: Mr. Guthrie's 'Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ;' Mr. Marshal's 'Gospel Mystery of Sanctification;' Mr. Boston's 'Human Nature in its Fourfold State;' or Dr. Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.' If any profane person, who desires to be converted, enter into the spirit of those books, he thereby becomes twofold more a child of hell than he was before." (p. 436.)

Such is the doctrine, such is the spirit, of Palæmon! condemning the whole generation of God's children; sending all his opponents to hell at once; casting arrows, firebrands, death on every side! But I stop. God be merciful to thee a sinner; and show thee compassion, though thou hast none for thy fellow servants! Otherwise it will be more tolerable, I will not say for Seneca or Epictetus, but for Nero or Domitian, in the day of judgment, than for thee!

A LETTER

TO

A GENTLEMAN AT BRISTOL.

Bristol, January 6, 1758.

Sir,—You desire my thoughts on a paper lately addressed to the inhabitants of St. Stephen's parish, and an answer thereto, entitled, "A Seasonable Antidote against Popery." I have at present little leisure, and cannot speak so fully as the importance of the subject requires. I can only just tell you wherein I do or do not agree with what is advanced in the one or the other.

I agree with the main of what is asserted in that paper, allowing for some expressions which I could wish had been altered, because some of them are a little obscure, others liable to misinterpretation; indeed, so liable, that they could scarce fail to be misunderstood by the unwary, and censured by the unfriendly, reader.

But I cannot agree, that "obedience is a condition of, or antecedent to, justification," unless we mean final justification. This I apprehend to be a considerable mistake; although, indeed, it is not explicitly asserted, but only implied in some parts of that address.

I entirely agree with the author of the "Seasonable Antidote," in the important points that follow:—

"That a sinner is justified or accounted righteous before God, only through the righteousness" (or merits) "of Jesus Christ; that the end of his living and dying for us was, that our persons first, and then our works, might be accepted; that faith is the hand which apprehends, the instrument which applies, the merits of Christ for our justification; that justifying faith is the

gift of the Holy Spirit; that he evidences our being justified, by bearing his testimony with our spirits, that we are the children of God, and by enabling us to bring forth, first the inward, and then the outward, fruits of the Spirit; and, lastly, that these fruits do not justify us, do not procure our justification, but prove us to be justified; as the fruits on a tree do not make it alive, but prove it to be alive." (pp. 33, 34.)

These undoubtedly are the genuine principles of the Church of England. And they are confirmed, as by our Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, so by the whole tenor of Scripture. Therefore, till heaven and earth pass away, these truths will not pass away.

But I do not agree with the author of that tract, in the spirit of the whole performance. It does not seem to breathe either that modesty, or seriousness, or charity, which one would desire. One would not desire to hear any private person, of no great note in the Church or the world, speak, as it were, *ex cathedrâ*, with an air of infallibility, or at least of vast self-sufficiency, on a point wherein men of eminence, both for piety, learning, and office, have been so greatly divided. Though my judgment is nothing altered, yet I often condemn myself for my past manner of speaking on this head. Again: I do not rejoice at observing any thing light or ludicrous in an answer to so serious a paper; and much less in finding any man branded as a Papist, because his doctrine in one particular instance resembles (for that is the utmost which can be proved) a doctrine of the Church of Rome. I can in no wise reconcile this to the grand rule of charity,—Doing to others as we would they should do to us.

Indeed, it is said, "Dr. T. openly defends the fundamental doctrine of Popery, justification by works." (p. 3.) Therefore, "he must be a Papist." (p. 4.) But here is a double mistake: for, 1. Whatever may be implied in some of his expressions, it is most certain Dr. T. does not openly defend justification by works. 2. This itself, justification by works, is not the fundamental doctrine of Popery, but the universality of the Romish Church, and the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. And to call any one a Papist who denies these, is neither charity nor justice.

I do not agree with the author in what follows: Dr. T. "loses sight of the truth, when he talks of Christ's having obtained for us a covenant of better hopes; and that faith and repentance are the terms of this covenant. They are not. They are the free gifts of the covenant of grace, not the terms or conditions. To say, 'Privileges of the covenant are the terms or conditions of it,' is downright Popery."

This is downright calling names, and no better. But it falls on a greater than Dr. T. St. Paul affirms, Jesus Christ is the Mediator of a better covenant, established upon better promises; yea, and that better covenant he hath obtained for us, by his own blood. And if any desire to receive the privileges which are freely given according to the tenor of this covenant, Jesus Christ himself has marked out the way,—"Repent, and believe the Gospel." These, therefore, are the terms of the covenant, unless the author of it was mistaken. These are the conditions of it; unless a man can enter into the kingdom, without either repenting or believing. For the word *condition* means neither more nor less than something *sine quâ non;* without which something else is

not done. Now, this is the exact truth with regard to repenting and believing; without which God does not work in us "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

It is true, repentance and faith are privileges and free gifts. But this does not hinder their being conditions too. And neither Mr. Calvin himself, nor any of our reformers, made any scruple of calling them so.

"But the Gospel is a revelation of grace and mercy, not a proposal of a covenant of terms and conditions." (p. 5.) It is both. It is a revelation of grace and mercy, to all that "repent and believe." And this the author himself owns in the following page: "The free grace of God applies to sinners the benefits of Christ's atonement and righteousness, by working in them repentance and faith." (p. 6.) Then they are not applied without repentance and faith; that is, in plain terms, these are the conditions of that application.

I read in the next page: "In the Gospel we have the free promises of eternal life, but not annexed to faith and repentance, as works of man," (true; they are the gift of God,) "or the terms or conditions of the covenant." Yes, certainly; they are no less terms or conditions, although God works them in us.

"But what is promised us as a free gift, cannot be received upon the performance of any terms or conditions." Indeed it can. Our Lord said to the man born blind, "Go and wash in the pool of Siloam." Here was a plain condition to be performed; something without which he would not have received his sight. And yet his sight was a gift altogether as free, as if the pool had never been mentioned.

"But if repentance and faith are the free gifts of God, can they be the terms or conditions of our justification?" (p. 9.) Yes: why not? They are still something without which no man is or can be justified.

"Can then God give that freely, which he does not give but upon certain terms and conditions?" (*Ib.*) Doubtless he can; as one may freely give you a sum of money, on condition you stretch out your hand to receive it. It is therefore no "contradiction to say, We are justified freely by grace, and yet upon certain terms or conditions." (p. 10.)

I cannot therefore agree, that "we are accepted without any terms previously performed to qualify us for acceptance." For we are not accepted, nor are we qualified for, or capable of, acceptance, without repentance and faith.

"But a man is not justified by works, but by the faith of Christ. This excludes all qualifications." (p. 13.) Surely it does not exclude the qualification of faith!

"But St. Paul asserts, 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.'"

True: "To him that worketh not." But does God justify him that "believeth not?" Otherwise, this text proves just the contrary to what it is brought to prove.

But "our Church excludes repentance and faith from deserving any part of our justification. Why then do you insist upon them as qualifications requisite to our justification?" (p. 19.)

Because Christ and his Apostles do so. Yet we all agree, they do not deserve any part of our justification. They are no part of the merit-

orious cause; but they are the conditions of it. This and no other is "the doctrine of Scripture, and of the Church of England!" Both the Scripture and "our Church allow, yea, insist on these qualifications or conditions." (p. 21.)

"But if repentance and faith would not be valid and acceptable without the righteousness of Christ, then they cannot be necessary qualifications for our justification." (p. 22.) I cannot allow the consequence. They are not acceptable without the righteousness or merits of Christ; and yet he himself has made them necessary qualifications for our justification through his merits.

But the grand objection of this gentleman lies against the Doctor's next paragraph; the sum of which is: "The merits of Christ were never intended to supersede the necessity of repentance and obedience," (I would say, repentance and faith,) "but to make them acceptable in the sight of God, and to purchase for them" (I would add, that obey him) "a reward of immortal happiness."

I am not afraid to undertake the defence of this paragraph, with this small variation, against Mr. Chapman, Mr. Nyberg, Count Zinzendorf, or any other person whatever; provided only that he will set his name to his work; for I do not love fighting in the dark.

And I, as well as Dr. T., affirm, that "to say more than this concerning Christ's imputed merits," to say more than, that "they have purchased for us grace to repent and believe, acceptance upon our believing, power to obey, and eternal salvation to them that do obey him;"—to say more than this, "is blasphemous Antinomianism," such as Mr. Calvin would have abhorred; and does "open a door to all manner of sin and wickedness."

"I must likewise affirm, that to talk of imputed righteousness in the manner many do at this day, is making the imaginary transfer of Christ's righteousness serve as a cover for the unrighteousness of mankind." (p. 26.) Does not Mr. Ch—p—n do this at Bristol? Does not Mr. M—rd—n, at London? Let them shudder then, let their blood run cold, who do it; not theirs who tell them that they do so. It is not the latter, but the former, who "trample Christ's righteousness under foot as a mean and vile thing."

I firmly believe, "We are accounted righteous before God, justified *only* for the merit of Christ." But let us have no shifting the terms: "*Only* through Christ's imputed righteousness," are not the words of the Article, neither the language of our Church. Much less does our Church any where affirm, "that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to the ungodly, who have no qualifications;" (p. 28;) no repentance, no faith; nor do the Scriptures ever affirm this.

The reflection on the general inference, I so entirely agree with, as to think it worth transcribing: "If you have faith and repentance, you want no other signs or evidences of your justification. But if you have not these, to pretend to any other assurances, tokens, feelings, or experiences, is vain and delusive." Does he know any one who maintains, that a man may be in a state of justification, and yet have no faith or repentance? But the marks and evidences of true faith which the Scripture has promised, must not be discarded as vain or delusive. The Scripture has promised us the assurance of faith, to be wrought in

us by the operation of God. It mentions "the earnest of the Spirit,' and speaks of "feeling after the Lord," and finding him; and so our Church, in her Seventeenth Article, speaks of "feeling in ourselves the working of the Spirit of Christ;" and, in the Homily for Rogation Week, of "feeling our conscience at peace with God, through remission of our sin." So that we must not reject all "assurances, tokens, feelings, and experiences," as "vain and delusive."

Nor do I apprehend Dr. T. ever intended to say, that we must reject all inward feelings, but only those which are without faith or repentance. And who would not reject these? His very words are, "If you have not these, to pretend to any other feelings is vain and delusive." I say so too. Meantime, he is undoubtedly sensible, that there is a "consolation in love;" a "peace that passeth all understanding," and a "joy that is unspeakable and full of glory." Nor can we imagine him to deny, that these must be felt, inwardly felt, wherever they exist.

Upon the whole, I cannot but observe, how extremely difficult it is, even for men who have an upright intention, and are not wanting either in natural or acquired abilities, to understand one another: and how hard it is to do even justice to those, whom we do not throughly understand: much more to treat them with that gentleness, tenderness, and brotherly kindness, with which, upon a change of circumstances, we might reasonably desire to be treated ourselves. O when shall men know whose disciples we are, by our "loving one another, as He hath loved us!" The God of love hasten the time!

I am, Dear Sir, your affectionate servant,

JOHN WESLEY

THOUGHTS
ON
THE IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS OF CHRIST.

1. A TRACT has lately been published in my name, concerning the imputed righteousness of Christ. This calls me to explain myself upon that head; which I will do with all the clearness I can. But I quarrel with no man for thinking or speaking otherwise than I do: I blame none for using those expressions which he believes to be Scriptural. If he quarrels with me for not using them, at least not so frequently as himself, I can only pity him, and wish him more of "the mind which was in Christ."

2. "The righteousness of Christ" is an expression which I do not find in the Bible. "The righteousness of God" is an expression which I do find there. I believe this means, First, the mercy of God; as 2 Peter i, 1: "Them that have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God." How does it appear that "the righteousness of God" here, means either more or less than his mercy? 'My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness and thy salvation;" thy mercy in delivering me. "I will make mention of thy righteousness only. Thy righteousness, O God, is very high," Psalm lxxi, 15, &c Here the "righteousness of God" is expressly mentioned; but I will

not take upon me to say, that it means the righteousness or mercy of the Son, any more than of the Holy Ghost.

3. I believe this expression means, Secondly, God's method of justifying sinners. So Rom. i, 17: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for therein is the righteousness of God," his way of justifying sinners, "revealed." "Now the righteousness of God is manifested; even the righteousness of God which is by faith;" (unless righteousness here also means mercy;) "Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of the sins that are past; that he might be just, and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus," iii, 21, &c. "They being ignorant of God's righteousness," (method of justifying sinners,) "and going about to establish their own righteousness," (a method of their own opposite to his,) "have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God," x, 3.

4. Perhaps it has a peculiar meaning in 2 Cor. v, 21: "He made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in" (or through) "him;" that we might be justified and sanctified, might receive the whole blessing of God, through him.

5. And is not this the natural meaning of Phil. iii, 8, 9: "That I may win Christ, and be found in him," grafted into the true vine, "not having my own righteousness,"—the method of justification which I so long chose for myself, "which is of the law; but the righteousness which is of God"—the method of justification which God hath chosen —"by faith?"

6. "But is not Christ termed 'our righteousness?'" He is: "This is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness," Jer. xxiii, 6. And is not the plain, indisputable meaning of this Scripture, He shall be what he is called, the sole purchaser, the sole meritorious cause, both of our justification and sanctification?

7. Nearly related to this is the following text, "Jesus Christ is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption," 1 Cor. i, 30. And what does this prove, but that he is made unto us righteousness, or justification, just as he is made unto us sanctification? In what sense? He is the sole Author of one, as well as of the other, the Author of our whole salvation.

8. There seems to be something more implied in Rom. x, 3. Does it not imply thus much? "Christ is the end of the law"—not only of the Mosaic dispensation, but of the law of works, which was given to Adam in his original perfection—"for righteousness to every one that believeth;" to the end that "every one who believeth" in him, though he have not kept, and cannot keep, that law, may be both accounted and made righteous.

9. Accordingly, frequent mention is made, in Scripture, of "faith counted for righteousness." So Gen. xv, 6: "He" (Abraham) "believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness:" A text repeated, with but little variation, over and over in the New Testament: "To him that worketh not, but believeth on him who justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness," Rom. iv, 5. Thus it was that "Noah became heir of the righteousness," the justification "which

is by faith," Heb. xi, 7. Thus also "the Gentiles," when the Jews fell short, "attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is by faith," Rom. ix, 30. But that expression, "the righteousness of Christ," does not occur in any of these texts.

10. It seems, righteousness in the following texts means neither more nor less than justification: "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain," Gal. ii, 21. "If there had been a law which could have given life," spiritual life, or a title to life eternal, "then righteousness should have been by the law;" iii, 21; though some may think it here includes sanctification also; which it appears to do, Rev. xix, 8: "The fine linen is the righteousness of the saints."

11. "But when St. Paul says, (Rom. v, 18,) 'by the righteousness of one,' (called in the following verse, 'the obedience of one,' even his 'obedience unto death,' his dying for us,) 'the free gift came,' does he not mean the righteousness of Christ?" Undoubtedly he does. But this is not the question. We are not inquiring what he means, but what he says. We are all agreed as to the meaning, but not as to the expression, "the imputing the righteousness of Christ;" which I still say, I dare not insist upon, neither require any one to use, because I cannot find it in the Bible. If any one can, he has better eyes than me; and I wish he would show me where it is.

12. Now, if by "the righteousness of Christ" we mean any thing which the Scripture does not mean, it is certain we put darkness for light. If we mean the same which the Scripture means by different expressions, why do we prefer this expression to the Scriptural? Is not this correcting the wisdom of the Holy Ghost, and opposing our own to the perfect knowledge of God?

13. I am myself the more sparing in the use of it, because it has been so frequently and so dreadfully abused; and because the Antinomians use it at this day to justify the grossest abominations. And it is great pity that those who love, who preach, and follow after, holiness, should, under the notion of honouring Christ, give any countenance to those who continually make him "the minister of sin," and so build on his righteousness as to live in such ungodliness and unrighteousness as is scarce named even among the Heathens.

14. And doth not this way of speaking naturally tend to make Christ the minister of sin? For if the very personal obedience of Christ (as those expressions directly lead me to think) be mine the moment I believe, can any thing be added thereto? Does my obeying God add any value to the perfect obedience of Christ? On this scheme, then, are not the holy and unholy on the very same footing?

15. Upon the whole, I cannot express my thoughts better than in the words of that good man, Mr. Hervey: "If people may be safe and their inheritance secure without any knowledge of these particularities, why should you offer to puzzle their heads with a few unnecessary terms? We are not very solicitous as to the credit or the use of any particular set of phrases. Only let men be humbled as repenting criminals at the Redeemer's feet; let them rely as devoted pensioners on his precious merits; and they are undoubtedly in the way to a blissful immortality." (*Dialogues*, vol. i, p. 43. Dublin edition.)

DUBLIN, April 5, 1762.

PREFACE

TO

A TREATISE ON JUSTIFICATION,

EXTRACTED FROM MR. JOHN GOODWIN.

WHEREIN ALL THAT IS PERSONAL, IN LETTERS JUST PUBLISHED, UNDER THE NAME OF THE REV. MR. HERVEY, IS ANSWERED.

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1. PERHAPS I should not have submitted, at least not so soon, to the importunity of my friends, who have long been soliciting me to abridge and publish the ensuing treatise, had not some warm people published a tract, entitled, "The Scripture Doctrine of Imputed Righteousness Defended." I then judged it absolutely incumbent upon me to publish the real Scripture doctrine. And this I believed I could not either draw up or defend better than I found it done to my hands by one who, at the time he wrote this book, was a firm and zealous Calvinist. This enabled him to confirm what he advanced by such authorities, as well from Calvin himself, as from his most eminent followers, as I could not have done, nor any who had not been long and critically versed in their writings.

2. A greater difficulty was, to know what notice I ought to take of Mr. Hervey's treatise, wrote, as the Leeds publisher says, with a "becoming and well-tempered tartness." The case was peculiar. My acquaintance with Mr. Hervey commenced about thirty years ago, when I was a Fellow, and he was a Commoner, of Lincoln college in Oxford. At my request he was permitted, as was Mr. Whitefield some time after, to make one of a little company who used to spend the evenings together, in reading the Holy Scriptures. And I rejoiced in having many opportunities of assisting him both in his studies and in his Christian warfare; which he acknowledged in very strong terms, by a letter now in my hands, wrote not long after the publication of his "Meditations among the Tombs." In my answer to this, I told him frankly, there were one or two passages in that book, which, if I had seen before it was printed, I should have advised him not to insert. He replied, if he printed any thing more, he would beg of me to correct it first. Accordingly, he sent me, not long after, the manuscript of his three first Dialogues. I sent them back after some days, with a few inconsiderable corrections; but upon his complaining, "You are not my friend, if you do not take more liberty with me," I promised I would; so he sent them again, and I made some more important alterations. I was not surprised at seeing no more of the copy, till I saw it in print. When I had read it, I wrote him my thoughts freely, but received no answer. On October 15, 1756, I sent him a second letter, which I here insert, that every impartial person may understand the real merits of the cause. I need only premise, that, at the time I wrote, I had not the least thought of making it public. I only spoke my private thoughts in a free, open manner, to a friend dear as a brother,—I had almost said to a pupil,—to a son; for so near I still accounted him. It is no wonder therefore, that "several of my objections," as Mr. Hervey himself observes, "ap-

pear more like notes and memorandums, than a just plea to the public." (p. 80.) It is true. They appear like what they are, like what they were originally intended for. I had no thought of *a plea to the public* when I wrote, but of "notes and memorandums to a private man."

October 15, 1756.

Dear Sir,—A considerable time since, I sent you a few hasty thoughts which occurred to me on reading the "Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio." I have not been favoured with any answer. Yet upon another and a more careful perusal of them, I could not but set down some obvious reflections, which I would rather have communicated before these Dialogues were published.

In the First Dialogue there are several just and strong observations, which may be of use to every serious reader. In the Second, is not the description often too laboured? the language too stiff and affected? Yet the reflections on the creation, in the thirty-first and following pages, make abundant amends for this. (I cite the pages according to the Dublin edition, having wrote the rough draught of what follows in Ireland.)

Is justification more or less, than God's pardoning and accepting a sinner through the merits of Christ? That God herein "reckons the righteousness and obedience which Christ performed as our own," (p. 39,) I allow; if by that ambiguous expression, you mean only, as you here explain it yourself, "They are as effectual for obtaining our salvation, as if they were our own personal qualifications." (p. 41.)

"We are not solicitous, as to any particular set of phrases. Only let men be humbled, as repenting criminals at Christ's feet, let them rely as devoted pensioners on his merits, and they are undoubtedly in the way to a blissful immortality." (p. 43.) Then, for Christ's sake, and for the sake of the immortal souls which he has purchased with his blood, do not dispute for that *particular phrase*, "The imputed righteousness of Christ." It is not Scriptural; it is not necessary. Men who scruple to use, men who never heard, the expression, may yet "be humbled, as repenting criminals at his feet, and rely as devoted pensioners on his merits." But it has done immense hurt. I have had abundant proof, that the frequent use of this unnecessary phrase, instead of "furthering men's progress in vital holiness," has made them satisfied without any holiness at all; yea, and encouraged them to work all uncleanness with greediness.

"To ascribe pardon to Christ's passive, eternal life to his active, righteousness, is fanciful rather than judicious. His universal obedience from his birth to his death is the one foundation of my hope." (p. 45.)

This is unquestionably right. But if it be, there is no manner of need to make the imputation of his active righteousness a separate and laboured head of discourse. O that you had been content with this plain Scriptural account, and spared some of the dialogues and letters that follow!

The Third and Fourth Dialogues contain an admirable illustration and confirmation of the great doctrine of Christ's satisfaction. Yet even here I observe a few passages which are liable to some exception:—

"Satisfaction was made to the divine law." (p. 54.) I do not re-

member any such expression in Scripture. This way of speaking of the law, as a person injured and to be satisfied, seems hardly defensible.

"The death of Christ procured the pardon and acceptance of believers, even before he came in the flesh." (p. 74.) Yea, and ever since. In this we all agree. And why should we contend for any thing more?

"All the benefits of the new covenant are the purchase of his blood." (p. 120.) Surely they are. And after this has been fully proved, where is the need, where is the use, of contending so strenuously for the imputation of his righteousness, as is done in the Fifth and Sixth Dialogues?

"If he was our substitute as to penal sufferings, why not as to justifying obedience?" (p. 135.)

The former is expressly asserted in Scripture. The latter is not expressly asserted there.

"As sin and misery have abounded through the first Adam, mercy and grace have much more abounded through the Second. So that none can have any reason to complain." (p. 145.) No, not if the Second Adam died for all. Otherwise, all for whom he did not die have great reason to complain. For they inevitably fall by the first Adam, without any help from the Second.

"The whole world of believers," (p. 148,) is an expression which never occurs in Scripture, nor has it any countenance there: the world, in the inspired writings, being constantly taken either in the universal or in a bad sense; either for the whole of mankind, or for that part of them who know not God.

"'In the Lord shall all the house of Israel be justified.'" (p. 149.) It ought unquestionably to be rendered, "*By* or *through* the Lord:" this argument therefore proves nothing. "Ye are complete in him." The words literally rendered are, "Ye are filled with him." And the whole passage, as any unprejudiced reader may observe, relates to sanctification, not justification.

"They are accepted for Christ's sake, this is justification through imputed righteousness." (p. 150.) That remains to be proved. Many allow the former, who cannot allow the latter.

"The righteousness which justifies us is already wrought out." (p. 151.)—A crude, unscriptural expression! "It was set on foot, carried on, completed."—O vain philosophy! The plain truth is, Christ lived and "tasted death for every man." And through the merits of his life and death, every believer is justified.

"Whoever perverts so glorious a doctrine shows he never believed." (p. 152.) Not so. They who "turn back as a dog to the vomit" had once "escaped the pollutions of the world by the knowledge of Christ."

"The goodness of God leadeth to repentance." (p. 153.) This is unquestionably true. But the nice, metaphysical doctrine of imputed righteousness leads not to repentance, but to licentiousness.

"The believer cannot but add to his faith works of righteousness." (p. 154.) During his first love, this is often true. But it is not true afterward, as we know and feel by melancholy experience.

"We no longer obey in order to lay the foundation of our final acceptance." (p. 155.) No: that foundation is already laid in the merits of Christ. Yet we obey in order to our final acceptance through his

merits. And in this sense, by obeying, we "lay a good foundation that we may attain eternal life."

"'We establish the law:' we provide for its honour by the perfect obedience of Christ." (p. 156.) Can you possibly think St. Paul meant this? that such a thought ever entered into his mind? The plain meaning is, We establish both the true sense and the effectual practice of it: we provide for its being both understood and practised in its full extent.

"On those who reject the atonement, just severity." (p. 157.) Was it ever possible for them not to reject it? If not, how is it just to cast them into a lake of fire, for not doing what it was impossible they should do? Would it be just, (make it your own case,) to cast *you* into hell for not touching heaven with your hand?

"Justification is complete the first moment we believe, and is incapable of augmentation." (p. 159.) Not so: there may be as many degrees in the favour as in the image of God.

"St. Paul often mentions *a righteousness imputed:*" not *a righteousness*, never once; but simply, *righteousness.* "What can this be, but the righteousness of Christ?" (p. 190.) He tells you himself, "To him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, faith is imputed for righteousness," Rom. iv, 5. "Why is Christ styled *Jehovah our Righteousness?*" Because we are both justified and sanctified through him.

"My death, the cause of their forgiveness; my righteousness, the ground of their acceptance." (p. 191.)

How does this agree with page 45: "To ascribe pardon to Christ's passive, eternal life to his active, righteousness, is fanciful rather than judicious?"

"He commends such kinds of beneficence only, as were exercised to a disciple as such." (p. 195.) Is not this a slip of the pen? Will not our Lord then commend, and reward eternally, all kinds of beneficence, provided they flowed from a principle of loving faith? yea, that which was exercised to a Samaritan, a Jew, a Turk, or a Heathen? Even these I would not term "transient bubbles," though they do not procure our justification.

"How must our righteousness exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees? Not only in being sincere, but in possessing a complete righteousness, even that of Christ." (p. 197.) Did our Lord mean this? Nothing less. He specifies, in the following parts of his sermon, the very instances wherein the righteousness of a Christian exceeds that of the Scribes and Pharisees.

"He brings this specious hypocrite to the test." (p. 198.) How does it appear that he was a hypocrite? Our Lord gives not the least intimation of it. Surely he "loved him," not for his hypocrisy, but his sincerity!

Yet he loved the world, and therefore could not keep any of the commandments in their spiritual meaning. And the keeping of these is undoubtedly the way to, though not the cause of, eternal life.

"'By works his faith was made perfect:' Appeared to be true." (p. 200.) No: The natural sense of the words is, "By" the grace superadded while he wrought those "works, his faith was" literally "made perfect."

"'He that doeth righteousness is righteous:' Manifests the truth of his conversion." (*Ib.*) Nay, the plain meaning is, He alone is truly righteous, whose faith worketh by love.

"St. James speaks of the justification of our faith." (p. 201.) Not unless you mean, by that odd expression, our faith being made perfect; for so the Apostle explains his own meaning. Perhaps the word *justified* is once used by St. Paul for *manifested*. But that does not prove it is to be so understood here.

"Whoso doeth these things shall never fall into total apostasy." (p. 202.) How pleasing is this to flesh and blood! But David says no such thing. His meaning is, "Whoso doeth these things" to the end "shall never fall" into hell.

The Seventh Dialogue is full of important truths. Yet some expressions in it I cannot commend.

"'One thing thou lackest,'—the imputed righteousness of Christ." (p. 216.) You cannot think this is the meaning of the text. Certainly the "one thing" our Lord meant was, the love of God. This was the thing he lacked.

"Is the obedience of Christ insufficient to accomplish our justification?" (p. 222.) Rather I would ask, Is the death of Christ insufficient to purchase it?

"The saints in glory ascribe the whole of their salvation to the blood of the Lamb." (p. 226.) So do I; and yet I believe "he obtained for all a possibility of salvation."

"The terms of acceptance for fallen man were a full satisfaction to the Divine justice, and a complete conformity to the Divine law." (p. 227.) This you take for granted; but I cannot allow it.

The terms of acceptance for fallen man are, repentance and faith. 'Repent ye, and believe the Gospel."

"There are but two methods whereby any can be justified, either by a perfect obedience to the law, or because Christ hath kept the law in our stead." (*Ib.*) You should say, "or by faith in Christ." I then answer, This is true; and fallen man is justified, not by perfect obedience, but by faith. What Christ has done is the foundation of our justification, not the term or condition of it.

In the Eighth Dialogue likewise there are many great truths, and yet some things liable to exception.

"David God himself dignifies with the most exalted of all characters." (p. 253.) Far, very far from it. We have more exalted characters than David's, both in the Old Testament and the New. Such are those of Samuel, Daniel, yea, and Job, in the former; of St. Paul and St. John in the latter.

"But God styles him 'a man after his own heart.'" This is the text which has caused many to mistake, for want of considering, First, that this is said of David in a particular respect, not with regard to his whole character: Secondly, the time at which it was spoken. When was David "a man after God's own heart?" When God found him "following the ewes great with young," when he "took him from the sheepfolds," Psalm lxxviii, 70, 71. It was in the second or third year of Saul's reign, that Samuel said to him, "The Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart, and hath commanded him to be captain over his people,"

1 Sam. xiii, 14. But was he "a man after God's own heart" all his life? or in all particulars? So far from it, that we have few more exceptionable characters among all the men of God recorded in Scripture.

"There is not a just man upon earth that sinneth not." Solomon might truly say so, before Christ came. And St. John might, after he came, say as truly, "Whosoever is born of God sinneth not." (p. 261.) But "in many things we offend all." That St. James does not speak this of himself, or of real Christians, will clearly appear to all who impartially consider the context.

The Ninth Dialogue proves excellently well, that we cannot be justified by our works.

But have you throughly considered the words which occur in the 270th page?

"O children of Adam, you are no longer obliged to love God with all your strength, nor your neighbour as yourselves. Once indeed I insisted on absolute purity of heart; now, I can dispense with some degrees of evil desire. Since Christ has fulfilled the law for you, you need not fulfil it. I will connive at, yea, accommodate my demands to, your weakness."

I agree with you, that "this doctrine makes the Holy One of God a minister of sin." And is it not your own? Is not this the very doctrine which you espouse throughout your book?

I cannot but except to several passages also in the Tenth Dialogue. I ask, First,

"Does the righteousness of God ever mean," as you affirm, "the merits of Christ?" (p. 291.) I believe, not once in all the Scripture. It often means, and particularly in the Epistle to the Romans, God's method of justifying sinners. When therefore, you say,

"The righteousness of God means, such a righteousness as may justly challenge his acceptance," (p. 292,) I cannot allow it at all; and this capital mistake must needs lead you into many others. But I follow you step by step.

"In order to entitle us to a reward, there must be an imputation of righteousness." (*Ib.*) There must be an interest in Christ; and then "every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour."

"A rebel may be forgiven, without being restored to the dignity of a son." (p. 293.) A rebel against an earthly king may; but not a rebel against God. In the very same moment that God forgives, we are the sons of God. Therefore this is an idle dispute. For pardon and acceptance, though they may be distinguished, cannot be divided. The words of Job which you cite are wide of the question. Those of Solomon prove no more than this, (and who denies it?) that justification implies both pardon and acceptance.

"Grace reigneth through righteousness unto eternal life;" (p. 295;) that is, the free love of God brings us through justification and sanctification to glory. "That they may receive forgiveness, and a lot among the sanctified;" (*Ib.*) that is, that they may receive pardon, holiness, heaven.

"Is not the satisfaction made by the death of Christ sufficient to obtain both our full pardon and final happiness?" (*Ib.*) Unquestionably it is, and neither of the texts you cite proves the contrary.

"If it was requisite for Christ to be baptized, much more to fulfil the moral law." (p.296.)

I cannot prove that either one or the other was requisite in order to his purchasing redemption for us.

"By Christ's sufferings alone, the law was not satisfied." (p. 297.) Yes, it was; for it required only the alternative, Obey or die. It required no man to obey and die too. If any man had perfectly obeyed, he would not have died. "Where the Scripture ascribes the whole of our salvation to the death of Christ, a part of his humiliation is put for the whole." (*Ib.*) I cannot allow this without some proof. "He was obedient unto death," is no proof at all; as it does not necessarily imply any more, than that he died in obedience to the Father. In some texts there is a necessity of taking a part for the whole. But in these there is no such necessity.

"Christ undertook to do every thing necessary for our redemption;" (p. 300;) namely, in a covenant made with the Father. It is sure he did every thing necessary; but how does it appear that he undertook this before the foundation of the world, and that by a positive covenant between him and the Father?

You think this appears from four texts: 1. From that, "Thou gavest them to me." Nay, when any believe, "the Father gives them to Christ." But this proves no such previous contract. 2. "God hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all." Neither does this prove any such thing. 3. That expression, "The counsel of peace shall be between them," does not necessarily imply any more, than that both the Father and the Son would concur in the redemption of man. 4. "According to the counsel of his will;" that is, in the way or method he had chosen. Therefore, neither any of these texts, nor all of them, prove what they were brought to prove. They do by no means prove, that there ever was any such covenant made between the Father and the Son.

"The conditions of the covenant are recorded: 'Lo, I come to do thy will.'" (p. 301.) Nay, here is no mention of any covenant, nor any thing from which it can be inferred. "The recompense stipulated in this glorious treaty." But I see not one word of the treaty itself. Nor can I possibly allow the existence of it, without far other proof than this. "Another copy of this grand treaty is recorded, Isaiah xlix, from the first to the sixth verse." (*Ib.*) I have read them, but cannot find a word about it in all those verses. They contain neither more nor less than a prediction of the salvation of the Gentiles.

"By the covenant of works man was bound to obey in his own person." (p. 302.) And so he is under the covenant of grace; though not in order to his justification. "The obedience of our surety is accepted instead of our own." This is neither a safe nor a Scriptural way of speaking. I would simply say, "We are accepted through the Beloved We have redemption through his blood."

"The second covenant was not made with Adam, or any of his posterity, but with Christ, in those words: 'The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head.'" (p. 303.) For any authority you have from these words, you might as well have said, it was made with the Holy Ghost. These words were not spoken *to* Christ, but *of* him; and give not the least intimation of any such covenant as you plead for. They manifestly contain, if not a covenant made with, a promise made to, Adam and all his posterity.

"Christ, we see, undertook to execute the conditions." (*Ib.*) We see no such thing in this text. We see here only a promise of a Saviour made by God to man.

"It is true, I cannot fulfil the conditions." (*Ib.*) It is not true. The conditions of the new covenant are, "Repent and believe." And these you can fulfil, through Christ strengthening you. "It is equally true, this is not required at my hands." It is *equally* true; that is, absolutely false: and most dangerously false. If we allow this, Antinomianism comes in with a full tide. "Christ has performed all that was conditionary for me." Has he repented and believed for you? You endeavour to evade this by saying, "He performed all that was conditionary in the covenant of works." This is nothing to the purpose; for we are not talking of that, but of the covenant of grace. Now, he did not perform all that was conditionary in this covenant, unless he repented and believed. "But he did unspeakably more." It may be so. But he did not do this.

"But if Christ's perfect obedience be ours, we have no more need of pardon than Christ himself." (p. 308.) The consequence is good. You have started an objection which you cannot answer. You say indeed, "Yes, we do need pardon; for in many things we offend all." What then? If his obedience be ours, we still perfectly obey in him.

"Both the branches of the law, the preceptive and the penal, in the case of guilt contracted, must be satisfied." (p. 309.) Not so. "Christ by his death alone" (so our Church teaches) "fully satisfied for the sins of the whole world." The same great truth is manifestly taught in the Thirty-first Article. Is it therefore fair, is it honest, for any one to plead the Articles of our Church in defence of absolute predestination; seeing the Seventeenth Article barely defines the term, without either affirming or denying the thing; whereas the Thirty-first totally overthrows and razes it from the foundation?

"Believers, who are notorious transgressors in themselves, have a sinless obedience in Christ." (*Ib.*) O syren song! Pleasing sound to James Wheatley, Thomas Williams, James Relly!

I know not one sentence in the Eleventh Dialogue which is liable to exception; but that grand doctrine of Christianity, original sin, is therein proved by irrefragable arguments.

The Twelfth, likewise, is unexceptionable; and contains such an illustration of the wisdom of God in the structure of the human body, as I believe cannot be paralleled in either ancient or modern writers.

The former part of the Thirteenth Dialogue is admirable: to the latter I have some objection.

"Elijah failed in his resignation, and even Moses spake unadvisedly with his lips." (Vol. ii, p. 44.) It is true; but if you could likewise fix some blot upon venerable Samuel, and beloved Daniel, it would prove nothing. For no scripture teaches, that the holiness of Christians is to be measured by that of any Jew.

"Do not the best of men frequently feel disorder in their affections? Do not they often complain, 'When I would do good, evil is present with me?'" (p. 46.) I believe not. You and I are only able to answer for ourselves. "Do not they say, 'We groan, being burdened with the workings of inbred corruption?'" You know this is not the meaning of

the text. The whole context shows, the cause of that groaning was their longing "to be with Christ."

"The cure" of sin "will be perfected in heaven." (p. 47.) Nay, surely in paradise, if no sooner. "This is a noble prerogative of the beatific vision." No; it will then come too late. If sin remains in us till the day of judgment, it will remain for ever. "Our present blessedness does not consist in being free from sin." I really think it does. But whether it does or no, if we are not free from sin, we are not Christian believers. For to all these the Apostle declares, "Being made free from sin, ye are become the servants of righteousness," Rom. vi, 18.

"If we were perfect in piety," (St. John's word is, "perfect in love,") "Christ's priestly office would be superseded." No; we should still need his Spirit, and consequently his intercession, for the continuance of that love from moment to moment. Beside, we should still be encompassed with infirmities, and liable to mistakes, from which words or actions might follow, even though the heart was all love, which were not exactly right. Therefore, in all these respects, we should still have need of Christ's priestly office; and therefore, as long as he remains in the body, the greatest saint may say,

> "Every moment, Lord, I need,
> The merit of thy death."

The text cited from Exodus asserts nothing less than, that iniquity "cleaves to all our holy things till death."

"Sin remains, that the righteousness of faith may have its due honour." (p. 48.) And will the righteousness of faith have its due honour no longer than sin remains in us? Then it must remain, not only on earth and in paradise, but in heaven also. "And the sanctification of the Spirit its proper esteem." Would it not have more esteem, if it were a perfect work?

"It" (sin) "will make us lowly in our own eyes." (*Ib.*) What! will pride make us lowly? Surely the utter destruction of pride would do this more effectually. "It will make us compassionate." Would not an entire renewal in the image of God make us much more so? "It will teach us to admire the riches of grace." Yea, but a fuller experience of it, by a thorough sanctification of spirit, soul, and body, will make us admire it more. "It will reconcile us to death." Indeed it will not; nor will any thing do this like perfect love.

"It will endear the blood and intercession of Christ." (p. 49.) Nay, these can never be so dear to any as to those who experience their full virtue, who are "filled with the fulness" of God. Nor can any "feel their continual need" of Christ, or "rely on him," in the manner which these do.

"The claims of the law are all answered." (*Dialogue* 14, p. 57.) If so, Count Zinzendorf is absolutely in the right: neither God nor man can claim my obedience to it. Is not this Antinomianism without a mask?

"Your sins are expiated through the death of Christ, and a righteousness given you by which you have free access to God." (p. 59.) This is not Scriptural language. I would simply say, "By him we have access to the Father."

There are many other expressions in this Dialogue to which I have

the same objection, namely, 1. That they are unscriptural; 2. That they directly lead to Antinomianism.

The First Letter contains some very useful heads of self-examination. In the Second, I read, "There is a righteousness which supplies all that the creature needs. To prove this momentous point is the design of the following sheets." (p. 91.)

I have seen such terrible effects of this unscriptural way of speaking, even on those "who had once clean escaped from the pollutions of the world," that I cannot but earnestly wish you would speak no otherwise than do the oracles of God. Certainly this *mode of expression* is not *momentous*. It is always dangerous, often fatal.

"Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin had reigned unto death, so might grace," the free love of God, "reign through righteousness," through our justification and sanctification, "unto eternal life," Rom. v, 20, 21. This is the plain natural meaning of the words. It does not appear that one word is spoken here about imputed righteousness; neither in the passages cited in the next page from the Common Prayer and the Articles. In the Homily likewise that phrase is not found at all, and the main stress is laid on Christ's shedding his blood. Nor is the *phrase* (concerning the *thing* there is no question) found in any part of the Homilies. (*Letter* 3, p. 93.)

"If the Fathers are not explicit with regard to the imputation of active righteousness, they abound in passages which evince the substitution of Christ in our stead; passages which disclaim all dependence on any duties of our own, and fix our hopes wholly on the merits of our Saviour. When this is the case, I am very little solicitous about any particular forms of expression." (p. 101.) O lay aside then those questionable, dangerous forms, and keep closely to the Scriptural!

"The authority of our Church, and of those eminent divines," (*Let.* 4, p. 105,) does not touch those "particular forms of expression;" neither do any of the texts which you afterward cite. As to the doctrine, we are agreed.

"The righteousness of God signifies the righteousness which God-Man wrought out." (*Ib.*) No; it signifies God's method of justifying sinners.

"The victims figured the expiation by Christ's death; the clothing with skins, the imputation of his righteousness." (p. 107.) That does not appear. Did not the one rather figure our justification, the other, our sanctification?

Almost every text quoted in this and the following letter in support of that particular form of expression is distorted above measure from the plain, obvious meaning which is pointed out by the context. I shall instance in a few, and just set down their true meaning without any farther remarks. (p. 109.)

To "show unto man his uprightness;" to convince him of God's justice in so punishing him.

"He shall receive the blessing," pardon, "from the Lord, and righteousness," holiness, "from the God of his salvation;" the God who saveth him both from the guilt and from the power of sin. (p. 110.)

I will "make mention of thy righteousness only:" of thy mercy; so the word frequently means in the Old Testament. So it unquestionably

means in that text, "In" or by "thy righteousness shall they be exalted." (p. 111.)

"Sion shall be redeemed with judgment," after severe punishment, "and her converts with righteousness," with the tender mercy of God following that punishment. (p. 112.)

"In," or through, "the Lord I have righteousness and strength," justification and sanctification; "he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation," saved me from the guilt and power of sin; both of which are again expressed by, "He hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." (p. 113.)

"My righteousness," my mercy "shall not be abolished." (p. 114.)

"To make reconciliation for iniquity," to atone for all our sins, "and to bring in everlasting righteousness," spotless holiness into our souls. And this righteousness is not human, but divine. It is the gift and the work of God. (p. 116.)

"The Lord our Righteousness;" the author both of our justification and sanctification. (p. 117.)

"What righteousness shall give us peace at the last day, inherent or imputed?" (p. 127.) Both. Christ died for us, and lives in us, "that we may have boldness in the day of judgment."

"That have obtained like precious faith through the righteousness," the mercy, "of our Lord." "Seek ye the kingdom of God and his righteousness," the holiness which springs from God reigning in you. (*Letter* 5, p. 131.)

"Therein is revealed the righteousness of God," God's method of justifying sinners. (p. 132.)

"We establish the law, as we expect no salvation without a perfect conformity to it, namely, by Christ." (p. 135.) Is not this a mere quibble? and a quibble which, after all the laboured evasions of Witsius and a thousand more, does totally "make void the law?" But not so does St. Paul teach. According to him, "without holiness," personal holiness, "no man shall see the Lord;" none who is not himself conformed to the law of God here, "shall see the Lord" in glory.

This is the grand, palpable objection to that whole scheme. It directly "makes void the law." It makes thousands content to live and die "transgressors of the law," because Christ fulfilled it "for them." Therefore, though I believe he hath lived and died for me, yet I would speak very tenderly and sparingly of the former, (and never separately from the latter,) even as sparingly as do the Scriptures, for fear of this dreadful consequence.

"'The gift of righteousness' must signify a righteousness not their own." (p. 138.) Yes, it signifies the righteousness or holiness which God gives to, and works in, them.

"'The obedience of one' is Christ's actual performance of the whole law." (p. 139.) So here his passion is fairly left out! Whereas his "becoming obedient unto death," that is, dying for man, is certainly the chief part, if not the whole, which is meant by that expression.

"'That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled' in us; that is, by our representative in our nature." (*Ib.*) Amazing! But this, you say, "agrees with the tenor of the Apostle's arguing. For he is demonstrating, we cannot be justified by our own conformity to the law."

No; not here. He is not speaking here of the cause of our justification, but the fruits of it. Therefore, that unnatural sense of his words does not at all "agree with the tenor of his arguing."

I totally deny the criticism on δικαιοσύνη and δικαίωμα, and cannot conceive on what authority it is founded. O how deep an aversion to inward holiness does this scheme naturally create! (p. 140.)

"The righteousness they attained could not be any personal righteousness." (p. 142.) Certainly it was: it was implanted as well as imputed.

"For 'instruction in righteousness,' in the righteousness of Christ." (p. 145.) Was there ever such a comment before? The plain meaning is, "for training up in holiness" of heart and of life.

"He shall convince the world of righteousness;" that I am not a sinner, but innocent and holy. (p. 146.)

"'That we might be made the righteousness of God in him.' Not intrinsically, but imputatively." (p. 148.) Both the one and the other. God, through him, first accounts and then makes us righteous. Accordingly,

"'The righteousness which is of God by faith' is both imputed and inherent." (p. 152.)

"My faith fixes on both the meritorious life and atoning death of Christ." (p. 153.) Here we clearly agree. Hold then to this, and never talk of the former without the latter. If you do, you cannot say, "Here we are exposed to no hazard." Yes, you are to an exceeding great one; even the hazard of living and dying without holiness. And then we are lost for ever.

The Sixth Letter contains an admirable account of the earth and atmosphere, and comprises abundance of sense in a narrow compass, expressed in beautiful language.

Gems have "a seat on the virtuous fair one's breast." (p. 177.) I cannot reconcile this with St. Paul. He says, "Not with pearls;" by a parity of reason, Not with diamonds. But in all things I perceive you are too favourable, both to "the desire of the flesh, and the desire of the eye." You are a gentle casuist as to every self-indulgence which a plentiful fortune can furnish.

"Our Saviour's obedience." (p. 182.) O say, with the good old Puritans, "Our Saviour's death or merits!" We swarm with Antinomians on every side. Why are you at such pains to increase their number?

"My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness and thy salvation;" thy mercy, which brings my salvation. (p. 194.)

The Eighth Letter is an excellent description of the supreme greatness of Christ. I do not observe one sentence in it, which I cannot cheerfully subscribe to.

The Ninth Letter, containing a description of the sea, with various inferences deduced therefrom, is likewise a masterpiece, for justness of sentiment, as well as beauty of language. But I doubt whether "mere shrimps" (p. 241) be not too low an expression; and whether you might not as well have said nothing of "cod, the standing repast of Lent;" or concerning "the exquisite relish of turbot, or the deliciousness of sturgeon." Are not such observations beneath the dignity of a minister

of Christ? I have the same doubt concerning what is said of "delicately flavoured tea, finely scented coffee, the friendly bowl, the pyramid of Italian figs, and the pastacia nut of Aleppo." (p. 264.) Beside that the mentioning these in such a manner is a strong encouragement of luxury and sensuality. And does the world need this? The English in particular! *Si non insaniunt satis sua sponte, instiga.* [If they are not mad enough of themselves, incite them.]

"Those treasures which spring from the imputation of Christ's righteousness." (*Letter* 10, p. 271.) Not a word of his atoning blood! Why do so many men love to speak of his righteousness, rather than his atonement? I fear, because it affords a fairer excuse for their own unrighteousness. To cut off this, is it not better to mention both together? at least, never to name the former without the latter?

"Faith is a persuasion that Christ has shed his blood for me, and fulfilled all righteousness in my stead." (p. 285.) I can by no means subscribe to this definition. There are hundreds, yea, thousands, of true believers, who never once thought one way or the other of Christ's fulfilling all righteousness in their stead. I personally know many who, to this very hour, have no idea of it; and yet have each of them a divine evidence and conviction, "Christ loved me, and gave himself for me." This is St. Paul's account of faith; and it is sufficient. He that thus believes is justified.

"It is a sure means of purifying the heart, and never fails to work by love." (p. 287.) It surely purifies the heart,—if we abide in it; but not if we "draw back to perdition." It never fails to work by love while it continues; but if itself fail, farewell both love and good works.

"Faith is the hand which receives all that is laid up in Christ." Consequently, if we make "shipwreck of the faith," how much soever is laid up in Christ, from that hour we receive nothing.

"Faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ is a fundamental principle in the Gospel." (*Letter* 11, p. 288.) If so, what becomes of all those who think nothing about imputed righteousness? How many who are full of faith and love, if this be true, must perish everlastingly!

"Thy hands must urge the way of the deadly weapon through the shivering flesh, till it be plunged in the throbbing heart." (p. 297.) Are not these descriptions far too strong? May they not occasion unprofitable reasonings in many readers?

Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet.
[Medea should not kill her children before the people.]

"How can he justify it to the world?" (p. 298) Not at all. Can this then justify his faith to the world?

"You take the certain way to obtain comfort,—the righteousness of Jesus Christ." (p. 304.) What, without the atonement? Strange fondness for an unscriptural, dangerous mode of expression!

"So the merits of Christ are derived to all the faithful." (p. 306.) Rather, the fruits of the Spirit; which are likewise plainly typified by the oil in Zechariah's vision.

"Has the law any demand? It must go to him for satisfaction." (p. 310.) Suppose, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" then I am not obliged to love my neighbour: Christ has satisfied the de-

mand of the law for me. Is not this the very quintessence of Antinomianism?

"The righteousness wrought out by Jesus Christ is wrought out for all his people, to be the cause of their justification, and the purchase of their salvation. The righteousness is the cause and the purchase." (p. 311.) So the death of Christ is not so much as named! "For all his people." But what becomes of all other people? They must inevitably perish for ever. The die was cast or ever they were in being. The doctrine to pass them by has

> Consign'd their unborn souls to hell,
> And damn'd them from their mother's womb!

I could sooner be a Turk, a Deist, yea, an Atheist, than I could believe this. It is less absurd to deny the very being of God, than to make him an almighty tyrant.

"The whole world and all its seasons are rich with our Creator's goodness. His tender mercies are over all his works." (p. 318.) Are they over the bulk of mankind? Where is his goodness to the non-elect? How are his tender mercies over them? "His temporal blessings are given to them." But are they to them blessings at all? Are they not all curses? Does not God know they are? that they will only increase their damnation? Does not he design they should? And this you call goodness! This is tender mercy!

"May we not discern pregnant proofs of goodness in each individual object?" (p. 321.) No; on your scheme, not a spark of it, in this world or the next, to the far greater part of the work of his own hands.

"Is God a generous benefactor to the meanest animals, to the lowest reptiles? And will he deny my friend what is necessary to his present comfort, and his final acceptance?" (p. 334.) Yea, will he deny it to any soul that he has made? Would you deny it to any, if it were in your power?

> But if you loved whom God abhorr'd,
> The servant were above his Lord.

"The 'wedding garment' here means holiness." (p. 337.)

"This is his tender complaint, 'They will not come unto me!'" (p. 340.) Nay, that is not the case; they cannot. He himself has decreed, not to give them that grace without which their coming is impossible.

"The grand end which God proposes in all his favourable dispensations to fallen man is, to demonstrate the sovereignty of his grace." Not so: to impart happiness to his creatures is his grand end herein. Barely to demonstrate his sovereignty is a principle of action fit for the great Turk, not the most high God.

"God hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servants. He is a boundless ocean of good." (p. 341.) Nay, that ocean is far from boundless, if it wholly passes by nine tenths of mankind.

"You cannot suppose God would enter into a fresh covenant with a rebel." (p. 342.) I both suppose and know he did. "God made the new covenant with Christ, and charged him with the performance of the conditions." I deny both these assertions, which are the central point wherein Calvinism and Antinomianism meet. "'I have made a covenant with my chosen;'" namely, with "David my servant." So God himself explains it.

"He will wash you in the blood which atones, and invest you with the righteousness which justifies." (p. 362.) Why should you thus continually put asunder what God has joined?

"God himself at the last day pronounces them righteous, because they are interested in the obedience of the Redeemer." (p. 440.) Rather, because they are washed in his blood, and renewed by his Spirit.

Upon the whole. I cannot but wish that the plan of these Dialogues had been executed in a different manner. Most of the grand truths of Christianity are herein both explained and proved with great strength and clearness. Why was any thing intermixed which could prevent any serious Christian's recommending them to all mankind? any thing which must necessarily render them exceptionable to so many thousands of the children of God? In practical writings, I studiously abstain from the very shadow of controversy. Nay, even in controversial, I do not knowingly write one line, to which any but my opponent would object. For opinions, shall I destroy the work of God? Then am I a bigot indeed. Much more, if I would not drop any mode of expression, rather than offend either Jew or Gentile, or the Church of God.

I am, with great sincerity, dear Sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

3. After waiting near two years, and receiving no answer to the second any more than the first Letter, in 1758 I printed "A Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion." I designed this at first only for the preachers who were in connection with me. But I was afterward induced to think it might be of use to others that were under my care. I designed it for these, and these alone, though I could not help its falling into other hands. Accordingly, I said, "My design in publishing the following Tracts, is not to reclaim but to preserve." To preserve those to whom I had frequently and strongly recommended Mr. Hervey's Dialogues, from what I disapproved of therein, I inserted the above Letter; and that without any addition, as intending it only "for those who already knew the truth," whom I wished to preserve from every thing wrong, while they profited by what was admirably right, in his Dialogues. No wonder therefore that those notes (as Mr. Hervey remarks in the same page) "have rather the air of a caveat than a confutation." I never intended them for a confutation; and even when I sent them to the press, I designed them merely as a caveat to my friends against imbibing truth and error together.

4. A considerable time after, I was much surprised by an information, that Mr. Hervey "was going to publish against me." I immediately wrote a short letter to him, which his friends may easily find among his papers. It was to this effect, and, so far as I can recollect, nearly in these words:—

"After waiting above a year for an answer to my last letter, I printed it in the close of a larger treatise. If you have any thing to object to me, I expect, that, as a gentleman and a Christian, you will behave to me as I did to you. Send me the letter first. And if I do not give you a satisfactory answer in a year, then publish it to all the world." I am inclined to believe, this prevented the publication of these papers during

his life. And with his dying breath, (I have it under his brother's hand,) he desired they might not be published at all. How comes it then to be done now? I suppose, through the zeal of those who are so vehemently attached to their own opinions, that they would sacrifice all things to them; and who may sincerely believe, that the bringing any reproach upon me would be "doing God service."

5. In this prefatory discourse, I do not intend to "answer Mr. Hervey's book." Shall my hand be upon that saint of God? No; let him rest in Abraham's bosom. When my warfare is accomplished, may I rest with him till the resurrection of the just! Nor do I intend to say any thing on those questions, whether Christ was the Mediator of the new covenant, or one of the contracting parties, or both the Mediator and a contracting party; neither indeed on any point of Calvinism: herein I think and let think. I do not design to contend about the phrase *imputed righteousness;* nor yet about the sense of it. I cannot explain this more fully or clearly than it is done in the ensuing Tract. I purpose only to speak a little on the personal accusations which are brought against me; and I doubt not but I shall convince all impartial men that I am clear of the things laid to my charge.

6. The chief of these are twelve. I might reckon many more; but they are all reducible to one or other of these. Each of these accusations is frequently repeated, and in great variety of language. But I shall be easily excused for citing only a few out of numerous passages to the same effect.

The first is, that I "assert things without proof." This is undoubtedly true. In the letter before us, I touch upon many things, without once attempting to prove them. For I designed only, (1.) To warn a friend, and give him matter for farther consideration. (2.) To guard others from slipping into mistakes. Therefore Mr. Hervey need not have said, "Never did I meet with a person who seemed so totally ignorant, that there is a wide difference between saying and proving." (p. 236.) I am not ignorant of this; and so my friend would have found, had he favoured me with a private answer. It would then have lain upon me to prove what I had barely said before.

7. I am accused, secondly, of being self-sufficient, positive, magisterial. "Mr. Wesley, cased in his own self-sufficiency, esteems all these evidences as mere nothings. Reason, grammar, precedents are eclipsed by his bare negative." (p. 246.)

I know not which way this can be inferred from any thing I have spoken to Mr. Hervey.

"Mr. Wesley replies, with the solemnity of a censor, and the authority of a dictator, No." (p. 90.)

I am not conscious, that, in making that reply, I assumed any authority at all.

"Here I see nothing but the usual argument, the master's *ipse dixit.*" (p. 139.)

Love might have seen the friend, not the master, taking the liberty which he had been entreated to take.

"Strange! That a man of ordinary discernment should offer to obtrude upon the public such a multitude of naked, unsupported, magisterial asser-

tions! should ever be able to persuade himself, that a positive air would pass for demonstration!" (p. 240.)

I thought nothing of the public when I wrote this letter, but spoke freely and artlessly to a friend; and I spoke as a friend, (so far as I can judge,) not a censor or dictator.

8. I am accused, thirdly, of reasoning loosely and wildly. "Is not this the loose way of arguing you blame in Mr. Wesley?" (p. 233.)

"What wild reasoning is here! Such premises and such an inference" (but they are none of mine) "will probably incline the reader to think of a sunbeam and a clod, connected with bands of smoke." (p. 103.)

When I write for the public, especially in controversy, I seek for connected arguments. *Sed nunc non erat his locus.* [But now there was no place for these.] The compass of a letter would hardly admit of them.

9. I am accused, in the fourth place, of self-contradiction. "See how you are entangled in your own net; how, without being chased by an enemy, you run yourself aground. You avouch palpable inconsistencies." (p. 195.)

"Will Mr. Wesley never have done with self-contradiction? Why will he give me such repeated cause to complain, *Quo teneam vultum mutantem Protea nodo?*" [How shall I bind this changing Proteus?] (p. 142.) "See, my friend, how thy own mouth condemneth thee, and not I; yea, thy own lips testify against thee! If you persist in such palpable inconsistencies, who can forbear taking up that taunting proverb, 'A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways?'" (p. 223.)

"Contradiction, didst thou ever know so trusty a friend, or so faithful a devotee? Many people are ready enough to contradict others. But it seems all one to this gentleman, whether it be another or himself, so he may but contradict." (p. 227.)

Could one imagine, that Mr. Hervey had added to this very page, a note wherein are these words, "The contemptuous and the reproachful, even when really deserved, can have no tendency to confirm our argument, but to provoke resentment. They are not the most promising means of joining us together in one mind and judgment; but rather the sure way to widen the breach and increase animosity."

These I acknowledge as Mr. Hervey's words; for they breathe Mr. Hervey's spirit. But if so, the former came from another heart, though perhaps they were transcribed by his hand.

But whence arises this whole charge of inconsistency and self-contradiction? Merely from straining, winding to and fro, and distorting a few innocent words. For wherein have I contradicted myself, taking words in their unforced, natural construction, or even changed my judgment in any one respect, with regard to justification, (nay, Mr. Hervey, in one of his letters, formerly published, blames me for "never changing my judgment at all!") since I printed the sermon on "Salvation by Faith," in the year 1738? From that day I have steadily believed and uniformly asserted, as all my writings testify, (1.) That the only cause of our present and eternal salvation is what Christ has done and suffered for us. (2.) That we are justified and sanctified by faith alone, faith in him who lived and died for us. Let my words be twisted and wire-drawn ever so long, they will not fairly bear any other meaning, nor, without apparent violence, contradict either of these propositions. It is

true, (3.) That I have, during this whole time, occasionally used those expressions, *imputed righteousness*, *the righteousness of Christ*, and others of the same kind,—although the verses cited in several of Mr. Hervey's letters are not mine, but my brother's. But it is equally true, (4.) That I never used them at all, in any other meaning than that sound, Scriptural one, wherein they are used by many eminent men, Calvin in particular. I choose not to speak farther on this head, lest I should be under a disagreeable necessity of saying any thing that might even seem disrespectful to my ever-loved and honoured friend.

10. I am accused, fifthly, of not understanding criticism and divinity. "What a piddling criticism is this!" (p. 220.)

"I can no more admire your taste as a critic, than your doctrine as a divine." (p. 145.)

"In this interpretation I can neither discern the true critic, nor the sound divine." (p. 214.)

I am not a judge in my own cause. What I am ignorant of, I desire to learn.

I do not know whether the following charge may not fall under this head:—

"In another person, this would look like profane levity: in Mr. Wesley, the softest appellation we can give it is idle pomp." (p. 7.)

What! The using the expression, "for Christ's sake?" The whole paragraph runs thus:—

"'We are not solicitous as to any particular set of phrases.' (p. 212.) Then for Christ's sake, and for the sake of the souls which he has purchased with his blood, do not dispute for that particular phrase, *the imputed righteousness of Christ*. It is not Scriptural; it is not necessary. Men who scruple to use, men who never heard, the expression, may yet 'be humbled as repenting criminals at his feet, and rely as devoted pensioners on his merits.' But it has done immense hurt. I have had abundant proof, that the frequent use of this unnecessary phrase, instead of furthering men's progress in vital holiness, has made them satisfied without any holiness at all." Is the speaking earnestly on such a subject "idle pomp?" Are not the souls of men at stake? And most certainly the whole sentence is at as great a distance from levity as from profaneness.

11. I am accused, sixthly, of acting in a manner unworthy a gentleman, a Christian, or a man of sense.

"I am quite ashamed of your meanness," (strong words!) "and grieved at your uncharitable rashness;" in naming three men, the fellows of whom, I hope, are not to be found in England. "How unworthy is such a proceeding either of the gentleman, the Christian, or the man of sense!" (p. 186.)

I am not conscious of either meanness, rashness, or uncharitableness in this matter. But I am willing to refer it to the judgment of any who know the men and their communication.

12. I am accused, seventhly, of impudence.

"Harmless enough, I must own; but what follows is not quite so modest." (p. 201.)

"Your last daring innovation." Affirming that the word usually rendered *righteousness* does sometimes mean *mercy*. I dare not say otherwise. I must affirm this still, both of the Hebrew and Greek word.

"Every body knows that the particle *beth* signifies *in*, and every body but Mr. Wesley would blush to assert the contrary." (p. 220.)

I never asserted the contrary, nor did I ever deny, that the particle εν likewise signifies *in*. Yet I affirm that both the former and the latter have several other significations.

13. I am accused, Eighthly, of denying justification by faith, and of being an enemy to the righteousness of Christ.

"We have liberty to look upon ourselves as justified without any works of our own." (True; but not without faith.) "This you would supersede and abolish." (p. 261.)

The whole tenor of my writing, preaching, and conversation clears me of this charge.

"Why should you be so averse to the righteousness of God our Saviour?" (p. 227.)

Far, very far from it. I admire, love, and embrace it, as the ground of all my hope, as the only foundation of every blessing, in time and in eternity.

"Why should you ransack all the stores of your learning and knowledge, to exclude this glorious truth from the Bible?"

I do just the contrary. I use whatever knowledge God has given me, to defend that glorious truth, "Jesus Christ is made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

14. The Ninth accusation is short: You are a heretic, and your doctrine poisonous.

"You scarce distinguish yourself by this language from a heretic. You may rank with the Arian and Socinian." (p. 140.)

What is *this language?* The saying, "The free love of God brings us through justification and sanctification to glory." True; neither do I distinguish myself from a Jew, by saying, "There is one God." Does it follow, that I may rank with Jews? that I am a Jew too?

"Such errors are extremely pernicious. They are like poison mixed with food." (p. 120.)

Let those errors be pointed out and proved. I shall then willingly retract them.

15. I am accused, Tenthly, with being an Antinomian. "'Do you then establish the law?' Are not you the Antinomian?" (p. 143.)

I should not imagine Mr. Hervey was in earnest here, but that I read in another place,—

"It is one of your leading errors, that you form low, scanty apprehensions of God's law." (p. 69.)

What apprehensions I form of God's law, any one may see in the volumes of my Sermons; wherein, after explaining all the particular branches of it contained in our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, I say of it in general, vol. i, p. 309:—

"This law is an incorruptible picture of the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity. It is He whom in his essence no man hath seen or can see, made visible to men and angels. It is the face of God unveiled; God manifested to his creatures, as they are able to bear it. It is the heart of God disclosed to man; yea, in some sense, we may apply to his law what the Apostle says of his Son, it is 'the streaming forth or outbeaming of his glory, the express image of his person.'

"What is the law but Divine virtue and wisdom, assuming a visible form? What is it but the original ideas of truth and good, which were lodged in the uncreated mind from eternity, now drawn forth and clothed with such a vehicle, as to appear even to human understanding?

"The law of God is a copy of the eternal mind, a transcript of the Divine nature; yea, it is the fairest offspring of the everlasting Father, the brighest efflux of his essential wisdom, the visible beauty of the Most High." Are these low and scanty apprehensions of God's law? Or are any such found in the preceding sermons? Can any one form higher apprehensions of it? If not, let this accusation sink for ever.

16. I am accused, in the Eleventh place, for teaching Popish doctrine:

"Mr. Wesley, setting aside pardon and reconciliation, together with the one perfect righteousness that procures them," (I set aside neither the one or the other,) "ascribes all to the love of God. This notion may pass current at Rome, but not among the Protestant churches." (p. 101.)

"This was the doctrine established by the Council of Trent." (But it is not mine.) "This is still maintained in the conclave of Rome." (p. 117.) But it is not maintained by me, nor any of my friends. We teach quite the contrary.

"I acquit you from the charge of being a Jesuit or a Papist;" (so far, so good;) "but nobody, I apprehend, can acquit your principles from halting between Protestantism and Popery:" (no more than the principles of all who believe that "Christ tasted death for ever man:") "You have stolen the unhallowed fire, and are infected with the leaven of Antichrist. You have adopted Papistical tenets," (I know not which, and should be glad any one would inform me,) "and are listening to 'the mother of abominations' more than you are aware." (p. 118.) But let it be observed, the holding universal redemption is no proof of this. For thousands of Papists, yea, all the Dominican friars, hold particular redemption.

"The moment in which saints depart from the body, they are in the highest heavens. Here is no hint of any intermediate state. This is the Popish notion." And the Protestant too: it is the notion of many very eminent divines of our own Church. Bishop Smalridge, in particular, has published a celebrated sermon upon it. "I am very sorry your opinions are so much like the man of sin." (*Ib.*)

In this article they are not like at all; they are directly opposite. For the Papists believe, even good men undergo a painful purgatory after death. I believe there is no pain after death, unless to those who perish for ever.

17. The grand charge remains: I am accused, Lastly, and that over and over, in great variety of expressions, of being a knave, a dishonest man, one of no truth, justice, or integrity.

"(1.) The First proof of it is this: 'We have Aspasio's words; but in a patched and disfigured condition.'" (p. 20.)

The words I quoted are: "As sin and misery have abounded through the First Adam, mercy and grace have much more abounded through the Second; so that now none have reason to complain."

That Aspasio's words are here abridged, is true; that they are patched or disfigured, is not true, as every man of common sense must see. So this is no proof of dishonesty.

"(2.) See another: 'Turn inward, and you will probably discern more than a little disingenuity in your own procedure.'" (p. 83.)

Mr. Hervey said, "On Christ's death sinners are to rely as the cause of their forgiveness; on Christ's obedience, as the ground of their acceptance." I asked, "How does this agree with page 58, where we read these words? 'However I may express myself, I would always have the obedience and the death of Christ understood as a glorious aggregate, looking upon all this as the foundation of my hope.'" I ask again, How does the former sentence agree with this? And if a man think it agrees perfectly well, yet he has no ground to charge me with disingenuity for thinking otherwise.

"(3.) A Third proof is brought, p. 37: 'Theron calls the terms inherent and imputed, nice distinctions, and metaphysical subtilties. Mr. Wesley makes Aspasio apply this to the active and passive righteousness of Christ, whereas he is treating of a subject totally different.'"

Upon recurring to the "Dialogues," I find this is true. Here therefore is a breach of literary justice. But it was not a designed one; as may appear from hence, that this was originally sent to Mr. Hervey himself, and him only. Now, had I been ever so dishonest, I should not have been so foolish, had I been conscious of any dishonest dealing, as to appeal to him, who of all others could not fail immediately to detect it.

"(4.) A Fourth runs thus: 'Barely to demonstrate his sovereignty, is a principle of action fit for the Great Turk, not the Most High God.' Such a fraudulent quotation I have not seen, no, not in the Critical Reviewers. To mark the first sentence with commas, and thereby assign it to me, is really a masterpiece, especially when you have thrust in the word *barely*, and lopped off the word *grace*." (p. 284.)

In my Letter the whole paragraph is: "'The grand end which God proposes in all his favourable dispensations to fallen man is, to demonstrate the sovereignty of his grace.'" (Is the word *barely* thrust in here, or the word *grace* lopped off? And could any one, who had eyes to read this, be deceived by my citing afterward part of this sentence?) "Not so; to impart happiness to his creatures is his grand end herein. Barely 'to demonstrate his sovereignty' is a principle of action fit for the Great Turk, not the Most High God.

You see, there needs only to correct the mistake of the printer, who set the commas on the wrong word, and this "specimen too of my want of integrity" vanishes into nothing.

Suffer me to observe once more, (and let it be once for all,) that the sending false quotations of a man's book to himself, and that while there was not the least design or thought of publishing what was so sent, could never be a proof of want of integrity, but of attention, or, at most, of understanding.

"(5.) But this will not avail in the following case: Review a passage of your book on Original Sin. Here you scruple not to overleap the bounds of sincerity and truth. Aspasio had said, 'As Adam was a public person, and acted in the stead of all mankind; so Christ was a public person, and acted in behalf of all his people. As Adam was the first general representative of this kind, Christ was the second and the last.' Here you substitute the word *mankind* instead of *this kind*. I at first thought, it might be an inadvertency, or an error of the press, till I looked to the bottom of the page, where I found

the following words inclosed within the marks of the same quotation:" (that is, the commas, which ought to have been set five lines sooner, are set at the end of the paragraph:) "All these expressions demonstrate, that Adam (as well as Christ) was a representative of all mankind; and that what he did in this capacity did not terminate in himself, but affected all whom he represented.' " (*Original Sin*, p. 268; *Dialogues*, p. 137.) "Then I could no longer forbear crying out, 'There is treachery, O Ahaziah!' " (p. 278.)

Treachery! *Cui bono?* "For what end?" Can any guess? What was I to gain thereby? Of what possible advantage could it be, either to me or to the cause I was defending? What possible view could I have therein? And would I cheat for cheating sake? I was not here talking either of general or particular redemption. I purposely declined entering into the question throughout that whole treatise. Every candid man will therefore naturally suppose, that both the misplacing the commas, and the putting *mankind* for *this kind*, were the printer's fault, not mine; a part of those numerous errors of the press, which were occasioned by my absence from it, and the inaccuracy of the corrector.

18. I will not tire either my reader or myself, by citing any more passages of this kind; although the circumstances are so plausibly related, and so strongly amplified, that, upon the first reading of each, I was myself ready to cry out, "Surely this must be true!" I hope the preceding specimen may suffice, and prevent impartial men from judging rashly. I shall add but one passage more; but it is a very extraordinary one; such as none can deny to be a home thrust, a blow under the fifth rib:—

"My dear sir, let me give you a word of friendly advice. Before you turn Turk, Deist, or Atheist, see that you first become an honest man. They will all disown you, if you go over to their party destitute of common honesty." (p. 277.)

Upon what is this wonderful advice grounded? and this peremptory declaration, that, as I am now, even Turks and Deists, yea, Atheists, would disown me? Why, upon the printer's blunder,—putting *mankind* for *this kind*, and setting the commas in the wrong place!

"And is this thy voice, my son David?" Is this thy tender, loving, grateful spirit? No, "the hand of Joab is in all this!" I acknowledge the hand, the heart of William Cudworth. I perceive, it was not an empty boast, (as I was at first inclined to think,) which he uttered to Mr. Pearse, at Bury, before my friend went to paradise,—"Mr. Hervey has given me full power to put out and *put in* what I please."

But he too is gone hence; and he knows not whether I am an honest man or no. It cannot be long, even in the course of nature, before I shall follow them.

My race of glory 's run, and race of shame;
And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

I could wish till then to be at peace with all men; but the will of the Lord be done! Peace or war, ease or pain, life or death, is good, so I may but "finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God."

HOXTON-SQUARE, Nov. 16, 1764.

SOME REMARKS

ON

"A DEFENCE OF THE PREFACE TO THE EDINBURGH EDITION OF ASPASIO VINDICATED."

EDINBURGH, May, 1766.

I HAVE neither time nor inclination to write a formal answer to the Reverend Dr. Erskine's tract. My hope of convincing him is lost; he has drunk in all the spirit of the book he has published. But I owe it to God and his children to say something for myself, when I am attacked in so violent a manner, if haply some may take knowledge, that I also endeavour to "live honestly, and to serve God."

1. Dr. Erskine says, "An edition of these Letters has been published in London, from the author's own manuscripts, which puts the authenticity of them beyond doubt." I answer, This is a mistake; impartial men doubt of their authenticity as much as ever. (I mean, not with regard to the Letters in general, but to many particular passages.) And that for two reasons: First, because those passages breathe an acrimony and bitterness which Mr. Hervey in his life-time never showed to any one, and least of all to one he was deeply obliged to. Surely this is not what Dr. E. terms his "Scriptural and animated manner." I hope it was not for this cause that he pronounces this "equal, if not superior, to any one of his controversial pieces published in his life-time." Indeed, I know of no controversial piece at all which he published in his life-time. His "Dialogues," he no more intended for such, than his "Meditations among the Tombs." A Second reason for doubting of their authenticity is that he told his brother, with his dying voice, (I have it under his brother's own hand,) "I desire my Letters may not be published; because great part of them is written in a short hand which none but myself can read."

2. But the present question lies, not between me and Mr. Hervey, but between Dr. E. and me. He vehemently attacks me for saying, "Orthodoxy, or right opinion, is at best but a very slender part of religion, if any part of it at all." He labours to deduce the most frightful consequences from it, and cries, "If once men believe that right opinion is a slender part of religion, if any part of religon, or no part at all, there is scarce any thing so foolish, or so wicked, which Satan may not prompt to." (p. 6.) And what, if, after all, Dr. E. himself believes the very same thing! I am much mistaken if he does not. Let us now fairly make the trial.

I assert, (1.) That, in some cases, "right opinion is no part of religion;" in other words, there may be right opinion where there is no religion. I instance in the devil. Has he not right opinions? Dr. E. must, perforce, say, Yes. Has he religion? Dr. E. must say, No. Therefore, here right opinion is no part of religion. Thus far, then, Dr. E. himself believes as I do.

I assert, (2.) In some cases, "it is a slender part of religion." Observe, I speak of right opinion, as contradistinguished both from right tempers and from right words and actions. Of this, I say, "It is a slen-

der part of religion." And can Dr. E. say otherwise? Surely, no; nor any man living, unless he be brimful of the spirit of contradiction.

"Nay, but I affirm, right tempers cannot subsist without right opinion: The love of God, for instance, cannot subsist without a right opinion of him." I have never said any thing to the contrary: But this is another question. Though right tempers cannot subsist without right opinion, yet right opinion may subsist without right tempers. There may be a right opinion of God, without either love, or one right temper toward him. Satan is a proof of it. All, therefore, that I assert in this matter, Dr. E. must affirm too.

But does it hence follow, "that ignorance and error are as friendly to virtue as just sentiments?" or, that any man may "disbelieve the Bible with perfect innocence or safety?" Does Dr. E. himself think I believe this? I take upon me to say, he does not think so. But why does he talk as if he did? "Because it is a clear consequence from your own assertion." I answer, (1.) If it be, that consequence is as chargeable on Dr. E. as on me; since he must, *nolens volens*, [willing or unwilling,] assert the same thing, unless he will dispute through a stone wall. (2.) This is no consequence at all: For, admitting "right tempers cannot subsist without right opinions," you cannot infer, therefore, "right opinions cannot subsist without right tempers." Prove this by other mediums, if you can; but it will never be proved by this. However, until this is done, I hope to hear no more of this thread-bare objection.

3. Dr. E. attacks me, Secondly, with equal vehemence, on the head of justification. In various parts of his tract, he flatly charges me with holding justification by works. In support of this charge, he cites several sentences out of various treatises, abridgments of which I have occasionally published within these thirty years. As I have not those abridgments by me now, I suppose the citations are fairly made; and that they are exactly made, without any mistake, either designed or undesigned. I will suppose, likewise, that some of these expressions, gleaned up from several tracts, are indefensible. And what is it which any unprejudiced person can infer from this? Will any candid man judge of my sentiments, either on this or any other head, from a few sentences of other men, (though reprinted by me, after premising, that I did not approve of all their expressions,) or from my own avowed, explicit declarations, repeated over and over? Yet this is the way by which Dr. E. proves, that I hold justification by works! He continually cites the words of those authors as mine, telling his reader, "Mr. Wesley says thus and thus." I do not say so; and no man can prove it, unless by citing my own words. I believe justification by faith alone, as much as I believe there is a God. I declared this in a sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, eight-and-twenty years ago. I declared it to all the world eighteen years ago, in a sermon written expressly on the subject. I have never varied from it, no, not a hair's breadth, from 1738 to this day. Is it not strange, then, that, at this time of day, any one should face me down, (yea, and one who has that very volume in his hands, wherein that sermon on justification by faith is contained,) that I hold justification by works? and that, truly, because there are some expressions in some tracts written by other men, but reprinted by me during a course of years, which seem, at least, to countenance that

doctrine! Let it suffice, (and it will suffice for every impartial man,) that I absolutely, once for all, renounce every expression which contradicts that fundamental truth, We are justified by faith alone.

"But you have published John Goodwin's 'Treatisie on Justification.'" I have so; but I have not undertaken to defend every expression which occurs therein. Therefore, none has a right to palm them upon the world as mine. And yet I desire no one will condemn that treatise before he has carefully read it over; and that seriously and carefully; for it can hardly be understood by a slight and cursory reading. And let whoever has read it declare, whether he has not proved every article he asserts, not only by plain express Scripture, but by the authority of the most eminent Reformers. If Dr. E. thinks otherwise, let him confute him; but let no man condemn what he cannot answer.

4. Dr. E. attacks me, Thirdly, on the head of Christian perfection. It is not my design to enter into the merits of the cause. I would only just observe, (1.) That the great argument which Dr. E. brings against it is of no force; and (2.) That he misunderstands and misrepresents my sentiments on the subject.

First. His great argument against it is of no force. It runs thus: "Paul's contention with Barnabas is a strong argument against the attainableness of perfection in this life." (p. 41.) True, if we judge by the bare sound of the English version. But Dr. E. reads the original: Και εγενετο παροξυσμος. It does not say that sharpness was on both sides. It does not say that all or any part of it was on St. Paul's side. Neither does the context prove that he was in any fault at all. Indeed, "he thought it not good to take him with them," who had deserted them before. Now certainly there was no blame in this; neither was there any in his subsequent behaviour. For when Barnabas also departed from it, he went on still in the work. "He went through Syria and Cilicia," as he had proposed, "confirming the Churches."

Secondly. He misunderstands and misrepresents my sentiments on the subject. He says, "Mr. Wesley seems to maintain, that sinless perfection is actually attained by every one born of God." (p. 39.)

I do not maintain this; I do not believe it. I believe Christian perfection, or perfect love, (*sinless perfection* is an expression which I do not use or contend for,) is not attained by any of the children of God till they are what the Apostle John terms *fathers*. And this I expressly declare in that very sermon which Dr. E. so largely quotes.

5. Why Dr. E. should quarrel with me concerning natural free-will, I cannot conceive, unless for quarrelling's sake. For it is certain, on this head, if no other, we are precisely of one mind. I believe that Adam before his fall, had such freedom of will, that he might choose either good or evil; but that since the fall, no child of man has a natural power to choose any thing that is truly good. Yet I know (and who does not?) that man has still freedom of will in things of an indifferent nature. Does not Dr. E. agree with me in this? O why should we seek occasion of contention!

6. That Michael Servetus was "one of the wildest Anti-trinitarians that ever appeared" is by no means clear. I doubt of it, on the authority of Calvin himself, who certainly was not prejudiced in his favour. For if Calvin does not misquote his words, he was no Anti-trinitarian at all.

Calvin himself gives a quotation from one of his letters, in which he expressly declares, "I do believe the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Ghost is God. But I dare not use the word *Trinity* or *Person*." I dare, and I think them very good words. But I should think it very hard to be burned alive for not using them; especially with a slow fire, made of moist, green wood!

I believe Calvin was a great instrument of God; and that he was a wise and pious man: But I cannot but advise those who love his memory to let Servetus alone. Yet if any one resolves to understand the whole affair, he may see a circumstantial account of it, published some years since, by Dr. Chandler, an eminent Presbyterian divine in London.

7. Of myself I shall speak a little by and by. But I would now speak of the Methodists, so called, in general. Concerning these, Dr. E. cites the following words, from a little tract, published some years since: —("Advice to the People called Methodists.")

"We look upon ourselves, not as the authors or ring-leaders of a particular sect or party, but as messengers of God to those who are Christians in name, but Heathens in heart and life, to call them back to that from which they are fallen, to real, genuine Christianity.—We look upon the Methodists, not as any particular party, but as living witnesses, in and to every party, of that Christianity which we preach." (p. 3.)

On this Dr. E. remarks: "If the Methodist teachers confined themselves to preaching, there might be some room for this plea; but hardly, when they form bands and classes;" that is, when they advise those who are "recalled to real Christianity," to watch over each other, lest they fall again into the nominal religion, or no religion, that surrounds them. But how does this alter the case? What, if being jealous, "lest any" of their brethren should again "be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin," they should "exhort one another," not only weekly, but daily, to cleave to God "with full purpose of heart!" Why might we not plead still, that these are not to "be looked upon as any particular party, but as living witnesses, in and to every party, of that Christianity which we preach?"

What Dr. E. says of the mischievousness of this, and with great plausibility, (p. 27,) depends upon an entire mistake, namely, that the leader of a class acts just like a Romish priest; and that the inquiries made in a class are of the same kind with those made in auricular confession. It all therefore falls to the ground at once, when it is observed, that there is no resemblance at all, either between the leader and the priest, or between the inquiries made by one and by the other.

It is true, that the leader "sees each person once a week, to inquire how their souls prosper;" and that when they meet, "the leader or teacher asks each a few questions relating to the present situation of their minds." So then, that questions are actually asked, yea, and inquiries made, cannot be denied. But what kind of questions and inquiries? None that expose the answerer to any danger; none that they would scruple to answer before Dr. E., or any other person that fears God.

8. "But you form a Church within a Church, whose members in South Britain profess to belong to the Church of England, and those in North Britain to the Church of Scotland; while yet they are inspected and governed by teachers who are sent, continued, or removed by Mr. W" (p. 3.)

All this is, in a certain sense, very true. But let us see what all this amounts to. "You form a Church within a Church;" that is, you raise up and join together witnesses of real Christianity, not among Mohammedans and Pagans, but within a Church by law established. Certainly so. And that Church, if she knew her own interest, would see she is much obliged to us for so doing. "But the Methodists in South Britain profess to belong to the Church of England." They profess the truth: for they do belong to it; that is, all who did so before the change was wrought, not in their external mode of worship, but in their tempers and lives. "Nay, but those in Scotland profess to belong to the Church of Scotland." And they likewise profess the truth: for they do belong to it as they did before. And is there any harm in this?

"But they are still inspected by Mr. W. and his preachers." And they think this both their duty and their privilege; namely, to be still instructed, and built up in faith and love, by those who were the instruments, in God's hand, of bringing them from dead, formal religion to "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." But still those teachers are so careful, not to withdraw them from the Church to which they belong, not to make any division, that they neither baptize, nor administer the Lord's Supper. If I were desirous to form a separate party, I should do both without delay.

9. I come now to add a few words, without any preface or ceremony, concerning myself:—

Dr. E. affirms, First, that I am a very knave; and, Secondly, that I am in a state of damnation. As to the First, he says, "Truth and honesty choose to enter openly and undisguised. 'He that entereth not by the door' of a plain, simple declaration of his sentiments, but insinuates himself by concealing his opinions, 'the same is a thief and a robber.'" (p. 5.) We have more to the same purpose: "Upon mature reflection, I saw no cause to flatter myself, that I could procure from him satisfaction as to what offended me. He had discovered himself no novice in the arts of subtlety and disguise." (p. 24.) Again: "I find little else than that shifting at which Mr. W. is so singularly expert." This is as genteel as to say, "Sir, you lie;" and it is just as strong an argument. It is indeed mere common-place, with which a man fond of such flowers may embellish his page on any occasion.

But what room is there for it on this occasion? By God's help, I will sift this matter thoroughly. And I trust no gentleman or scholar who weighs what I say, will throw this dirt in my face any more.

For several years I was Moderator in the disputations which were held six times a week at Lincoln College, in Oxford. I could not avoid acquiring hereby some degree of expertness in arguing; and especially in discerning and pointing out well-covered and plausible fallacies. I have since found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this honest art. By this, when men have hedged me in by what they called demonstrations, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces; in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay; and it flew open in a moment. This is the art which I have used with Bishop Warburton, as well as in the preceding pages. When Dr. E. twisted truth and falsehood together, in many of his propositions, it was by this art I untwisted the one from the other, and showed just how far

each was true. At doing this, I bless God, I am expert; as those will find who attack me without rhyme or reason. But "shifting, subtlety and disguise," I despise and abhor, fully as much as Dr. E. And if he cannot see that I have answered Bishop Warburton plainly and directly, and so untwisted his arguments that no man living will be able to piece them together, I believe all unprejudiced men can, and are thoroughly convinced of it.

Let any candid man review the last article, and he will see another instance of this. Dr. E. had given us a long paragraph about "forming a Church within a Church." It is to the same effect with the objection which the warm Churchmen have often urged against the Dissenters in England. It sounds extremely plausible, and the parts of it are carefully knit together. But it is not a gordian knot: a man moderately expert in arguing may untie it. And when the threads are separate, it plainly appears to have been fine, but not strong.

As to the Second point, I cannot at all complain of Dr. E.'s want of openness. He speaks plain and downright: "Seeming strictness of behaviour will not justify those who forget, 'There is a way which seemeth right unto a man; but the end thereof is the way of death.'" (p. 46.)

Again: "What claim can he have to genuine Christianity, whose professed experience gives God the lie? 'Say I these things as a man, or saith not the law the same also?' It is a deadly charity that flatters men with a persuasion that they are in the way of life, whom the Scripture pronounces in a way of destruction."

Dr. E.'s charity is of another kind! It is Mr. Sandiman's charity! It reminds me of the charity of an Antinomian in London; one, I mean, who was newly recovered from that delusion: "Sir," said she, "last week I would not have been content to kill you, if I could not have damned you too." I pray God to deliver me from such charity! charity, cruel as the grave!

But what right have I to complain of Dr. E.? He has no obligation to me. My speaking of him every where as I have done, was a point of justice, not of friendship. I had only the desire, but not the power, of doing him any kindness. I could not say to him, "Nevertheless thou owest me thine own soul also." I have it not under Dr. E.'s hand, as I have under Mr. Hervey's, "Shall I call you my father or my friend? You have been both to me." If those related to me by so near, so tender, ties, thus furiously rise up against me, how much more may a stranger,—one of another nation? "O Absalom, my son, my son!"

POSTSCRIPT.

In his twenty-first page, Dr. E. says, "How far Mr. Wesley's Letter was an answer to any thing material in the Preface, the reader will best judge by perusing it." I have annexed it here, that the reader may judge, whether it is not an answer to one very material thing, namely, the charge of "concealing my sentiments," for which Dr. E. condemns me in the keenest manner, and on which very account he makes no scruple to pronounce me "a thief and a robber." I need only premise, that I wrote it not out of fear, (as perhaps Dr. E. thought,) neither in guile; but merely out of love to him, and concern for the cause of God.

I desire no favour from him or any opponent: do me justice, and I ask no more.

EDINBURGH, April 24, 1765.

REV. SIR,—Between thirty and forty years I have had the world upon me, speaking all manner of evil. And I expected no less, as God had called me to testify that its deeds were evil. But the children of God were not upon me; nor did I expect they would. I rather hoped they would take knowledge, that all my designs, and thought, and care, and labour, were directed to this one point,—to advance the kingdom of Christ upon earth. And so many of them did, however differing from me both in opinions and modes of worship. I have the pleasure to mention Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Watts, and Mr. Wardrobe, in particular. How then was I surprised, as well as concerned, that a child of the same Father, a servant of the same Lord, a member of the same family, and (as to the essence of it) a preacher of the same Gospel, should, without any provocation that I know of, declare open war against me! I was the more surprised, because you had told me some months since, that you would favour me with a letter. And had this been done, I make no doubt but you would have received full satisfaction. Instead of this, you ushered into this part of the world one of the most bitter libels that was ever written against me;—written by a dying man, (so far as it was written by poor, well-meaning Mr. Hervey,) with a trembling hand, just as he was tottering on the margin of the grave. A great warrior resigned his crown, because "there should be some interval," he said, "between fighting and death." But Mr. Hervey, who had been a man of peace all his life, began a war not six months before he died. He drew his sword when he was just putting off his body. He then fell on one to whom he had the deepest obligations, (as his own letters, which I have now in my hands, testify,) on one who had never intentionally wronged him, who had never spoken an unkind word of him, or to him, and who loved him as his own child. O tell it not in Gath! The good Mr. Hervey (if these Letters were his) died cursing his spiritual father.

And these Letters another good man, Mr. ———, has introduced into Scotland, and warmly recommended. Why have you done this? "Because you have concealed your principles, which is palpable dishonesty."

When I was first invited into Scotland, (about fourteen years ago,) Mr. Whitefield told me, "You have no business there; for your principles are so well known, that if you spoke like an angel, none would hear you. And if they did, you would have nothing to do but to dispute with one and another from morning to night."

I answered: "If God sends me, people will hear. And I will give them no provocation to dispute; for I will studiously avoid controverted points, and keep to the fundamental truths of Christianity. And if any still begin to dispute, they may; but I will not dispute with them."

I came: hundreds and thousands flocked to hear. But I was enabled to keep my word. I avoided whatever might engender strife, and insisted upon the grand points,—the religion of the heart, and salvation by faith,—at all times, and in all places. And by this means I have cut off all occasion of dispute, from the first day to this very hour. And this you amazingly improve into a fault; construe into a proof of dis-

honesty. You likewise charge me with holding unsound principles, and with saying, "Right opinions are (sometimes) no part of religion."

The last charge I have answered over and over, and very lately to Bishop Warburton. Certainly, had you read that single tract, you would never have repeated that stale objection.

As to my principles, every one knows, or may know, that I believe the Thirty-first Article of the Church of England. But can none be saved who believe this? I know you will not say so. Meantime, in the main point (justification by faith) I have not wavered a moment for these seven-and-twenty years. And I allow all which Mr. Hervey himself contends for, in his entrance upon the subject,—"Come to Jesus as a needy beggar; hang upon him as a devoted pensioner." And whoever does this, I will be bold to say, shall not perish everlastingly.

As to your main objection, convince me that it is my duty to preach on controverted subjects, predestination in particular, and I will do it. At present I think it would be a sin. I think it would create still more divisions. And are there not enough already? I have seen a book written by one who styles himself, "*Ecclesiæ direptæ et gementis Presbyter.*" [A Presbyter of a distracted and groaning Church.] Shall I tear *ecclesiam direptam et gementem?* [a distracted and groaning Church?] God forbid! No; I will, so far as I can, heal her breaches. And if you really love her, (as I doubt not you do,) why should you hinder me from so doing? Has she so many friends and helpers left, that you should strive to lessen their number? Would you wish to turn any of her friends, even though weak and mistaken, into enemies? If you must contend, have you not Arians, Socinians, Seceders, Infidels, to contend with; to say nothing of whoremongers, adulterers, Sabbath breakers, drunkards, common swearers? *O ecclesia gemens!* And will you pass by all these, and single out me to fight with? Nay, but I will not. I do and will fight with all these, but not with you. I cannot; I dare not. You are the son of my Father; my fellow labourer in the Gospel of his dear Son. I love your person; I love your character; I love the work wherein you are engaged. And if you will still shoot at me, (because Mr. Hervey has painted me as a monster,) even with arrows drawn from Bishop Warburton's quiver, (how unfit for Mr. ——'s hand!) I can only say, as I always did before, the Lord Jesus bless you in your soul, in your body, in your relations, in your work, in whatever tends to his own glory!

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate brother, JOHN WESLEY.

THE QUESTION,

"WHAT IS AN ARMINIAN?"

ANSWERED.

BY A LOVER OF FREE GRACE

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1. To say, "This man is an Arminian," has the same effect on many hearers, as to say, "This is a mad dog." It puts them into a fright at once: they run away from him with all speed and diligence; and will

hardly stop, unless it be to throw a stone at the dreadful and mischievous animal.

2. The more unintelligible the word is, the better it answers the purpose. Those on whom it is fixed know not what to do: not understanding what it means, they cannot tell what defence to make, or how to clear themselves from the charge. And it is not easy to remove the prejudice which others have imbibed, who know no more of it, than that it is "something *very* bad," if not "*all* that is bad!"

3. To clear the meaning, therefore, of this ambiguous term, may be of use to many: to those who so freely pin this name upon others, that they may not say what they do not understand; to those that hear them, that they may be no longer abused by men's saying they know not what; and to those upon whom the name is fixed, that they may know how to answer for themselves.

4. It may be necessary to observe, First, that many confound Arminians with Arians. But this is entirely a different thing; the one has no resemblance to the other. An Arian is one who denies the Godhead of Christ; we scarce need say, the supreme, eternal Godhead; because there can be no God but the supreme, eternal God, unless we will make two Gods, a great God and a little one. Now, none have ever more firmly believed, or more strongly asserted, the Godhead of Christ, than many of the (so called) Arminians have done; yea, and do at this day. Arminianism therefore (whatever it be) is totally different from Arianism.

5. The rise of the word was this: James Harmens, in Latin, *Jacobus Arminius*, was first one of the ministers of Amsterdam, and afterward Professor of Divinity at Leyden. He was educated at Geneva; but in the year 1591 began to doubt of the principles which he had till then received. And being more and more convinced that they were wrong, when he was vested with the Professorship, he publicly taught what he believed the truth, till, in the year 1609, he died in peace. But a few years after his death, some zealous men, with the prince of Orange at their head, furiously assaulted all that held what were called his opinions; and having procured them to be solemnly condemned, in the famous Synod of Dort, (not so numerous or learned, but full as impartial, as the Council or Synod of Trent,) some were put to death, some banished, some imprisoned for life, all turned out of their employments, and made incapable of holding any office, either in Church or State.

6. The errors charged upon these (usually termed *Arminians*) by their opponents, are five: (1.) That they deny original sin; (2.) That they deny justification by faith; (3.) That they deny absolute predestination; (4.) That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible; and, (5.) That they affirm a believer may fall from grace.

With regard to the two first of these charges, they plead, Not Guilty. They are entirely false. No man that ever lived, not John Calvin himself, ever asserted either original sin, or justification by faith, in more strong, more clear and express terms, than Arminius has done. These two points, therefore, are to be set out of the question: in these both parties agree. In this respect there is not a hair's breadth difference between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield.

7. But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, with regard to the three other questions. Here they divide;

the former believe absolute, the latter only conditional, predestination. The Calvinists hold, (1.) God has absolutely decreed, from all eternity, to save such and such persons, and no others; and that Christ died for these, and none else. The Arminians hold, God has decreed from all eternity, touching all that have the written word, "He that believeth shall be saved: he that believeth not, shall be condemned:" and in order to this, "Christ died for all, all that were dead in trespasses and sins;" that is, for every child of Adam, since "in Adam all died."

8. The Calvinists hold, Secondly, that the saving grace of God is absolutely irresistible; that no man is any more able to resist it, than to resist the stroke of lightning. The Arminians hold, that although there may be some moments wherein the grace of God acts irresistibly, yet, in general, any man may resist, and that to his eternal ruin, the grace whereby it was the will of God he should have been eternally saved.

9. The Calvinists hold, Thirdly, that a true believer in Christ cannot possibly fall from grace. The Arminians hold, that a true believer may "make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience;" that he may fall, not only foully, but finally, so as to perish for ever.

10. Indeed, the two latter points, irresistible grace and infallible perseverance, are the natural consequence of the former, of the unconditional decree. For if God has eternally and absolutely decreed to save such and such persons, it follows, both that they cannot resist his saving grace, (else they might miss of salvation,) and that they cannot finally fall from that grace which they cannot resist. So that, in effect, the three questions come into one, "Is predestination absolute or conditional?" The Arminians believe, it is conditional; the Calvinists, that it is absolute.

11. Away, then, with all ambiguity! Away with all expressions which only puzzle the cause! Let honest men speak out, and not play with hard words which they do not understand. And how can any man know what Arminius held, who has never read one page of his writings? Let no man bawl against Arminians, till he knows what the term means; and then he will know that Arminians and Calvinists are just upon a level. And Arminians have as much right to be angry at Calvinists, as Calvinists have to be angry at Arminians. John Calvin was a pious, learned, sensible man; and so was James Harmens. Many Calvinists are pious, learned, sensible men; and so are many Arminians. Only the former hold absolute predestination, the latter, conditional.

12. One word more: Is it not the duty of every Arminian preacher, First, never, in public or in private, to use the word *Calvinist* as a term of reproach; seeing it is neither better nor worse than calling names?—a practice no more consistent with good sense or good manners, than it is with Christianity. Secondly. To do all that in him lies to prevent his hearers from doing it, by showing them the sin and folly of it? And is it not equally the duty of every Calvinist preacher, First, never, in public or in private, in preaching or in conversation, to use the word *Arminian* as a term of reproach? Secondly. To do all that in him lies to prevent his hearers from doing it, by showing them the sin and folly thereof; and that the more earnestly and diligently, if they have been accustomed so to do? perhaps encouraged therein by his own example!

THOUGHTS UPON GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY.

God reveals himself under a two-fold character; as a Creator, and as Governor. These are no way inconsistent with each other; but they are totally different.

As a Creator, he has acted, in all things, according to his own sovereign will. Justice has not, cannot have, any place here; for nothing is due to what has no being. Here, therefore, he may, in the most absolute sense, do what he will with his own. Accordingly, he created the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein, in every conceivable respect, "according to his own good pleasure." 1. He began his creation at what time, or rather, at what part of eternity, it seemed him good. Had it pleased him, it might have been millions of years sooner, or millions of ages later. 2. He determined, by his sovereign will, the duration of the universe; whether it should last seven thousand, or seven hundred thousand, or numberless millions of years. 3. By the same, he appointed the place of the universe, in the immensity of space. 4. Of his sovereign will he determined the number of the stars, of all the component parts of the universe, and the magnitude of every atom, of every fixed star, every planet, and every comet. 5. As Sovereign, he created the earth, with all the furniture of it, whether animate or inanimate; and gave to each such a nature, with such properties. 6. Of his own good pleasure, he made such a creature as man, an embodied spirit, and, in consequence of his spiritual nature, endued with understanding, will, and liberty. 7. He hath determined the times for every nation to come into being, with the bounds of their habitation. 8. He has allotted the time, the place, the circumstances, for the birth of each individual:—

> If of parents I came that honour'd thy name,
> 'Twas thy goodness appointed it so.

9. He has given to each a body, as it pleased him, weak or strong, healthy or sickly. This implies, 10. That he gives them various degrees of understanding, and of knowledge, diversified by numberless circumstances. It is hard to say how far this extends; what an amazing difference there is, as to the means of improvement, between one born and brought up in a pious English family, and one born and bred among the Hottentots. Only we are sure the difference cannot be so great, as to necessitate one to be good, or the other to be evil; to force one into everlasting glory, or the other into everlasting burnings. This cannot be, because it would suppose the character of God as a Creator, to interfere with God as a Governor; wherein he does not, cannot possibly, act according to his own mere sovereign will; but, as he has expressly told us, according to the invariable rules both of justice and mercy.

Whether therefore we can account for it or no, (which indeed we cannot in a thousand cases,) we must absolutely maintain, that God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. But he cannot reward the sun for shining, because the sun is not a free agent. Neither could he reward us, for letting our light shine before men, if we acted as necessarily as the sun. All reward, as well as all punishment, presupposes

free agency; and whatever creature is incapable of choice, is incapable of either one or the other.

Whenever, therefore, God acts as a Governor, as a rewarder, or punisher, he no longer acts as a mere Sovereign, by his own sole will and pleasure; but as an impartial Judge, guided in all things by invariable justice.

Yet it is true, that, in some cases, mercy rejoices over justice; although severity never does. God may reward more, but he will never punish more, than strict justice requires. It may be allowed that God acts as Sovereign in convincing some souls of sin; arresting them in their mid career, by his resistless power. It seems also, that, at the moment of our conversion, he acts irresistibly. There may likewise be many irresistible touches during the course of our Christian warfare; with regard to which every believer may say,

"In the time of my distress
Thou hast my succour been,
In my utter helplessness
Restraining me from sin."

But still, as St. Paul might have been either obedient or "disobedient to the heavenly vision," so every individual may, after all that God has done, either improve his grace, or make it of none effect.

Whatever, therefore, it hath pleased God to do, of his sovereign pleasure, as Creator of heaven and earth; and whatever his mercy may do on particular occasions, over and above what justice requires; the general rule stands firm as the pillars of heaven: "The Judge of all the earth will do right. He will judge the world in righteousness," and every man therein, according to the strictest justice. He will punish no man for doing any thing which he could not possibly avoid; neither for omitting any thing which he could not possibly do. Every punishment supposes the offender might have avoided the offence for which he is punished: otherwise, to punish him would be palpably unjust, and inconsistent with the character of God our Governor.

Let then these two ideas of God the Creator, the sovereign Creator, and God the Governor, the just Governor, be always kept apart. Let us distinguish them from each other, with the utmost care. So shall we give God the full glory of his sovereign grace, without impeaching his inviolable justice.

A BLOW AT THE ROOT;

OR

CHRIST STABBED IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FRIENDS.

Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?—Luke xxii, 48.

1. "WITHOUT holiness no man shall see the Lord," shall see the face of God in glory. Nothing under heaven can be more sure than this; "for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. And though heaven and earth pass away, yet his word shall not pass away." As well therefore might God fall from heaven, as his word fall to the ground. No, it cannot be; none shall live with God, but he that now lives to God;

none shall enjoy the glory of God in heaven, but he that bears the image of God on earth; none that is not saved from sin here can be saved from hell hereafter; none can see the kingdom of God above, unless the kingdom of God be in him below. Whosoever will reign with Christ in heaven, must have Christ reigning in him on earth. He must have "that mind in him which was in Christ," enabling him "to walk as Christ also walked."

2. And yet as sure as this is, and as clearly as it is taught in every part of the Holy Scripture, there is scarce one among all the truths of God, which is less received by men. It was indeed acknowledged in some degree, even among the wiser Heathens. Some among them allowed, that nothing would please God, but the *sancti recessus mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto;* "a virtuous, holy mind, and a heart deep dyed with generous honesty." But though they could not deny, yet how easily and effectually did they evade this! They fancied something else would do as well; that some rites or ceremonies, some external forms, or glorious actions, would supply the place of inward holiness. So the famous Roman entitles to future happiness, not only the good and virtuous, but all

Ob patriam pugnando vulnera passos,
Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti;
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes.

[Those wounded in fighting for their country; eminent poets worthy of Apollo; or those who have improved life by the invention of useful arts.]

So, to fight for their country, to write good verses, or to invent useful arts, was abundantly sufficient, in the judgment of the wisest Heathens, to give men a place in heaven!

3. But this would not pass with modern Romans. They despised such gross imaginations. But though they did not allow these, they found out another way to get to heaven without holiness. In the room of them they substituted penances, pilgrimages, praying to saints and angels; and, above all these, masses for the dead, absolution by a priest, and extreme unction. And these satisfy the Romanists full as well as lustrations did the Heathens. Thousands of them make no manner of doubt, but, by a diligent use of these, without any holiness at all, they shall see the Lord in glory.

4. However, Protestants will not be satisfied thus; they know this hope is no better than a spider's web. They are convinced, that whoever leans on this, leans on the staff of a broken reed. What then can they do? How shall they hope to see God, without holiness? Why, by doing no harm, doing good, going to the church and sacrament. And many thousands sit down content with this, believing they are in the high road to heaven.

5. Yet many cannot rest here. They look upon this as the very Popery of Protestantism. They well know, that although none can be a real Christian, without carefully abstaining from all evil, using every means of grace at every opportunity, and doing all possible good to all men; yet a man may go thus far, may do all this, and be but a Heathen still. They know this religion is too superficial; it is but as it were skin deep. Therefore, it is not Christianity; for that lies in the heart; it is worshipping God in spirit and in truth; it is no other than "the

kingdom of God within us;" it is the life of God in the soul of man; it is the mind which was in Christ Jesus; it is "righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

6. Besides, they see that, be this religion shallower or deeper, it does not stand on the right foundation; since "other foundation" for true religion "can no man lay, than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus;" since no one can have the mind which was in Christ, till he is justified by his blood, till he is forgiven and reconciled to God through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. And none can be justified, they are well assured, but by faith, even faith alone; seeing "to him" only "that believeth on God who justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness."

7. What evasion now? What way could Satan take to make all this light of none effect? What could be done when that grand truth, "By grace ye are saved through faith," was more and more generally received? What, indeed, but to persuade the very men who had received it, to "turn the grace of God into lasciviousness?" To this end Simon Magus appeared again, and taught, "that Christ had done, as well as suffered, all; that his righteousness being imputed to us, we need none of our own; that seeing there was so much righteousness and holiness in him, there needs none in us; that to think we have any, or to desire or seek any, is to renounce Christ; that from the beginning to the end of salvation, all is in Christ, nothing in man; and that those who teach otherwise are legal preachers, and know nothing of the Gospel."

8. This is indeed "a blow at the root," the root of all holiness, all true religion. Hereby Christ is "stabbed in the house of his friends," of those who make the largest professions of loving and honouring him; the whole design of his death, namely, "to destroy the works of the devil," being overthrown at a stroke. For wherever this doctrine is cordially received, it leaves no place for holiness. It demolishes it from top to bottom; it destroys both root and branch. It effectually tears up all desire of it, all endeavour after it. It forbids all such exhortations as might excite those desires, or awaken those endeavours. Nay, it makes men afraid of personal holiness, afraid of cherishing any thought of it, or motion toward it, lest they should deny the faith, and reject Christ and his righteousness: so that, instead of being "zealous of good works," they are a stink in their nostrils. And they are infinitely more afraid of "the works of God," than of "the works of the devil."

9. Here is wisdom! though not the wisdom of the saints, but wisdom from beneath. Here is the masterpiece of Satan: farther than this he cannot go. Men are holy, without a grain of holiness in them! holy in Christ, however unholy in themselves; they are in Christ, without one jot of the mind that was in Christ; in Christ, though their nature is whole in them. They are "complete in him," though they are, in themselves, as proud, as vain, as covetous, as passionate as ever. It is enough: they may be unrighteous still, seeing Christ has "fulfilled all righteousness."

10. "O ye simple ones, how long will ye love simplicity?" How long will ye "seek death in the error of your life?" "Know ye not," whoever teacheth you otherwise, "that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?" "Be not deceived;" although there are many

[who] lie in wait to deceive, and that under the fair pretence of exalting Christ;—a pretence which the more easily steals upon you, because "to you he is precious." But as the Lord liveth, "neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." "Such" indeed "were some of you. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified," as well as "justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." You are really changed; you are not only accounted, but actually "made, righteous." "The law—" the inward power—"of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made" you "free"—really, actually free—"from the law" or power "of sin and death." This is liberty, true Gospel liberty, experienced by every believer: not freedom from the law of God, or the works of God, but from the law of sin, and the works of the devil. See that ye "stand fast in" this real, not imaginary "liberty, wherewith Christ hath made you free." And take heed ye "be not entangled again," by means of these vain boasters, "in the yoke of" that vile "bondage to sin," from which ye are now clean escaped. I testify unto you, that if you still continue in sin, Christ shall profit you nothing; that Christ is no Saviour to you, unless he saves you from your sins; and that unless it purify your heart, faith shall profit you nothing. O when will ye understand, that to oppose either inward or outward holiness, under colour of exalting Christ, is directly to act the part of Judas, to "betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" Repent, repent! lest he cut you in sunder with the two-edged sword that cometh out of his mouth! It is you yourselves that, by opposing the very end of his coming into the world, are crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting him to an open shame. It is you that, by expecting to see the Lord without holiness, through the righteousness of Christ, "make the blood of the covenant an unholy thing," keeping those unholy that so trust in it. O beware! for evil is before you. If those who name not the name of Christ, and die in their sins, shall be punished seven fold, surely, you who thus make Christ a minister of sin, shall be punished seventy-and-seven fold. What! make Christ destroy his own kingdom? make Christ a factor for Satan? set Christ against holiness? talk of Christ as saving his people in their sins? It is no better than to say, He saves them from the guilt, and not from the power, of sin. Will you make the righteousness of Christ such a cover for the unrighteousness of man? So that by this means, "the unrighteous" of every kind "shall inherit the kingdom of God!" Stop! Consider! What are you doing? You did run well: who hath bewitched you? Who hath corrupted you from the simplicity of Christ, from the purity of the Gospel? You did know, "He that believeth is born of God: and whosoever is born of God sinneth not;" but while "he keepeth himself, that wicked one toucheth him not." O come back to the true, the pure, the old Gospel! that which ye received in the beginning. Come back to Christ, who died to make you a holy people, "zealous of good works." "Remember from whence you are fallen, and repent, and do the first works." Your "Father worketh hitherto:" do ye work; else your faith is vain. For "wilt thou know, O vain," O empty "man, that faith without works is dead?" Wilt thou know that "though I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, and have not love,

I am nothing?" Wilt thou know, that all the blood and righteousness of Christ, unless "that mind be in thee which was in him," and thou likewise "walk as Christ walked," will only increase thy damnation? "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about strife of words, whereof come railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth. Be no longer afraid of the strongest exhortations either to inward or outward holiness. Hereby God the Father is glorified, and God the Son truly exalted. Do not stupidly and senselessly call this *legal*,—a silly, unmeaning word. Be not afraid of being "under the law of God," but of being under "the law of sin." Love the strictest preaching best; that which most searches the heart, and shows you wherein you are unlike Christ; and that which presses you most to love him with all your heart, and serve him with all your strength.

11. Suffer me to warn you of another silly, unmeaning word: Do not say, "I can do nothing." If so, then you know nothing of Christ; then you have no faith: For if you have, if you believe, then you "can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth you." You can love him and keep his commandments; and to you his "commandments are not grievous." *Grievous to them that believe!* Far from it. They are the joy of your heart. Show then your love to Christ by keeping his commandments, by walking in all his ordinances blameless. Honour Christ by obeying him with all your might, by serving him with all your strength. Glorify Christ by imitating Christ in all things, by walking as he walked. Keep to Christ by keeping in all his ways. Trust in Christ, to live and reign in your heart. Have confidence in Christ that he will fulfil in you all his great and precious promises, that he will work in you all the good pleasure of his goodness, and all the work of faith with power. Cleave to Christ, till his blood have cleansed you from all pride, all anger, all evil desire. Let Christ do all. Let him that has done all for you, do all in you. Exalt Christ as a Prince to give repentance; a Saviour both to give remission of sins, and to create in you a new heart, to renew a right spirit within you. This is the Gospel, the pure, genuine Gospel; glad tidings of great salvation. Not the new, but the old, the everlasting Gospel, the Gospel not of Simon Magus, but of Jesus Christ. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give you, "according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that, being rooted and grounded in love, ye may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the length, and breadth, and depth, and height; and to know that love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God!"

THE CONSEQUENCE PROVED.

1. Mr. Toplady, a young, bold man, lately published a pamphlet, an extract from which was soon after printed, concluding with these words:—

"The sum of all is this: One in twenty, suppose, of mankind are elected;

nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will: The reprobate shall be damned, do what they can."

2. A great outcry has been raised on that account, as though this was not a fair state of the case; and it has been vehemently affirmed, that no such consequence follows from the doctrine of absolute predestination.

I calmly affirm it is a fair state of the case; this consequence does naturally and necessarily follow from the doctrine of absolute predestination, as here stated and defended by bold Mr. Augustus Toplady.

Indeed I have not leisure to consider the matter at large: I can only make a few strictures, and leave the young man to be farther corrected by one that is full his match, Mr. Thomas Olivers.

3. "When love is predicated of God, it implies, (1.) His everlasting will, purpose, and determination to save his people." (*Mr. Toplady's Tract*, chap. 1.) I appeal to all men, whether it is not a natural consequence, even of this, that "all these shall be saved, do what they will."

You may say, "O, but they will only do what is good." Be it so: Yet the consequence stands.

"Election signifies that sovereign, unconditional, immutable act of God, whereby he selected some to be eternally saved." *Immutable, unconditional!* From hence then it undeniably follows, "these shall be saved, do what they will."

Predestination, as relating to the elect, is that irreversible act of the Divine will, whereby God determined to deliver a certain number of men from hell:" *Ergo*, [therefore,] a certain number shall infallibly be saved, do what they will. Who can deny the consequence?

"Not one of the elect can perish, but they must all necessarily be saved." (Chap. 3.) Can any assert this, and yet deny that consequence,—therefore all the elect shall be saved, do what they will? unless you would say, it is the proposition itself, rather than a consequence from it.

4. So much for the former part of the question: Let us now consider the latter:—

"Hatred ascribed to God implies a resolution not to have mercy on such and such men. So 'Esau have I hated;' that is, I did from all eternity determine not to have mercy on him." (Chap. 1.) In other words,—

> I by my dire decree did seal
> His fix'd, unalterable doom;
> Consign'd his unborn soul to hell,
> And damn'd him from his mother's womb.

Well, then, does it not follow, by unavoidable consequence, that such and such men, poor hated Esau in particular, "shall be damned, do what they can?"

"Reprobation denotes God's eternal preterition of some men, and his predestination of them to destruction." And is it possible for them, by any thing they can do, to prevent that destruction? You say, "No." It follows, they "shall be damned, do what they can."

"Predestination, as it regards the reprobate, is that immutable act of God's will, whereby he hath determined to leave some men to perish." And can they avoid it by any thing they do? You affirm they cannot. Again, therefore, it follows, these "shall be damned, do what they can."

"We assert, there is a predestination of particular persons to death, which death they shall inevitably undergo;" that is, "they shall be damned, do what they can."

"The non-elect were predestinated to eternal death." (Chap. 2.) *Ergo* [therefore,] "They shall be damned, do what they can."

"The condemnation of the reprobate is necessary and inevitable." Surely I need add no more on this head. You see that, "The reprobate shall be damned, do what they can," is the whole burden of the song.

5. Take only two precious sentences more, which include the whole question:—

"We assert, that the number of the elect, and also of the reprobate, is so fixed and determinate, that neither can be augmented or diminished;" (chap. 4;) and, "that the decrees of election and reprobation are immutable and irreversible."

From each of these assertions, the whole consequence follows, clear as the noonday sun,—Therefore, "The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can."

6. I add a word, with regard to another branch of this kind, charitable doctrine.

Mr. Toplady says, "God has a positive will to destroy the reprobate for their sins." (Chap. 1.) *For their sins!* How can that be? I positively assert, that (on this scheme) they have no sins at all. They never had; they can have none. For it cannot be a sin in a spark to rise, or in a stone to fall. And the spark or the stone is not more necessarily determined either to rise or to fall, than the man is to sin, to commit that rape, or adultery, or murder. For "God did, before all time, determine and direct to some particular end, every person or thing, to which he has given, or is yet to give, being." God himself did "predestinate them to fill up the measure of their iniquities;" such was his sovereign, irresistible decree, before the foundation of the world. *To fill up the measure of their iniquities;* that is, to commit every act which they committed. So "God decreed the Jews to be the crucifiers of Christ, and Judas to betray him." (Chap. 4.) Whose fault was it then? You plainly say, It was not his fault, but God's. For what was Judas or ten thousand reprobates besides? Could they resist his decree? No more than they could pull the sun out of the firmament of heaven. And would God punish them with everlasting destruction, for not pulling the sun out of the firmament? He might as well do it for this, as for their not doing what (on this supposition) was equally impossible. "But they are punished for their impenitency, sin, and unbelief." Say *unbelief and impenitency*, but not *sin*. For "God had predestinated them to continue in impenitency and unbelief. God had positively ordained them to continue in their blindness and hardness of heart." Therefore their not repenting and believing was no more a sin, than their not pulling the sun from heaven.

7. Indeed Mr. T. himself owns, "The sins of the reprobate were not the cause of their being passed by; but merely and entirely the sovereign will and determinating pleasure of God."

"O but their sin was the cause of their damnation, though not of their preterition;" that is, God determined they should live and die in their sins, that he might afterward damn them!

Was ever any thing like this? Yes, I have read something like it: When Tiberius had determined to destroy Sejanus and all his family, as it was unlawful to put a virgin to death, what could be done with his daughter, a child of nine years old? Why, the hangman was ordered first to deflower, and then to strangle, her! Yet even good Tiberius did not order her to be strangled "because she had been deflowered!" If so, it had been a parallel case; it had been just what is here affirmed of the Most High.

8. One word more: "I will obviate," says Mr. T., "a fallacious objection, How is reprobation reconcilable with the doctrine of a future judgment? There needs no pains to reconcile these two." *No pains!* Indeed there does; more pains than all the men upon earth, or all the devils in hell, will ever be able to take. But go on: "In the last day, Christ will pass sentence on the non-elect, (1.) Not for having done what they could not help; but, (2.) For their wilful ignorance of divine things; (3.) For their obstinate unbelief; (4.) For their omissions of moral duty; and, (5.) For their repeated iniquities and transgressions."

He will condemn them, (1.) "Not for having done what they could not help." I say, Yes; for having sinned against God to their lives' end. But this they could not help. He had himself decreed it; he had determined they should continue impenitent. (2.) "For their wilful ignorance of divine things." No; their ignorance of God, and the things of God, was not wilful, was not originally owing to their own will, but to the sovereign will of God; his will, not theirs, was the primary cause of their continuing in that ignorance. (3.) "For their obstinate unbelief." No; how can it be termed obstinate, when they never had a possibility of removing it? when God had absolutely decreed, before they were born, that they should live and die therein? (4.) "For their omissions of moral duty;" that is, for not loving God and their neighbour, which is the sum of the moral law. Was it then ever in their power to love God and their neighbour? No; no more than to touch heaven with their hand. Had not God himself unalterably decreed, that they should not love either God or man? If, therefore, they are condemned for this, they are condemned for what they never could help. (5.) "For their repeated iniquities and transgressions." And was it ever in their power to help these? Were they not predestinated thereto before the foundation of the world? How then can the Judge of all the earth consign them to everlasting fire, for what was in effect his own act and deed?

I apprehend, then, this is no fallacious objection, but a solid and weighty one; and defy any man living, who asserts the unconditional decree of reprobation or preterition, (just the same in effect,) to reconcile this with the Scriptural doctrine of a future judgment. I say again, I defy any man on earth to show, how, on this scheme, God can "judge the world in righteousness."

SOME REMARKS

ON

MR. HILL'S "REVIEW OF ALL THE DOCTRINES TAUGHT BY MR. JOHN WESLEY."

Humanum est nescire et errare.

[Ignorance and error are the lot of humanity.]

Be calm in arguing; for fierceness makes
Error a fault, and truth discourtesy.
Why should I feel another man's mistakes
More than his sickness or infirmity?
In love I should; but anger is not love,
Nor wisdom neither; therefore gently move.

HERBERT.

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1. MR. HILL has an immense advantage over me: he abounds in time, and I in business. I cannot therefore undertake to write page for page; I have not leisure, if I had inclination. And indeed it is not needful: for a full confutation of whatsoever is cited from the Eleven Letters commonly ascribed to Mr. Hervey, I need only refer to Mr. Sellon; who has not only answered every shadow of an argument contained in that poor piece of low invective, but even the reproaches; which indeed he could not pass over, without passing over great part of the book. If Mr. H. is afraid to read that answer, I am sorry for it, and for whatever he advances on particular redemption, or any of the points connected therewith, I refer every one who is not afraid of the light, to those three tracts of Mr. Sellon,—"The Arguments against General Redemption answered," "God's Sovereignty Vindicated against Elisha Coles," and "The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Calvinism." I believe if Mr. Hill had given this last a fair reading, he would know the Seventeenth Article is nothing to his purpose.

2. With regard to his objections to Mr. Fletcher, I refer all candid men to his own writings; his Letters, entitled, "A First, Second, and Third Check to Antinomianism;" the rather, because there are very few of his arguments which Mr. H. even attempts to answer. It is true, he promises "a full and particular answer to Mr. F.'s 'Second Check to Antinomianism.'" But it will puzzle any one to find where that answer is, except in the title page. And if any thing more is needful to be done, Mr. F. is still able to answer for himself. But if he does, I would recommend to his consideration the advice formerly given by a wise man to his friend: "See that you humble not yourself to that man; it would hurt both him and the cause of God." It is pity but he had considered it sooner, and he might have escaped some keen reflections. But he did not; he imagined, when he spoke or wrote in the simplicity of his heart, that his opponents would have received his words in the same spirit wherein they were spoken. No such matter; they turn them all into poison; he not only loses his sweet words, but they are turned into bitterness, are interpreted as mere sneer and sarcasm! A good lesson for me! I had designed to have transcribed Mr. F.'s character of Mr.

H and to have added a little thereto, in hope of softening his spirit. but I see it is in vain; as well might one hope to soften

Inexorable Pluto, king of shades!

Since he is capable of putting such a construction, even upon Mr. F.'s gentleness and mildness; since he ascribes even to him "a pen dipped in gall," what will he not ascribe to me? I have done, therefore, with humbling myself to these men, to Mr. H. and his associates. I have humbled myself to them for these thirty years; but will do it no more. I have done with attempting to soften their spirits; it is all lost labour. Upon men of an ingenuous temper I have been able to fix an obligation. Bishop Gibson, Dr. Church, and even Dr. Taylor, were obliged to me for not pushing my advantage. But it is not so with these: whatever mercy you show, you are to expect no mercy from them. *Mercy* did I say? Alas! I expect no justice; no more than I have found already. As they have wrested and distorted my words from the beginning, so I expect they will do to the end. Mr. H.'s performance is a specimen. Such mercy, such justice, I am to expect!

3. And does Mr. H. complain of the unhappy spirit in which Mr. F. writes? Many writers have done marvellously; but thou excellest them all! For forty or fifty years I have been a little acquainted with controversial writers; some of the Romish persuasion, some of our own Church, some dissenters of various denominations: and I have found many among them as angry as him; but one so bitter I have not found: or one only, the author of those "excellent Letters," as Mr. H. styles them; which he particularly "admires," (that is his word,) and the "whole spirit" of which he has drank in. This is his peculiar character, his distinguishing grace: as a writer, his name is Wormwood. Accordingly, he charges Mr. F. with a "severe acrimonious spirit," with "sneer, sarcasm, and banter," yea, with "notorious falsehoods, calumny, and gross perversions." (p. 2.) Nay, "I accuse you," says he, "of the grossest perversions and misrepresentations that ever proceeded from any author's pen." In the same spirit he is represented as "a slanderer of God's people and ministers, descending to the meanest quibbles, with a bitter, railing, acrimonious spirit;" (p. 21;) and page 27, to go no farther, as "using stratagem and ungenerous artifices:" although "I have treated you," says Mr. H., "with all the politeness of a gentleman, and the humility of a Christian." Amazing! And has he not treated me so too? At present, take but one or two instances: "Forgeries have long passed for no crime with Mr. Wesley." (p. 27.) "He administers falsehoods and damnable heresies, rank poison, hemlock, and ratsbane. We cannot allow him any other title than that of an empiric or quack doctor." (p. 29.) Which shall we admire most here,—the gentleman or the Christian?

4. There is something extremely odd in this whole affair. A man falls upon another, and gives him a good beating; who, in order to be revenged, does not grapple with him, (perhaps sensible that he is above his match,) but, giving him two or three kicks, falls upon a third man that was standing by. "O," says he, "but I know that fellow well; he is the second of him that beat me."—"If he is, dispatch your business with the former first, and then turn to him." However, if Mr. H. is resolved to fall upon me, I must defend myself as well as I can.

5. From the spirit and manner wherein he writes, let us now proceed to the matter. But that is so various, and scattered up and down for a hundred and fifty pages, without much order or connection, that it is difficult to know where to begin. However, all tends to one point; the good design of the writer is, to blacken. With this laudable view, he observes the old rule, "Throw dirt enough, and some will stick:" knowing that the mud may be thrown in a trice; but it will take time and pains to scrape it off. Indeed, he takes true pains to fasten it on; to represent Mr. W. as a knave and a fool; a man of no conscience and no understanding. It is true, the latter is insisted on most at large: by a hundred instances Mr. H. has made it plain to all the world, that Mr. W. never had three grains of common sense; that he is the veriest weathercock that ever was; that he has not wit enough to be fixed in any thing, but is "tossed to and fro continually;" "that he is to this very moment so absolutely unsettled with regard to every fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, that no two disputants in the schools can be more opposite to each other than he is to himself."

6. But some may naturally ask, "What is the matter? What makes Mr. H. so warm? What has Mr. W. done, that this gentleman, this Christian, *ita gladiatorio animo ad eum affectat viam?* [thus assails him like a gladiator?] that he falls upon him thus outrageously, dagger out of sheath, without either rhyme or reason?" "O, the matter is plain. Beside that he is Mr. F.'s friend, he is an Arminian; and nothing is bad enough for an Arminian." "An Arminian! What is that?" "I cannot tell exactly; but to be sure it is all that is bad. For a Popish friar, a Benedictine monk, bears witness, (and Mr. H. avers the same,) that the tenets of the Church of Rome are nearer by half to Calvinism than to Arminianism; nearer by half to Mr. H.'s tenets than to Mr. W.'s." "Truly, I always thought so. But still I ask, What is an Arminian?" "Why, in other words, an election doubter." And the "good old Preacher," says Mr. H. "places all election doubters" (that is, those who are not clear in the belief of absolute predestination) "among the numerous host of the Diabolonians. One of these being brought before the Judge, the Judge tells him, 'To question election is to overthrow a great doctrine of the Gospel: therefore he, the election doubter, must die.'" (p. 37.) That is, plainly, he must die eternally for this damnable sin. The very same thing Mr. H. affirms elsewhere: "The only cement of Christian union is the love of God; and the foundation of that love must be laid in believing the truths of God;" (that is, you must believe particular redemption, or it is impossible you should love God;) for, to use "the words of Dr. Owen, in his 'Display of Arminianism,'" (see the truths which Mr. H. means,) "'an agreement without truth is no peace, but a covenant with death, and a conspiracy against the kingdom of Christ.'" (p. 39.)

7. I am sorry Mr. H. should think so. But so long as he remains in that sentiment, what peace am I or Mr. F. or indeed any Arminian, to expect from him? since any agreement with us would be "a covenant with death, and a conspiracy against the kingdom of Christ." I therefore give up all hope of peace with him, and with all that are thus minded. For I do not believe what he terms "the truths of God," the doctrine of absolute predestination. I never did believe it, nor the doctrines

connected with it, no, not for an hour. In this, at least, I have been consistent with myself. I have never varied a hair's breadth; I cannot while I believe the Bible, while I believe either the Old or New Testament. What I do believe, and always have believed in this matter, I will declare with all simplicity.

"(1.) I believe no decree of reprobation. I do not believe the Father of spirits ever

Consign'd one unborn soul to hell,
Or damn'd him from his mother's womb.

"(2.) I believe no decree of preterition, which is only reprobation white-washed. I do not believe God ever sent one man into the world, to whom he had decreed never to give that grace whereby alone he could escape damnation.

"(3.) I do not believe (what is only preterition or reprobation in other words) any such absolute election, as implies that all but the absolutely elect shall inevitably be damned.

"(4.) I do not believe the doctrine of irresistible grace, or of infallible perseverance; because both the one and the other implies that election which cannot stand without preterition or reprobation.

"(5.) I do not believe salvation by works. Yet if any man can prove (what I judge none ever did, or ever will) that there is no medium between this and absolute predestination; I will rather subscribe to this than to that, as far less absurd of the two."

8. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ?* Here is the source of Mr. H.'s implacable hatred to me. And hence arises his vehement displeasure at those "Minutes," which Mr. Sh—— and he style "dreadful heresy." The appellation is just, suppose (as Mr. H. asserts) all election doubters are Diabolonians; suppose no man who is "not clear in the belief of absolute predestination" can love either God or his neighbour. For it is certain, the doctrine of the minutes and of the decress cannot stand together. If the doctrine of the decrees stands, then that of the minutes must fall; for we willingly allow, that the one is incompatible with the other. If the doctrine of the minutes stands, then that of the decrees must fall. For it is manifest, this, particularly the last article, strikes at the very root of Calvinism. Of what consequence is it, then, to one who is persuaded, the belief of Calvinism is essential to salvation, to expose those minutes to the uttermost, as well as any that dares to defend them?

9. In order to this good end, Mr. H. publishes "A Review of all the Doctrines taught by Mr. John Wesley." But is it possible for any man to do this without reading all the writings that I have published? It is not possible in the nature of things; he cannot give an account of what he never read. And has Mr. H. read all that I have published? I believe he will not affirm it. So any man of understanding may judge, before he opens his book, what manner of review it is likely to contain! However, it must be owned that he and his faithful allies have been at the pains of looking into many of my writings. I say many; for I apprehend there are many more, which they have not so much as looked into; nor does it appear that they have seriously looked through any, so as to observe the scope and tenor of them. However, from those which he or they have, after a fashion, reviewed, abundance of objections are extracted. It is true, none of them (one only excepted) are new, and there is hardly one that has not been answered again and

again. Yet since they are proposed in a new form, they may seem to demand a new answer.

10. The grand objection is, that I am inconsistent with myself. This, therefore, I shall particularly consider. The others, which flutter up and down the whole work, I can but just touch upon. Mr. H. opens the charge thus: "Saying and unsaying is nothing new with Mr. W. who has only shown himself consistent, by a regular series of inconsistencies." (p. 3.) "How full are you of contradictions to yourself! how full of contrary purposes! How often do you chide with yourself! How oft do you fight with yourself!" (Title page.) "Mr. W. seems well contented you should settle his creed. If you can, you will do in a few months what he himself has not been able to effect in near forty years." "On this fluctuating ocean he has been tossed for so many years together." (p. 20.) "All his journals and tracts are replete with proofs of his having been tossed from one system to another, and from one opinion to another, from the time of his ordination to this present moment." (p. 143.) "The most ignorant collier can immediately see his inconsistency with himself." (p. 145.) He sums up the whole charge in the lively words of Mr. Cudworth, graced with the name of Mr. Hervey: "Contradiction, didst thou ever know so trusty a friend, so faithful a devotee? Many people are ready enough to contradict others; but it seems all one to this gentleman whether it be another or himself, so he may but contradict."

11. To prove this indictment, (urged home enough, though there is not one tittle of truth in it,) Mr. H. has cited no less than a hundred and one witnesses.* Before I enter upon the examination of these, I beg leave to transcribe what I wrote some time since to Dr. Rutherforth: "You frequently charge me with evasion; and others have brought the same charge. The plain case is this: I have wrote on various heads; and always as clearly as I could. Yet many have misunderstood my words, and raised abundance of objections. I answered them by explaining myself, showing what I did not mean, and what I did. One and another of the objectors stretched his throat, and cried out, 'Evasion, evasion!' And what does all the outcry amount to? Why, exactly thus much: they imagined they had tied me so fast, that it was impossible for me to escape. But presently the cobwebs were swept away, and I was quite at liberty. And I bless God I can unravel truth and falsehood, although artfully twisted together. Of such evasion I am not ashamed. Let them be ashamed who constrain me to use it."

12. Mr. H.'s numerous proofs of my contradicting myself, may be ranged under twenty-four heads. I shall examine these one by one, in what appears to me to be the most natural order:—

I.

"There was an everlasting covenant between God the Father and God the Son concerning man's redemption."	"There never was any such covenant between God the Father and God the Son." (p. 128.)

The latter of these I believe, and always did, since I could read my Bible.

* The very number of propositions extracted out of Quesnel's writings, and condemned as dreadful heresies in the bull *Unigenitus!** *Exemplum placet!* See how good wits jump! Mr. H., Father Walsh, and the Pope of Rome!

* See p. 166.

But Mr. H. brings a passage out of the Christian Library, to contradict this. On which he parades as follows: "If the Christian Library be, as Mr. W. affirms, 'all true, all agreeable to the word of God,' then what are we to think of his other works? They must be an adulteration of man's devising." (p. 128.) "The same may be said of the Minutes: If these be truly orthodox, upward of forty volumes of the Library must be throughly heterodox. And then there is great reason to lament, that so many poor people's pockets should be fleeced for what can do their souls no good."

Peremptory enough! But let us examine the matter more closely: "Mr. W. affirms, that the Christian Library is 'all true, all agreeable to the word of God.'" I do not; and I am glad I have this public opportunity of explaining myself concerning it. My words are, "I have made, as I was able, an attempt of this kind. I have endeavoured to extract such a collection of English divinity, as, I believe, is all true, all agreeable to the oracles of God." (Preface, p. 4.) I did believe, and I do believe, every tract therein to be true, and agreeable to the oracles of God. But I do not roundly affirm this, (as Mr. H. asserts,) of every sentence contained in the fifty volumes. I could not possibly affirm it, for two reasons: (1.) I was obliged to prepare most of those tracts for the press, just as I could snatch time in travelling, not transcribing them; (none expected it of me;) but only marking the lines with my pen, and altering or adding a few words here and there, as I had mentioned in the preface. (2.) As it was not in my power to attend the press, that care necessarily devolved on others; through whose inattention a hundred passages were left in, which I had scratched out; yet not so many as to make up "forty volumes," no, nor forty pages. It is probable too, I myself might overlook some sentences which were not suitable to my own principles. It is certain, the correctors of the press did this, in not a few instances. I shall be much obliged to Mr. H. and his friends, if they will point out all those instances; and I will print them as an *index expurgatorius* [expurgatory index] to the work, which will make it doubly valuable.

The plain inference is, If there are a hundred passages in the "Christian Library" which contradict any or all of my doctrines, these are no proof that I contradict myself. Be it observed once for all, therefore, citations from the "Christian Library" prove nothing but the carelessness of the correctors.

II.

For election and perseverance.	*Against election and perseverance* (p. 101.)
2. Mr. Sellon has clearly showed, that the Seventeenth Article does not assert absolute predestination.	Therefore, in denying this, I neither contradict that Article, nor myself.
3. "I believe there is a state attainable in this life, from which a man cannot finally fall."	But I never thought a babe in Christ was in that state, though he is a true believer.
4. "Saved beyond the dread of falling."	So says my brother. That is nothing to me.

The note adds: "Mr. W. drew lots, whether or no he should preach against the Seventeenth Article."

That paltry story is untrue; though Mr. H. potently believes it. So all the witticisms built upon it fall to the ground at once. I never preached against the Seventeenth Article, nor had the least thought of doing it. But did Mr. Hill never preach against the Thirty-first Article, which explicitly asserts universal redemption?

5. "I do not deny that those eminently styled the elect shall infalliby persevere."

I mean, those that are "perfected in love," 1 John iv, 17, and those only. So here is no contradiction.

6. "The love divine
Which made us thine,
Shall keep us thine for ever."

So my brother speaks. But his words cannot prove that I contradict myself.

7. "From all eternity with love
Unchangeable thou hast me view'd."

I believe this is true on the supposition of faith foreseen, not otherwise.

8. "Never again will he take him away."

They are my brother's words, not mine.

9. "Jesus, the lover of his own,
Will love me to the end."

So are these.

10. "Christ is in the elect world of his Church."

This is cited from the "Christian Library." So it goes for nothing.

The nine witnesses, therefore, examined on this head, prove just nothing at all. So that hitherto there is not the least proof that I contradict myself.

III.

For imputed righteousness.

11. "We no more deny the phrase (of imputed righteousness) than the thing."

Against imputed righteousness.

"Do not dispute for that particular phrase." Here is no contradiction: I do not deny it; yet I dare not dispute for it.

12. "This doctrine I have believed and taught for near eight-and-twenty years."

"The use of that term has done immense hurt."

It has; but here is no contradiction.

13. This is a citation from the "Christian Library." So it goes for nothing.

14. "I continually affirm, that the righteousness of Christ (in the sense there explained) is imputed to every believer."

"Where is the use of contending so strenuously for those expressions?" I ask it again. But where is the contradiction?

15. This is another citation from the "Christian Library." So it proves nothing.

16. "The wedding-garment is Christ's righteousness, first imputed, and then implanted."

The wedding-garment is holiness. This does not exclude, but presupposes, the other.

17. "This is consistent with our being justified through the imputation of Christ's righteousness."

"John Goodwin contradicts this." Perhaps so; but John Goodwin is not John Wesley.

Whatever, therefore, he says, (observe it once for all,) does not prove that I contradict myself. I am no way engaged to defend every expression of either John Goodwin, or Richard Baxter's Aphorisms. The sense of both I generally approve, the language many times I do not.

But I observe here, and in fifty other instances, Mr. H. mentions no page. Now, in controversy, he that names no page has no right to any answer.

18. "I frequently put this expression into the mouth of a whole congregation; that is, I sing a hymn wherein it occurs."

"I dare not require any to use it." True; but here is no contradiction. I do not require any to use it. Every one in the congregation may use or let it alone.

Here comes in a thundering note: "Although most of these extracts from Mr. Wesley's sermon on Jeremiah xxiii, 6, have a very evangelical appearance, yet all their excellency vanisheth away, when we are told in the same sermon, that the righteousness he contends for is not the divine righteousness of Christ, but his human righteousness. When we consider the express words of the text, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' one might wonder (if any thing is to be wondered at that Mr. Wesley affirms) how he could possibly fall into an error, which at once not only destroys the meritorious efficacy of the Redeemer's righteousness, but undermines the virtue of his atoning blood." This is home; Mr. Hill has broke my head sadly. But he will soon give me a plaster: "However, if Mr. Wesley will acknowledge, that by Christ's human righteousness, he means that mediatorial righteousness which was wrought by God in the human nature, I entirely acquiesce with him on the point." This is truly marvellous! Why, what could Mr. Wesley mean beside? So this error proves to be no error at all! And "all the excellency" which "vanisheth away," appears again *in statu quo!* [just as it was!]

But we are not come to the end of the note yet; it contains another dreadful objection: "Mr. Wesley is unwilling" (truly I am) "to be ranked among the Diabolonians, and therefore, with more prudence than candour, has left the whole passage concerning the election doubters out of the 'Holy War.'" And if Mr. Hill had omitted it too, it would have been no more an impeachment of his prudence, than it was of my candour, to omit, in all the tracts I abridged, whatever I disapproved of. This was what I professed at my setting out: "I have endeavoured" (these are my very words) "to preserve a consistency throughout, that no part might contradict any other. But in order to this, I have been obliged to omit the far greatest part of several authors. And in a design of this nature, I apprehend myself to be at full liberty so to do." (*Pref.* p. 5.) The "abridged Bunyan" is not therefore "the counterfeit Bunyan." This is a flourish of Mr. Hill's pen.

19. This instance sets nothing against nothing, the "Christian Library" against John Goodwin.

20. "This is an emblem of the righteousness of the saints, both of their justification and sanctification."

"John Goodwin contradicts this." So he may; but I am not John Goodwin. So we have examined twenty witnesses; and not one of all these proves that I contradict myself.

21. "I would address myself to you who are so ready to condemn all that use these expressions as Antinomians."

"On Mr. Hervey's using one of them, Mr. Wesley says, 'Why are you at such pains to increase the number of Antinomians?'"

But I do not condemn him as an Antinomian: therefore, here is no contradiction.

22. Again: "Is not this, that Christ has satisfied the demands of the law, the very quintessence of Antinomianism?"

Whether it is or no, it is wide of the mark; for this is none of the expressions in question.

23. Again: "To say, 'The claims of the law are all answered,' is not this Antinomianism without a mask?"

Yes; but it is none of the expressions in question: so it is no contradiction.

24. Once more: "There are many expressions in this Dialogue which directly lead to Antinomianism."

So I think. Yet I do not condemn all that use them as Antinomians: so here is no contradiction still.

25. "It is by faith we build on this foundation, the imputed righteousness of Christ."

"If faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ is a fundamental principle, what becomes of all those who think nothing about imputed righteousness?"

Here is no contradiction. Suppose I build my faith on this foundation, the imputed righteousness of Christ, it does not follow it is so fundamental a principle, that all who think nothing about it will be damned.

26. "But is not a believer clothed with the righteousness of Christ? Undoubtedly he is."

Goodwin; that is, nothing.

27. "The mantle of Christ's righteousness." (*Christian Library.*)

Goodwin again: nothing against nothing.

28. "Christian Library."

Nothing.

29. "The sole cause of our acceptance with God is the righteousness and the death of Christ, who fulfilled God's law, and died in our stead."

"I cannot prove that it was requisite for Christ to fulfil the moral law in order to his purchasing redemption for us. By his sufferings alone the law was satisfied."

Undoubtedly it was. Therefore, although I believe Christ fulfilled God's law, yet I do not affirm he did this to purchase redemption for us. This was done by his dying in our stead.

30. "Verses of Charles Wesley."

Let him answer.

31, 32, 33. "Title to Life." "Christian Library." Nothing.

John Goodwin: nothing.

34. "The righteousness of Christ is imputed to every one that believes."

Ditto.

Here follows another thundering note: "When Mr. Wesley preached this sermon, he told the congregation, 'It was the same doctrine which Mr. Romaine, Mr. Madan, and Mr. Whitefield preached.'" So it was; Mr. Whitefield did, Mr. Romaine and Mr. Madan do, preach the doctrine contained in that sermon; namely, that "we are justified, sanctified, and glorified, merely for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered for us." But did I say, this was all the doctrine which they preached? No; and no man in his senses could understand me so. I did not therefore "impose on the credulity of my hearers, by making them believe" any more than was strictly true. But "did they ever hold the tenets pleaded for in the books published by Mr. Wesley?" Whether they did or no is out of the present question; they did, and do, hold the doctrine contained in that sermon. "Mr. Wesley knows, they from their hearts subscribe to Mr. Hervey's Eleven Letters." I hope not; from any that do, I expect no more mercy than from a mad dog. "But if he had constantly preached that doctrine, how came so many to testify their surprise at that discourse?" Because God set it home upon their hearts. Hence, it appeared new, though they had heard it over and over. "How came they to press the printing of it, in order to stop

the mouths of gainsayers?" Because they judged it would affect others as it affected them; though I never thought it would. "Lastly: If Mr. Wesley had constantly maintained this doctrine, why must poor John Bunyan be embowelled, to make him look like Mr. Wesley?" No; his Calvinism is omitted, to make him like the authors going before him; "to preserve a consistency throughout the work;" which still is not done as I could wish. However, those that are fond of his bowels may put them in again, and swallow them as they would the trail of a woodcock.

35. "They to whom the righteousness of Christ is imputed (I mean, who truly believe) are made righteous by the Spirit of Christ."	"The nice, metaphysical doctrine of imputed righteousness, instead of furthering men in holiness, makes them satisfied without any holiness at all."

I have known a thousand instances of this. And yet "they who truly believe in Christ are made righteous by his Spirit." Where is the contradiction between these propositions?

36. "Christian Library."	Nothing.
37. "Christ is now the righteousness of all that truly believe."	Baxter's Aphorisms go for nothing. Richard Baxter is not John Wesley.
38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. Nothing against	Nothing.
44. "To all believers, the righteousness of Christ is imputed."	Goodwin: nothing.

We have now examined four-and-forty witnesses; but still have no proof that I contradict myself, either with regard to the covenant, election, and perseverance, or the imputed righteousness of Christ. With regard to this, the thing, that we are justified merely for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered, I have constantly and earnestly maintained above four-and-thirty years. And I have frequently used the phrase, hoping thereby to please others "for their good to edification." But it has had a contrary effect, since so many improve it into an objection. Therefore, I will use it no more, unless it occur in a hymn, or steal upon me unawares; I will endeavour to use only such phrases as are strictly Scriptural. And I will advise all my brethren, all who are in connection with me throughout the three kingdoms, to lay aside that ambiguous, unscriptural phrase, which is so liable to be misinterpreted, and to speak in all instances, this in particular, "as the oracles of God."

IV.

"*Suffering the penalty is not all the law requires.*"	*Suffering the penalty is all the law requires.* (p. 132.)
45. "So says the 'Christian Library.'"	So says John Goodwin.

But this does not prove that I contradict myself.

V.

St. Paul speaks of the law as a person.	*St. Paul does not speak of the law as a person.* (p. 138.)
46. "The law is here spoken of as a person, to which, as to a husband, life and death are ascribed."	"This way of speaking of the law as a person injured, and to be satisfied, seems hardly defensible."

There is no contradiction here. I do affirm, St. Paul speaks of the

law "as a person to which, as a husband, life and death are ascribed." But I deny, that he speaks of it "as a person injured, and to be satisfied."

VI.

For a two-fold justification.

47. "Mr. F. affirms, justification is two-fold."

Against a two-fold justification.

"The justification spoken of by St. Paul to the Romans, and in our Articles, is one and no more." (p. 133.)

Most true. And yet our Lord speaks of another justification, Matt. xii, 37. Now, I think one and one make two.

VII.

For a justified state.

48. "The state of a justified person is inexpressibly great and glorious."

Against a justified state. (p. 139.)

"Does not talking of a justified or sanctified state tend to mislead men?" It frequently does. But where is the contradiction?

VIII.

They who are once justified are justified for ever.

49. "Christian Library."

They who are justified may become total apostates.

Nothing.

IX.

Works are a condition of justification. (p. 134.)

50. "Salvation (that is, glory) is not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition."

This proposition does not speak of justification: so it is nothing to the purpose.

"Whoever desires to find favour with God, should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well.' Whoever repents should do 'works meet for repentance.' And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?"

Works are not a condition of justification.

I believe no good works can be previous to justification; nor, consequently, a condition of it.

51. "If a man could be holy before he was justified, it would set his justification aside."

52. "Thou canst do nothing but sin till thou art justified."

53. "We allow that God justifies the ungodly, him that to that hour is full of all evil, void of all good; and him that worketh not, that till that moment worketh no goodness."

All this I believe still. "But Mr. W. says, Whoever desires to find favour with God should 'cease from evil and learn to do well,'" &c. Does not the Bible say so? Who can deny it? "Nay, but Mr. W. asks, 'If this be not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?'" And I ask it again. Let Mr. H., or any one else, give me an answer. So, if there is any contradiction here, it is not I contradict myself, but Isaiah and our Lord that contradict St. Paul.

X.

Against justification by the act of believing.

54. "But do not you put faith in the room of Christ and his righteousness? No; I take particular care to put each of these in its proper place."

For justification by the act of believing.

"The faith which is said to be imputed to Abraham for righteousness, is faith properly taken; and not the righteousness of Christ apprehended by faith."

This is putting "each of these in its proper place." The righteousness of Christ is the meritorious cause of our justification: that is its

proper place. Faith in him that gave himself for us is the condition of justification: that is its proper place.

I am justified through the righteousness of Christ, as the price; through faith, as the condition. I do not say, neither does Goodwin, Faith is that *for* which we were accepted; but we both say, Faith is that *through* which we are accepted. We are justified, we are accepted of God, for the sake of Christ, through faith. Now, certainly there is no contradiction in this, unless a contradiction to Mr. H.'s notions.

55. "Although we have faith, hope, and love, yet we must renounce the merit of all, as far too weak to deserve our justification; for which we must trust only to the merits of Christ."

"That which is the condition of justification is not the righteousness of Christ."

Most true; otherwise we confound the condition with the meritorious cause spoken of in the opposite column.

XI.

Justification by faith alone is articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ. (A doctrine without which there can be no Christian Church.) *All who do not hold it must perish everlastingly.*

Justification by faith alone is not articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ. *Some may doubt of it, yea, deny it, and yet not perish everlastingly.* (p. 127.)

56. "Of this may be affirmed, (what Luther affirms of justification by faith,) that it is *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*, the pillar of that faith of which alone cometh salvation; that faith which unless a man keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."

"A pious churchman who has not clear conceptions of justification by faith may be saved; yea, a mystic, (Mr. Law, for instance,) who denies justification by faith. If so, the doctrine of justification by faith is not *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*."

It is certain here is a seeming contradiction; but it is not a real one. For these two opposite propositions do not speak of the same thing. The latter speaks of justification by faith; the former, of trusting in the righteousness or merits of Christ; justification by faith is only mentioned incidentally in a parenthesis. Now, although Mr. Law denied justification by faith, he might trust in the merits of Christ. It is this, and this only, that I affirm, (whatever Luther does,) to be *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ.*

XII.

Mr. W. is a Calvinist in the point of justification.

57. "I think on justification just as I have done these seven-and-twenty years, and just as Calvin does."

Mr. W. has leaned too much toward Calvinism in this point.

"We have leaned too much toward Calvinism." (p. 141.)

But not in this point; not as to justification by faith.

We still agree with him, that the merits of Christ are the cause, faith the condition, of justification.

58. "I have occasionally used those expressions, 'imputed righteousness,' the 'righteousness of Christ,' and the like. But I never used them in any other sense than that wherein Calvin does."

Goodwin. Nothing.

XIII.

59. "*Mr. W. does approve the expression, 'Why me?'*" My brother uses it in a hymn.	"*Mr. W. does not approve the expression, 'Why me?'*" "Mr. F. says, Mr. W. doubts concerning it." (p. 140.)

This proof halts on both feet. "But why did not Mr. W. strike out of Mr. F.'s manuscript the honourable expressions concerning himself?" Because he thought them a proper counterbalance to the contumelious expressions of Mr. H.

XIV.

Our sin is imputed to Christ, and Christ's righteousness to us.	*Our sin is not imputed to Christ, nor Christ's righteousness to us.* (p. 130.)
60, 61, 62. "Christian Library."	Nothing.

XV.

Both Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness are imputed. (p. 131.)	*Neither Adam's sin nor Christ's righteousness is imputed.*
63. Nothing against nothing.	

In what sense I believe the "Christian Library" to be all true, I have declared above.

XVI.

Mr. W. holds free will.	*Mr. W. wonders how any man can hold free will.*
64. "Mr. F. holds free will."	"Mr. W. denies it."

This may prove that Mr. W. contradicts Mr. F., but it can never prove that he contradicts himself. But, indeed, both Mr. F. and Mr. W. absolutely deny natural free will. We both steadily assert that the will of man is by nature free only to evil. Yet we both believe that every man has a measure of free will restored to him by grace.

XVII.

For the doctrine of merit.	*Against the doctrine of merit.*
65. "We are rewarded according to our works, yea, because of our works. How does this differ from, 'for the sake of our works?' And how differs this from *secundum merita operum*, or, 'as our works deserve?' Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot." —I say so still. Let Mr. H., if he can.	"And yet I still maintain, there is no merit, taking the word strictly, but in the blood of Christ; that salvation is not by the merit of works; and that there is nothing we are, or have, or do, which can, strictly speaking, deserve the least thing at God's hand."

And all this is no more than to say, Take the word *merit* in a strict sense, and I utterly renounce it; take it in a looser sense, and though I never use it, yet I do not condemn it. Therefore, with regard to the word *merit*, I do not contradict myself at all.

XVIII.

For a single life.	*Against a single life.*
66. "Mr. W. says, his thoughts on a single life are just the same they have been these thirty years."	"Why, then, did Mr. W. marry?" For reasons best known to himself. (p. 136.)
67. "He advises that we should pray against marriage."	"I advise single persons to pray, that they may prize the advantages they enjoy."

Be this right or wrong, still here is no contradiction.

XIX.

For gay apparel.

68. "To make it a point of conscience to differ from others (as the Quakers do) in the shape or colour of their apparel, is mere superstition."

So I advise; but I do not "make it a point of conscience." So here is no contradiction still.

Against gay apparel.

"Let a single intention to please God prescribe both what clothing you should buy, and the manner wherein it shall be made." (*Ib.*) This I stand to.

"Wear nothing of a glaring colour, or made in the very height of the fashion."

XX.

Against tea.

69. "Mr. W. published a tract against drinking tea, and told the tea-drinkers, he would set them an example, in that piece of self-denial."

For tea.

I did set them an example for twelve years. Then, at the close of a consumption, by Dr. Fothergill's direction, I used it again.

But must not a man be sadly in want of argument who stoops so low as this?

XXI.

For baptism by sprinkling.

70. "As there is no clear proof of dipping in Scripture, so there is very probable proof to the contrary."

71. "Christ no where, as far as I can find, requires dipping, but only baptizing; which word signifies to pour on, or sprinkle, as well as to dip."

Against baptism by sprinkling.

"When Mr. W. baptized Mrs. L. S., he held her so long under water, that her friends screamed out, thinking she had been drowned."

When? Where? I never heard of it before.

"Why then did you at Savannah baptize all children by immersion, unless the parents certified they were weak?"

Not because I had any scruple, but in obedience to the rubric. So here is no self-inconsistency.

XXII.

Mr. W. never adopted Mr. Law's scheme.

Mr. W. highly approved of Mr. Law.

These propositions are not contradictory. I might highly approve of him, and yet not adopt his scheme. How will Mr. H. prove that I did? or that I contradict myself on this head? Why thus:—

72. "I had been eight years at Oxford before I read any of Mr. Law's writings. And when I did, I was so far from making them my creed, that I had objections to almost every page." (p. 135.)

True; but neither does this prove that I adopted his scheme.

"To instruct a person in the nature of Christianity, I fixed an hour a day to read with her in Mr. Law's treatise on 'Christian Perfection.'" I did so. And an excellent book it is, though liable to many objections.

"Another little company of us met: We sung, read a little of Mr. Law, and then conversed."

73. "I believe the Mystic writers to be one great Antichrist."

I retract this. It is far too strong. But observe, I never contradicted it till now!

74. "Mr. F. affirms, Solomon is the chief of Mystics; and Mr. W. acquiesces in the affirmation."

I do not. I affirm no such thing. Therefore all Mr. H. builds upon this is only a castle in the air.

XXIII.

Enoch and Elijah are in heaven.

75. "Enoch and Elijah entered at once into the highest degree of glory."

Enoch and Elijah are not in heaven.

"Enoch and Elijah are not in heaven, but only in paradise." (p. 138.)

"Notes on the New Testament, John iii, 13, first edition."

But why is Mr. H. so careful to name the first edition? Because in the second the mistake is corrected. Did he know this? And could he avail himself of a mistake which he knew was removed before he wrote!

XXIV.

For sinless perfection. *Against sinless perfection.*

Upon this head Mr. H. employs his whole strength. I will therefore the more carefully weigh what he advances; only premising, before I descend to particulars, two general observations:

(1.) Out of the twenty-five passages cited for perfection, seventeen are taken from my brother's hymns. These, therefore, strike wide. Whatever they prove, they cannot prove that I contradict myself.

(2.) Out of the twenty-five cited against perfection, fourteen are cited from the sermon on "Sin in Believers." Do I mean, in such believers as are "perfected in love?" Mr. H. himself knows I do not. Why then every one of these fourteen arguments is an abuse both upon me and his readers. It is the most egregious trifling that can be conceived. I affirm, "those perfected in love are saved from inward sin." To prove I contradict myself herein, fourteen passages are alleged, wherein I affirm, "We are not saved from inward sin, till we are 'perfected in love.'"

(3.) The same fallacy is used in every instance, when some of my words are set in opposition to others. The sum is,—weak believers, babes in Christ, are not, adult believers are, saved from inward sin. And I still aver, there is no contradiction in this, if I know what a contradiction means.

Now to the proofs:—

76. "The Son hath made them who are thus 'born of God' free from pride."

"They are sensible of pride remaining in their hearts."

They? Who? Not those who are thus "born of God," who are "perfected in love."

77. "From the iniquity of pride,
And self, I shall be free."

"God's children are daily sensible of pride and self-will." That is, till they are "perfected in love."

That is, when I am "perfected in love."

78. "They are freed from wanderings in prayer."

Is this spoken of all believers? Mr. H. knows it is not.

79. "Christians are saved from all sin, from all unrighteousness."

True, adult Christians.

80. "They (adult Christians) are freed from all evil thoughts and evil tempers."

"The (infant) children of God have in them sin of every kind."

81. "They (fathers in Christ) are freed from evil thoughts."

"The evil nature opposes the Spirit even in believers,"—till they are fathers in Christ.

82. "Christ was free from sinful thoughts. So are they likewise,"—adult believers.

"This doctrine (that all believers are thus free) is wholly new."

83. "I believe some would say, 'We trust we do keep the whole law of love.'"

"Believers are conscious of not fulfilling the whole law of love;" not till they are "perfected in love."

The reader will please to remember all along, the question is not whether the doctrine be right or wrong, (that has been elsewhere considered,) but whether I contradict myself. Upwards of fourscore witnesses have been already examined on this head; but no contradiction is proved yet.

84. "Some do love God with all their heart and strength."	"They (weak believers) do not love God with all their heart and strength."
85. "From that hour, indwelling sin, Thou hast no place in me."	Believers are not delivered from the being of sin till that hour.
86. "A sinless life we live."	"Christian Library:" Nothing.
87. "While one evil thought can rise, I am not born again."	My brother said so once: I never did.

In the note annexed there are many mistakes: (1.) "The author of this hymn did not allow any one to be a believer, even in the lowest sense, while he found the least stirring of sin." He did; but he took the word "born again" in too high a sense. (2.) Yet "he supposes the most advanced believers are deeply sensible of their impurity." He does not; neither he nor I suppose any such thing. (3.) "He tells us in his note on Eph. vi, 13, 'The war is perpetual.'" True: The war with "principalities and powers;" but not that "with flesh and blood." (4.) So you cannot reply: "Mr. W. speaks of believers of different stature." Indeed I can; and the forgetting this is the main cause of Mr. H.'s stumbling at every step. (5.) "The position, that any believers are totally free from sin, is diametrically opposite to Calvinism." This is no mistake. Therefore most Calvinists hate it with a perfect hatred. (6.) "Many of the grossest of these contradictions were published nearly at the same time; and probably Mr. W. was the same day correcting the press, both for and against sinless perfection." An ingenious thought! but as to the truth or even probability of it, I cannot say much. (7.) "These hymns contain the joint sentiments of Mr. John and Mr. Charles Wesley." Not always; so that if some of them contradict others, it does not prove that I contradict myself.

88. "Christ in a pure and sinless heart.	"There are still two contrary principles in believers, nature and grace." True, till they are perfect in love.
89. "Quite expel the carnal mind."	"That there is no sin in a (weak) believer, no carnal mind, is contrary to the word of God."
90. "From every evil motion freed."	"How naturally do men think, Sin has no motion; therefore it has no being!"

But how does this prove that I contradict myself?

91. "All the struggle then is o'er."	These are two of my brother's expressions, which I do not subscribe to.
92. "I wrestle not now."	
93. "God is thine: Disdain to fear The enemy within."	"Let us watch and pray against the enemy within."

Are these lines cited as implying the enemy was *not* within? Most unhappily. They mean the enemy which *is* within. For the very next words, which Mr. H. himself cited but the page before, are,

God shall in thy flesh appear,
And make an end of sin.

94. "We wrestle not with flesh and blood when" we are grown up in Christ.

"We wrestle both with flesh and blood, and with principalities," while we are babes in Christ.

No contradiction yet.

95. "Sin shall not in our flesh remain."

"Still he (the babe in Christ) feels the remains of the old man."

96. "I cannot rest if sin in me remains."

"Sin remains in them still;"—in all weak believers.

97, 98, 99. My brother's.

100. "Do not the best of men say, '*We groan, being burdened* with the workings of inbred corruption?'" This is not the meaning of the text: The whole context shows, the cause of that groaning was, their longing to be with Christ.

"We groan, being burdened with numberless infirmities, temptations, and sins."—This is wrong. It is not the meaning of the text. I will put it out, if I live to print another edition. So just one shot in a hundred has hit the mark.

101. "Nor does he that is born of God sin by infirmities; for his infirmities have no concurrence of his will; and without this, they are not properly sins."—That is, they are not voluntary transgressions of a known law.

"Many infirmities remain, whereby we are daily subject to what are called 'sins of infirmity.' And they are in some sense sins; as being (involuntary) transgressions of the perfect law."

I see no contradiction here; but if there was, it ought not to have been mentioned. It could not by any generous writer; since Mr. Hill himself testifies, it was expunged before he mentioned it! But suppose it stood as at first, I flatly deny that it is any contradiction at all. These infirmities may be in some sense sins; and yet not properly so; that is, sins in an improper, but not in the proper, sense of the word.

13. But "Mr. W. has not yet determined, whether sins of surprise bring the soul under condemnation or not. However, it were to be wished, that sins of surprise, and sins of infirmity too were to be declared mortal at the next Conference; since several persons who pretend to reverence Mr. W., not only fall into outrageous passions, but cozen and overreach their neighbours; and call these things little, innocent infirmities. Reader, weigh well those words of Mr. W., 'We cannot say, either that men are or are not condemned for sins of surprise.' And yet immediately before, he calls them transgressions, as here he calls them sins. Strange divinity this, for one who, for near forty years past, has professed to believe and teach that 'sin is the transgression of the law,' and that 'the wages of sin is death.'" He then brings three instances of sins of surprise, (over and above cozening and overreaching,) drunkenness, fornication, and flying into a passion and knocking a man down; and concludes, "Mr. W. had better sleep quietly, than rise from his own pillow in order to lull his hearers asleep upon the pillow of false security, by speaking in so slight a manner of sin, and making the breach of God's holy law a mere nothing." (p. 111.)

14. This is a charge indeed! And it is perfectly new: I believe it was never advanced before. It will not, therefore, be improper to give it a thorough examination. It is founded on some passages in the sermon on Romans viii, 1: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." In order to give a clear view of the doctrine therein delivered, I must extract the sum of the sermon.

I show, (1.) Who are "those that are in Christ Jesus;"—"Those who are joined to the Lord in one spirit, who dwell in Christ and Christ in them. And 'whosoever abideth in Him sinneth not, walketh not after the flesh,' that is, corrupt nature. These abstain from every design, and word and work, to which the corruption of nature leads." (Vol. i, p. 68.) "They 'walk after the Spirit' both in their hearts and lives. By him they are led into every holy desire, into every divine and heavenly temper, till every thought of their heart is 'holiness to the Lord.'

"They are also led by him into all holiness of conversation. They exercise themselves day and night, to do only the things which please God: In all their outward behaviour, to follow him 'who left us an example that we might tread in his steps;' in all their intercourse with their neighbour, to walk in justice, mercy, and truth; and whatsoever they do in every circumstance of life, to 'do all to the glory of God.'" (*Ib.* p. 69.)

Is here any room for "cozening and overreaching?" for "flying into outrageous passions?" Does this give any countenance for "knocking men down?" for "drunkenness or fornication?"

But let us go on to the Second head: "To whom is there no condemnation? To believers in Christ, who thus 'walk after the Spirit,' there is no condemnation for their past sins." (*Ib.* p. 70.) "Neither for present, for now transgressing the commandments of God; for they do not transgress them. This is a proof of their love of God, that they keep his commandments." (*Ib.*) "They are not condemned, (3.) for inward sin, so long as they do not yield thereto; so long as they maintain a continual war with all sin, with pride, anger, desire, so that the flesh hath no dominion over them, but they still 'walk after the Spirit.'" (*Ib.* p. 71.) Is any encouragement given here to cozeners or whoremongers?

It follows, "They are not condemned for sins of infirmity, as they are usually called. Perhaps it were advisable rather to call them infirmities, that we may not seem to give any countenance to sin, or to extenuate it in any degree, by thus coupling it with infirmity. But, if we must use such an ambiguous and dangerous expression, by sins of infirmity I would mean, such involuntary failings, as the saying a thing we believe true, though in fact it prove to be false; or the hurting our neighbour without knowing or designing it, perhaps when we designed to do him good." (*Ib.* p. 72.)

What pretence has Mr. H. from these words to flourish away upon my "strange divinity;" and to represent me as giving men a handle to term gross sins innocent infirmities?

But now comes the main point: "It is more difficult to determine concerning those which are usually styled sins of surprise: As when one who commonly in his patience possesses his soul, on a sudden or violent temptation, speaks or acts in a manner not consistent with the royal law of love." (For instance: You have the gout. A careless man treads on your foot. You violently push him away, and, it may be, cry out, "Get away! Get you out of my sight!") "Perhaps it is not easy to fix a general rule concerning transgressions of this nature. We cannot say either that men are, or that they are not, condemned for sins of surprise in general." (p. 72.)

"Reader," says Mr. H., "let me beg thee to weigh well the foregoing words." I say so too. I go on: "But it seems, whenever a believer is overtaken in a fault, there is more or less condemnation, as there is more or less concurrence of his will. Therefore, some sins of surprise bring much guilt and condemnation. For in some instances our being surprised may be owing to some culpable neglect, or to a sleepiness of soul, which might have been prevented or shaken off before the temptation came. The falling even by surprise, in such an instance, exposes the sinner to condemnation, both from God and his own conscience.

"On the other hand, there may be sudden assaults, which he hardly could foresee, by which he may be borne down, suppose into a degree of anger, or thinking evil of another, with scarce any concurrence of the will. Now, in such a case, the jealous God would undoubtedly show him that he had done foolishly. He would be convinced of having swerved from the perfect law, and consequently grieved with a godly sorrow, and lovingly ashamed before God. Yet need he not come into condemnation. In the midst of that sorrow and shame, he can still say, 'The Lord is my strength and my song; he is also become my salvation.'" (p. 73.)

Now, what can any impartial person think of Mr. H.'s eloquence on this head? What a representation has he given of my doctrine, with regard to infirmities and sins of surprise? Was ever any thing more unjust? Was ever any thing more cruel? Do I here "lull my readers asleep on the pillow of false security?" Do I "speak in a light manner of sin?" or "make the breach of God's holy law a mere nothing?" What excuse can be made for pouring out all this flood of calumny? Can any thing be termed, "bearing false witness against our neighbour," if this is not? Am I indeed a loose casuist? Do any of my writings give countenance to sin? Not so: God knows, Mr. Hill knows, Mr. Romaine, who corrected this tract, knows it well. So does Mr. Madan; yea, so do all who read what I write, unless they wilfully shut their eyes.

15. "Thus have I at length," says Mr. H., "brought this extraordinary farrago to a conclusion. Not because I could not have found many more inconsistencies." (p. 142.) Yes, another hundred such as these. But see a group of them at once: "His extract from Bishop Beveridge is flatly contradicted in his edition of 'John Goodwin.' Again: Goodwin is flatly contradicted by his sermon on 'The Lord our Righteousness.' This sermon is contradicted in his 'Preservative against Unsettled Notions in Religion.' This Preservative is itself contradicted by his 'Abstract from Dr. Preston.' This Abstract is itself contradicted by his edition of 'Baxter's Aphorisms.' And these are again flatly contradicted by his 'Extract from Bishop Beveridge.' And this is again flatly contradicted by his own 'Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness.' Thus the wheel runs round!" Thus Mr. H.'s head runs round with more haste than good speed. (If this curious paragraph be not rather, as I suspect, supplied by another hand; even as Sternhold's Psalms are now and then eked out by N. N., or William Wisdom.) He forgets that generals prove nothing; and that he has sadly failed in his particular charges; just a hundred, out of a hundred and one, having proved void. So that now I have full right to say, Whence arises this charge of inconsistency and self-contradiction? Merely from straining, winding to and fro, and distorting a few innocent words. For wherein have I contradicted myself, taking words in their unforced, natural construction, in any one respect, with regard to justification, since the year 1738?

16. But Mr. H.'s head is so full of my self-inconsistency, that he still blunders on: "Mr. W.'s wavering disposition is not an affair of yesterday. Mr. Delamotte spake to him on this head more than thirty years ago." (p. 143.) He never spake to me on this head at all. Ask him. He is still alive. "He has been tossed from one system to another, from the time of his ordination to the present moment." Nothing can be more false; as not only my "Journals," but all my writings, testify. 'And he himself cannot but acknowledge that both his friends and foes

have accused him of his unsettled principles in religion." Here is artifice! Would any man living, who does not know the fact, suppose that a gentleman would face a man down in so peremptory a manner, unless the thing were absolutely true? And yet it is quite the reverse. "He himself cannot but acknowledge!" I acknowledge no such thing. My friends have oftener accused me of being too stiff in my opinions, than too flexible. My enemies have accused me of both; and of every thing besides. The truth is, from the year 1725, I saw more and more of the nature of inward religion, chiefly by reading the writings of Mr. Law, and a few other mystic writers. Yet I never was "in the way of Mysticism" at all; this is another mistake. Although I did not clearly see that we "are saved by faith" till the year 1738, I then published the sermon on "Salvation by Faith," every sentence of which I subscribe to now.

17. But he "was too scrupulous about using the word condition." (p. 143.) I was so, till I was convinced by Dr. Church, that it was a very innocent word; and one that none of the reformers, English or foreign, objected to. All this time I leaned toward Calvinism, though more in expression than sentiment. "And now he fairly gives up the necessity of a clear belief of justification by faith alone!" That is, I say, A man may be saved, who is not clear in his judgment concerning it. I do; I dare not "rank Mr. Law, and all his admirers, among the hosts of Diabolonians." Nay, more: "I have proved that he makes man's righteousness the procuring cause of his acceptance with God; and his salvation from first to last, to depend upon the intrinsic merit of his own unassisted works." (p. 144.) I think Mr. H. "is now got to his *ne plus ultra*," [utmost limit,] unless he has a mind to prove that Mr. W. is a horse.

18. "I expect you will tell me that I have exposed Mr. W., particularly in the foregoing contrast. That Mr. W. is exposed, I allow; but that I have exposed him, I deny." Who was it then? Why, "out of his own mouth all that I have brought against him proceeds."

Not so: all that I have wrote, except one sentence out of a hundred and one, is well consistent with itself, provided the words be taken in their plain, natural sense, and one part of them in connection with the other. But whoever will use Mr. H.'s art of twisting and torturing words, may make them say any thing, and extract Pelagianism, Arianism, or any thing he pleases, out of any thing that can be spoken. By this art, he that cries out against Mr. F.'s art has found, that is, created, above a hundred contradictions in my works, and "could find abundance more." Ay, five hundred; under his forming hand contradictions spring up as quick as mushrooms. And he that reads only (as is the manner of a thousand readers) the running title at the top of each page,—

For election,	*Against election,*
For sinless perfection,	*Against sinless perfection.*
For imputed righteousness,	*Against imputed righteousness,—*

and so on, will readily say, "What a heap of contradictions—flat, palpable contradictions—is here!" *Here!* Where? "Why, at the top of every page." True; and there lies the strength of the cause. The

propositions themselves are plain enough; but neither Mr. H. nor any man living can prove them.

19. But, if so, if all this laboured contrast, be only the work of a creative imagination, what has Mr. H., the cat's paw of a party, been doing all this time? Has he not been abundantly "doing evil, that good might come," that the dear decree of reprobation might stand? Has he not been "saying all manner of evil falsely;" pouring out slander like water, a first, a second, a third time, against one that never willingly offended him? And what recompense can he make (be his opinions right or wrong) for having so deeply injured me, without any regard either to mercy or truth? If he (not I myself) has indeed exposed me in so unjust and inhuman a manner, what amends can he make, as a Christian and a gentleman, to God, to me, or to the world? Can he gather up the foul, poisonous water which he has so abundantly poured out? If he still insists he has done me no wrong, he has only spoken "the truth in love;" if he is resolved at all hazards to fight it out, I will meet him on his own ground. Waiving all things else, I fix on this point: "Is that scurrilous hotch-potch, which he calls a 'Farrago,' true or false?" Will he defend or retract it? A hundred and one propositions are produced as mine, which are affirmed to contradict other propositions of mine. Do I in these hundred and one instances contradict myself or do I not? Observe: The question is, whether I contradict myself; not whether I contradict somebody else; be it Mr. Baxter, Goodwin, Fletcher, the "Christian Library," or even my own brother: these are not myself. "Nay, but you have published them." If I publish them ten times over, still they are not myself. I insist upon it, that no man's words but my own can ever prove that I contradict myself. Now, if Mr. H. scorns to yield, let him fall to work, and prove by my own words, that I contradict myself (that is the present question) in these hundred instances. If he can prove this, I am a blunderer; I must plead Guilty to the charge. If he cannot, he is one of the most cruel and inhuman slanderers that ever set pen to paper.

20. I bless God, that the words cited from the sermon on "A Catholic Spirit," do quite "come to myself;" not indeed as I am painted by Mr. Hill, but as I really am. From the year 1738, I have not been "unsettled as to any fundamental doctrine of the Gospel." No, not in one; I am as clear of this charge, as of that wonderful one advanced in the note, page 146: "Though this sermon be entitled 'Catholic Spirit,' yet it inculcates an attendance upon one only congregation; in other words, Hear me, and those I send out, and no one else." Mr. Hill himself knows better; he knows I advise all of the Church to hear the parish minister. I do not advise even Dissenters of any kind, not to hear their own teachers. But I advise all, Do not "heap to yourselves preachers, having itching ears." Do not run hither and thither to hear every new thing, else you will be established in nothing. "However, it is by stratagems of this sort, that he holds so many souls in his shackles, and prevents them from coming to the knowledge of all the glorious truths of the Gospel."

Observe, *Gospel* is with Mr. Hill the same as *Calvinism*. So where he says, "There is no Gospel," he means no predestination. By the same figure of speech, some of his admirers used to say, "There is no

honey in the book." Here lies the core; this is the wrong, for which the bigots of this Gospel will never forgive me. And all those are such, who "rank all election doubters among Diabolonians." Such is Mr. Hill, a bigot in grain, while he sets his hand to that gentle sentence. Nay, farther, says he, "I cannot help informing my readers," (no, if he did, he must burst,) "that in the life of Mr. Philip Henry, published in his 'Christian Library,' he has artfully left out Mr. Henry's Confession of Faith." *Artfully!* No; honestly; according to the open profession in the preface cited before.

21. Yet Mr. Hill, this Mr. Hill, says to Mr. Fletcher, "Suffer not bitter words and calumnious expressions to disguise themselves under the appearance of plainness." (p. 147.) Bitter words! Can Mr. Hill imagine there is any harm in these? Mr. Hill that cites the judicious Mr. Toplady! that admires the famous "Eleven Letters," which are bitterness double distilled! which overflow with little else but calumnious expressions from the beginning to the end! Mr. Hill that himself wrote the "Review," and the "Farrago!" And does he complain of Mr. Fletcher's bitterness? Why, he may be a little bitter; but not Mr. Fletcher. Altering the person alters the thing! "If it was your bull that gored mine," says the judge in the fable, "that is another case!"

22. Two objections to my personal conduct, I have now briefly to consider: first: "Mr. Wesley embraced Mr. Shirley as a friend at the Conference, and then directly went out to give the signal for war." (p. 150.) This is partly true. It is true, that, although I was not ignorant of his having deeply injured me, yet I freely forgave him at the Conference, and again "embraced him as a friend." But it is not true, that I "directly went out to give the signal for war." "Nay, why else did you consent to the publishing of Mr. Fletcher's letters?" Because I judged it would be an effectual means of undoing the mischief which Mr. Shirley had done: not that I am now sorry (though I was) for what he has done, for his publication of that bitter circular letter: for I now clearly discern the hand of God throughout that whole affair. Both my brother and I still indulged the fond hope of living in peace with our warm Calvinist brethren; but we now give it up; our eyes are open; we see what we have to expect. We look for neither mercy nor justice at their hands; if we find any, it will be clear gains.

23. The second objection is, "Mr. Wesley acknowledged the unguarded manner in which the Minutes were drawn up; and yet immediately after defended them." I answer, How did I "acknowledge the unguarded manner?" The plain case was this: I seek peace, and would do any thing for it, which I can with a safe conscience. On this principle it was, that when Mr. Shirley read over his declaration, (I say his; for it was he drew it up, not I,) and asked, if we agreed thereto, I was heartily desirous to agree with him as far as possible. In order to this, after altering some words, I asked our brethren, if they were willing to sign it. One immediately said, "The Minutes are not unguarded; they are guarded enough." I said, "They are guarded enough for you; but not for those who seek occasion against us." And observe, it is only in this sense, that I subscribed to that expression. But I will not affirm, that my love of peace did not carry me a

little too far. I know not but it would have been better, not to have signed the paper at all.

24. So much for the Minutes. Perhaps it may be expected, that I should also take some notice of what Mr. Hill says concerning perfection. All his arguments indeed, and ten times more, I have answered over and over. But if it is required, I will answer once more; only premising, by that perfection, to which St. Paul directs Mr. Hill and me to go on, Heb. vi, 1, I understand neither more nor less, than what St. John terms "perfect love," 1 John iv, 18; and our Lord, "loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and mind, and soul, and strength." If you choose to call this "sinful perfection," (rather than sinless,) you have my free leave.

Mr. Hill's main argument against this is, that "it is Popish doctrine." How does this appear? O, "Luther says so." (p. 25.) This will not do; it is only second-hand evidence. "It crept into the Church first in the fifth century, and has been since almost generally received in the Church of Rome." (p. 49.) How is this proved? either that the doctrine of perfect love crept first into the Church in the fifth century? or, that it has been since almost generally received in the Church of Rome? Why, "we may very readily perceive this, by the following extract from Bishop Cowper." I answer, (1.) This is but second-hand evidence still. (2.) It is wide of the mark. For this whole extract says not a word about the Church of Rome. It contains only a few citations from St. Augustine and St. Bernard, foreign to the present question; and one from St. Ambrose, if it be possible, more foreign still. None of these touch either of the points in question: "This doctrine crept into the Church in the fifth century;" or, "It has been (ever) since almost generally received in the Church of Rome."

Here I must beg leave to put Mr. Hill in mind of one stated rule in controversy: we are to take no authorities at second-hand, but always recur to the originals. Consequently, words of St. Bernard, or twenty saints more, copied from Bishop Cowper, prove just nothing. Before we can urge the authority of St. Bernard or Ambrose, we must consult the authors themselves, and tell our readers what edition we use, with the page where the words are found; otherwise they cannot form a judgment either of the fairness of the quotation, or of the sense and weight of it.

Hitherto, then, we have not one tittle of proof, that this is a Popish doctrine; that it ever was, or is now, "almost generally received in the Church of Rome;" (although, if it had, this would be no conclusive argument against it, as neither is it conclusive against the doctrine of the blessed Trinity;) I do not know that it ever was: but this I know; it has been solemnly condemned by the Church of Rome. It has been condemned by the Pope and his whole conclave, even in this present century. In the famous bull *Unigenitus*, (so called from the first words, *Unigenitus Dei filius*, [the only-begotten Son of God,] they utterly condemn the uninterrupted act (of faith and love, which some then talked of, of continually rejoicing, praying, and giving thanks) as dreadful heresy! Now, in what public act of the Church of Rome is the doctrine of perfection maintained? Till this is produced, I pray let us hear no more, that perfection is a Popish doctrine.

25. However, "the distinction between sins and innocent infirmities is derived from the Romish Church." (p. 56.) How does this appear? Thus: "Two of her devoted champions, Lindenus and Andradius, distinguish between infirmities and sins." *Lindenus and Andradius!* Who are they? From what country did they come? I do not know the men. One of them, for aught I know, might serve as an interpreter at the Council of Trent? What then? Was he an authorized interpreter of the Doctrines of the Church? Nay, and how do you know that they did speak of "little, trifling faults," or of "minute and trivial sins?" Did you ever read them? Pray, what edition of their works do you use? and in what page do these words occur? Till we know this, that there may be an opportunity of examining the books, (though I fear scarce worth examining,) it is doing too much honour to such quotations, to take any notice of them at all.

26. Well, now for the buskins! Now, *spirat tragicum satis!* [he blows a tragic air!] "And this is the doctrine which is preached to more than thirty thousand souls, of which Mr. W. has the charge. Then I am sure it is high time, that not only the Calvinist ministers, but all that wish well to the interest of Protestantism," (so Mr. S. said before,) "should, in a body, protest against such licentious tenets." "Blow ye the trumpet in Sion!" Gird on your armour! Make ye yourselves ready for battle! Again the trumpet sounds:—A crusade! A holy war! Down with the heretics! But hold! What spirit are you of? Are you followers of peace? Then "bring forth your strong reasons; speak the truth in love," and we are ready to meet you. But really all this talk of my licentious doctrine is a mere copy of Mr. H.'s countenance. He knows, and all in England know, (whoever have heard my name,) that it is not too loose, but too strict, doctrine I am constantly accused of. Therefore, all this bluster, about my superseding the law, has not only no truth, but no colour, no plausibility. And when Mr. H. calls so gravely for Dr. Crisp to "sweep away all my Antinomian rubbish," shall we laugh or weep?

Cuivis facilis rigidi censura cachinni.
[The censure of severe derision is easy to any one.]

Rather let us drop a tear on human infirmity.

27. So much for the First grand argument against perfection, that it is "generally received in the Church of Rome." The Second is: "It was generally received among the ranting Anabaptists in Germany." (p. 49.) What author of note testifies this? I allow no second-hand authority; but desire to know what German historian of credit has recorded it, and in what page of his works. When this is ascertained, then we may observe, it proves just nothing.

A Third argument against perfection is, that "it was maintained by many wild Ranters in London." Wild enough! although no stress is to be laid on Mr. H's informations concerning them; some of which are altogether false, and the rest imperfect enough. But suppose they were all true, what would follow? Many hearers abusing the doctrines I teach, no more prove that those doctrines are false, than the German Ranters proved that Luther's were so.

28. Is it another argument, that "the monstrous doctrine of perfection turns some of its deluded votaries into monsters? This may be proved from

the case of Bell and Harris; the former of whom prophesied that the world would be at an end the last of February; the latter was seized with raving madness, and died blaspheming in a most dreadful manner." (p. 44.)

It would be strange if George Bell were not brought upon the stage, as he has been a hundred times over. As for poor Benjamin Harris, I believe, as a punishment for his pride and uncharitableness, God permitted him to be struck in an instant with diabolical madness. But it did not continue to his death; he did not die blaspheming. I saw him myself quiet and composed; and he calmly delivered up his soul to God.

See another instance: "A friend of mine lately informed me that an eminent preacher of perfection told him, that he had not sinned for some years, and that the Holy Ghost had descended and sat on him and many others in a visible manner, as he did upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost." Please to name the man; otherwise a hundred such tales will weigh nothing with men of sense and candour.

Behold a Fourth: "Last year I myself conversed with a gentlewoman of such high perfection, that she said, no man could teach her any thing, and went to no place of worship for years together: however, she was a scold, and beat her maid." Perhaps so. And what is that to me? If she is a member of our society, tell me her name; and she will be in it no longer. This is our glorying. It must be, that many members of our society will, from time to time, grow weary of well doing; yea, that some will fall into sin. But as soon as this appears, they have no more place among us. We regard no man's person, high or low, rich or poor. A disorderly walker cannot continue with us.

Again: "One told God in prayer, that she was perfect, as God himself was perfect. Another prayed, 'Grant, O Lord, that all here present may be perfect, as I am perfect.'" (p. 45.) Till you name the men, this, too, must go for nothing. But suppose it all true, what will it prove? Only that there are madmen in the world.

"I could also tell him of a woman, who was so perfect, that she tried to sin, and could not." Pray name her.

"Mr. W. must also well remember a certain perfect married lady, who was got with child by a perfect preacher." I do not remember any such thing. I never heard of it before.

29. But "I hate," says Mr. H., "the law of retaliation;"—truly one would not have thought it;—"and would not have mentioned these things, but that you set me the example," that is, but by way of retaliation. "Should you doubt the truth of these instances, I will lead you to the fountain head of my intelligence." That will not do. In order to be even with Mr. F., you have told seven shocking stories. Several of these I know to be false: I doubt if any, but that of George Bell, be true. And now you offer to lead Mr. F. to the fountain head of your intelligence! Probably to one or two renegade Methodists, who court the world by slandering their brethren! "But Mr. W. adopts this way." No, never. In my Letter to Mr. Hervey, I occasionally name two famous men; but I do not slander them. In my Journals, I name several others. This is above board; but Mr. H. stabs in the dark. He gives us no names, no places of abode; but casts arrows and firebrands abroad; and, let them light where they may, on guilty or guilt less, of that he takes no care.

30. It remains only, to consider the queries which Mr. H. addresses directly to me:—

(1.) "Did not you, in administering the sacrament, a few years ago, to a perfect society in West-street chapel, leave out the confession?"

Yes, and many times since. When I am straitened for time, (as I generally am there on a Monday,) I begin the Communion service at, "We do not presume to come to this thy table." One Monday, Mr. Madan desired to stay. Here, I suppose, is "the fountain head of this intelligence."

(2.) "Did not one of the enthusiasts then say, he had heard a voice telling him, he was all holiness to the Lord?"

Possibly so; but I remember nothing of it.

(3.) "Did not a second declare the same thing?"

Not that I remember.

(4.) "Did not George Bell say, he should never die?"

He often did, if not then.

(5.) "Did not one present confirm it?"

Not unlikely; but I do not remember it.

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(6.) "Did not another perfect brother say, he believed the millennium was near; for there had been more constables sworn in that year than heretofore?"

Are you sure he was a perfect brother; that is, one that professed so to be? As for me, I can say nothing about it; for I neither remember the man nor the words.

"This I have put down verbatim from the mouth of a judicious friend then present; but from that time he has been heartily sick of sinless perfection." Say of "perfect love."

Is it only from that time that Mr. Madan has been sick of it? Was he not sick of it before? And did he then, or at any time since, say one word to me of any of these things? No; but he treasured them up for ten years; and then tells Mr. Hill, that he might tell them to all the world.

(7.) "Do not you know a clergyman, once closely connected with you, who refused a great witness for perfection the sacrament, because he had been detected in bed with a perfect sister?"

No; I never heard of it before. Surely Mr. M——d is not fallen so low, as to invent such a tale as this!

I need not say any thing to your last anecdote, since you (for once!) put a candid construction upon my words. If I did speak them, which I can neither affirm nor deny, undoubtedly my meaning was, (as yourself observe,) "Though I have been holding forth the imputed righteousness of Christ to a mixed congregation, yet I think it right to caution you of the society how you abuse that doctrine, which to some, who turn it into licentiousness, is a smooth doctrine, of which you ought to beware." (p. 61.) But your friend, it seems, who gave you this account, did not put so candid a construction on my words.

You say, "He was so struck, as hardly to refrain from speaking to you in the chapel. And from that hour he gave up all connections with you." That is, he sought a pretence; and he found one!

And now, what does all this amount to? Several persons, who professed high things, degenerated into pride and enthusiasm, and then talked like lunatics, about the time that they renounced connection with me for mildly reproving them. And is this any objection against the existence of that love which they professed, nay, and I verily believe, once enjoyed? though they were afterward "moved from their steadfastness." Surely no more than a justified person's running mad, is an objection against justification. Every doctrine must stand or fall by the Bible. If the perfection I teach agree with this, it will stand, in spite of all the enthusiasts in the world; if not, it cannot stand.

31. I now look back on a train of incidents that have occurred for many months last past, and adore a wise and gracious providence, ordering all things well! When the Circular Letter was first dispersed throughout Great Britain and Ireland, I did not conceive the immense good which God was about to bring out of that evil. But no sooner did Mr. F.'s first Letters appear, than the scene began to open. And the design of providence opened more and more, when Mr. S.'s Narrative, and Mr. H.'s Letters, constrained him to write and publish his Second and Third Check to Antinomianism. It was then indisputably clear, that neither my brother nor I had borne a sufficient testimony to the truth. For many years, from a well-meant, but ill-judged, tenderness, we had suffered the reprobation preachers, (vulgarly called *Gospel preachers*,) to spread their poison, almost without opposition. But at length they have awakened us out of sleep; Mr. H. has answered for all his brethren, roundly declaring, that "any agreement with election doubters is a covenant with death." It is well: we are now forewarned and forearmed. We look for neither peace nor truce with any who do not openly and expressly renounce this diabolical sentiment But since God is on our side, we will not fear what man can do unto us. We never before saw our way clear, to do any more than act on the defensive. But since the Circular Letter has sounded the alarm, has called forth all their hosts to war; and since Mr. H. has answered the call, drawing the sword, and throwing away the scabbard; what remains, but to own the hand of God, and make a virtue of necessity? I will no more desire any Arminian, so called, to remain only on the defensive. Rather chase the fiend, Reprobation, to his own hell, and every doctrine connected with it. Let none pity or spare one limb of either speculative or practical Antinomianism; or of any doctrine that naturally tends thereto, however veiled under the specious name of free grace;—only remembering, that however we are treated by men, who have a dispensation from the vulgar rules of justice and mercy, we are not to fight them at their own weapons, to return railing for railing. Those who plead the cause of the God of love, are to imitate Him they serve; and, however provoked, to use no other weapons than those of truth and love, of Scripture and reason.

32. Having now answered the queries you proposed, suffer me, sir, to propose one to you; the same which a gentleman of your own opinion proposed to me some years since: "Sir, how is it that as soon as a man comes to the knowledge of the truth, it spoils his temper?" That it does so, I had observed over and over, as well as Mr. J. had. But how can we account for it? Has the truth (so Mr. J. termed what many love to

term *the doctrine of free grace*) a natural tendency to spoil the temper? to inspire pride, haughtiness, superciliousness? to make a man "wiser in his own eyes, than seven men that can render a reason?" Does it naturally turn a man into a cynic, a bear, a Toplady? Does it at once set him free from all the restraints of good nature, decency, and good manners? Cannot a man hold *distinguishing grace*, as it is called, but he must distinguish himself for passion, sourness, bitterness? Must a man, as soon as he looks upon himself to be an absolute favourite of Heaven, look upon all that oppose him as Diabolonians, as predestinated dogs of hell? Truly, the melancholy instance now before us would almost induce us to think so. For who was of a more amiable temper than Mr. Hill, a few years ago? When I first conversed with him in London, I thought I had seldom seen a man of fortune who appeared to be of a more humble, modest, gentle, friendly disposition. And yet this same Mr. H., when he has once been grounded in the knowledge of the truth, is of a temper as totally different from this, as light is from darkness! He is now haughty, supercilious, disdaining his opponents as unworthy to be set with the dogs of his flock! He is violent, impetuous, bitter of spirit! in a word, the author of the Review!

O sir, what a commendation is this of your doctrine! Look at Mr. H., the Arminian! the loving, amiable, generous, friendly man. Look at Mr. H., the Calvinist! Is it the same person? this spiteful, morose, touchy man? Alas, what has "the knowledge of the truth" done? What a deplorable change has it made! Sir, I love you still; though I cannot esteem you as I did once. Let me entreat you, if not for the honour of God, yet for the honour of your cause, avoid, for the time to come, all anger, all spite, all sourness and bitterness; all contemptuous usage of your opponents, not inferior to you, unless in fortune. "O put on again bowels of mercies, kindness, gentleness, long suffering; endeavouring to hold," even with them that differ from you in opinion, the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace!"

Bristol, September 9, 1772.

SOME REMARKS

ON

MR. HILL'S "FARRAGO DOUBLE DISTILLED."

If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men, Rom. xii, 18.

1. It is far from my design to give a particular answer to every thing contained in Mr. Hill's late treatise. I intend only to offer to the impartial reader a few cursory remarks, which may partly explain and partly confirm what I have already said upon the subject.

2. "Poor Mr. Wesley," says Mr. Hill, opening his cause with native eloquence, "has published various tracts, out of which Mr. Hill collects above a hundred gross contradictions. At this Mr. W.'s temper is much ruffled;" (I believe not; I am not sensible of it;) "he primes, cocks,

and fires at Calvinism; and there is smoke and fire in plenty. But if you can bear the stench, (which indeed is very nauseous,) there is no danger of being wounded. He calls this last cannon, or pop-gun, 'Remarks' on my Review. Men of sense say, it is quite unfit for duty; men of grace compassionate the caster of it; men of pleasantry laugh heartily at it; but some good old women speak highly of it." (pp. 3–5.) I give this passage at some length, as a genuine specimen of Mr. Hill's manner of writing.

3. But as Mr. Hill did not "choose to prefix his name, it argued no great proof of Mr. W.'s politeness, to address him in the personal manner he has done." Which of us began? Was it not Mr. Hill? Did not he address me in a personal manner first? And some, beside the old women, are of opinion, he did not do it in the politest manner in the world.

4. "Mr. W. would have us know, that his piece is written in much love. But what love? Love to his own inconsistencies; love of scolding, love of abuse. Let the reader find out any other sort of love through the whole performance." In order to judge whether I wrote in love or no, let any one read the words he has picked out of fifty-four pages, just as they stand connected with others in each page; it will then appear they are not contrary either to love or meekness.

5. But Mr. W. says, Mr. Hill "is unworthy the name either of the gentleman or the Christian; and is amazed that Mr. Hill should lay claim to either of those titles." (p. 6.) Not so. It is my belief that Mr. Hill is both a gentleman and a Christian; though I still think, in his treatment of Mr. Fletcher and me, he has acted beneath his character. Yet it is very likely, "a friend of yours" (not mine) "might say, I wrote in much wrath." (p. 7.) I wrote then in just as much wrath as I do now; though your friend might think otherwise.

6. Nay, but Mr. W. "gives all the Calvinist ministers the most scurrilous, Billingsgate language, while he is trumpeting forth his own praises, in Mr. F.'s 'Second Check to Antinomianism.'" (p. 8.) A small mistake. I do not give Billingsgate language to any one: I have not so learned Christ. Every one of those hymns, out of which Mr. Hill culls the harshest expressions, are not mine, but my brother's. Neither do I trumpet forth my own praises. Mr. Hill's imagining I do, arises from an innocent mistake. He continually takes for granted that I read over and correct all Mr. F.'s books before they go to the press. So far from it, that the "Fourth Check to Antinomianism" I have not read over to this day. But Mr. W. "thinks himself to be the greatest minister in the world." Exceedingly far from it. I know many now in England, at whose feet I desire to be found in the day of the Lord Jesus.

7. To that question, "Why does a man fall upon me, because another gave him a good beating?" Mr. Hill answers, "If your trumpet had not given the alarm, we should not have prepared ourselves for the battle." (p. 53.) Nay, truly, not mine, but Mr. Shirley's. I was sitting quietly in my study. on the other side of St. George's channel, when his trumpet gave the alarm. Yet I say again, I am not now sorry for these disputes, though I was sorry. You say, truly, "Mr. W.'s temper has been manifested" hereby. (p. 56.) Let all candid men judge between us, whether Mr. F. and I, on the one hand, or Mr. Hill on the other,

has shown more "meekness and lowliness;" and which of us has expressed the greatest heat, and the most cordial contempt of his opponent.

Mr. H. adds: 'Hereby Mr. Charles Wesley's Calvinism is exposed by Mr. John." Then that is exposed which never existed; for he never was a Calvinist yet. And "hereby," Mr. H. says, "the 'Christian Library' is given up as nothing." Mere finesse! Every one sees my meaning, but those that will not see it: it is nothing to your purpose; it proves nothing of what it is brought to prove. In the same sense I set the word *nothing* over against the citations from Mr. Baxter and Goodwin.

8. If Mr. Hill says he always was a Calvinist, I have no right to contradict him. But I am sure he was of a widely different temper from that he has shown in his late writings. I allow much to his belief, that, in exposing me to the utmost of his power, he is doing God service. Yet I must needs say, if I were writing against a Turk or a Pagan, I durst not use him as Mr. Hill does me. And if I really am (which will one day appear) employing all my time, and labour, and talents (such as they are) for this single end, that the kingdom of Christ may be set up on earth; then He whom I serve in the Gospel of his Son, will not commend him for his present work.

9. But what makes Mr. Hill so warm against me? I still believe it is for this chiefly,—because I am an Arminian, an election-doubter. For, says he, the "good old preacher places all election-doubters" (that is, those who are not clear in the belief of absolute predestination) "among the numerous hosts of the Diabolonians. One of these being brought before the Judge, the Judge tells him he must die." (*Review*, p. 35.) That is, plainly, he must die eternally for this damnable sin. I beg Mr. Hill to explain himself on this head. Does he still subscribe to the sentence of this "good old preacher?" Are all election-doubters to be placed among the Diabolonians? Is the sentence irreversibly passed, that they must all die eternally? I must insist on Mr. Hill's answering this question: if not, silence gives consent.

10. Mr. H. farther affirms: "The only cement of Christian union is the love of God. And the foundation of that love must be laid, in believing the truths of God;" (that is, you must believe particular redemption, or it is impossible you should love God;) for, to use "the words of Dr. Owen, in his 'Display of Arminianism,'" (see what truths Mr. H. means,) "'an agreement without truth is no peace, but a covenant with death, and a conspiracy against the kingdom of Christ." (p. 39.) Here again I beg an explicit answer. Will Mr. H. affirm this in cool blood? If he will, there needs no more to account for his enmity both to me and the Minutes. "Nay, but the foundation is struck at by those wretched Minutes." (p. 52.) True, the foundation of Calvinism. So I observed before. I know it well. If the Minutes stand, Calvinism falls. But Mr. Hill says, "The doctrines of election and perseverance are very little, indeed scarcely at all, dwelt on in the 'Review.'" Now, I think they are very much dwelt on therein, and desire any that have eyes to judge.

11. We come now to the main question: Is the "Farrago" true or false? I aver it to be totally false; except in one single article out of a

hundred and one. I mean, Mr. H. has not proved that I contradict myself, except in that single instance. To come to particulars:

I.

"100. There was an everlasting covenant between the Father and Son, concerning man's redemption."	"There never was such a covenant."

The former proposition is taken from the "Christian Library;" on which Mr. H. says again, "Mr. W. affirms that the Christian Library is 'all true, all agreeable to the word of God.'" I answered before, "I do not. My words are: 'I have endeavoured to extract such a collection of English divinity, as I believe is all true, all agreeable to the oracles of God.' (*Christian Library, Pref.* p. 4.) I did believe, and do believe, every tract therein to be true and agreeable to the oracles of God. But I do not roundly affirm this of every sentence contained in the fifty volumes. I could not possibly affirm it, for two reasons: (1.) I was obliged to prepare most of those tracts for the press, just as I could snatch time in travelling; not transcribing them, (none expected it of me,) but only marking the lines with my pen, and altering a few words here and there, as I had mentioned in the preface. (2.) As it was not in my power to attend to the press, that care necessarily devolved on others; through whose inattention a hundred passages were left in, which I had scratched out. It is probable too, that I myself might overlook some sentences which were not suitable to my own principles. It is certain the correctors of the press did this in not a few instances. The plain inference is, if there are a hundred passages in the 'Christian Library' which contradict any or all of my doctrines, these are no proofs that I contradict myself. Be it observed once for all, therefore, citations from the 'Christian Library' prove nothing but the carelessness of the correctors." (*Remarks*, p. 149.)

12. Yet Mr. Hill, as if he had never seen a word of this, or had solidly refuted it, gravely tells us again, "If Mr. W. may be credited, the 'Farrago' is all true; part of it being taken out of his own 'Christian Library,' in the preface of which he tells us that the contents are 'all true, all agreeable to the oracles of God.' Therefore, every single word of it is his own, either by birth or adoption." (*Farrago*, p. 12.) No; I never adopted, I could not adopt, "every single word" of the "Christian Library." It was impossible I should have such a thought, for the reasons above mentioned.

But "there is very great evasion," says Mr. H., "in Mr. W.'s saying, that though he believes 'every tract to be true,' yet he will not be answerable for 'every sentence or expression in the Christian Library;' whereas the matter by no means rests upon a few sentences or expressions, but upon whole treatises, which are diametrically opposite to Mr. W.'s present tenets; particularly the treatises of Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Preston, Bishop Beveridge, and Dr. Owen on indwelling sin." (p. 16.)

13. Just before, Mr. H. affirmed, "Every single word in the 'Christian Library' is his own." Beaten out of this hold, he retreats to another; but it is as untenable as the former: "The matter," he says, "does not rest on a few sentences; whole treatises are diametrically opposite to his present tenets." He instances in the works of Dr. Sibbs, Preston, Beveridge, and a treatise of Dr. Owen's.

I join issue with him on this point. Here I pin him down. The works of Dr. Preston and Sibbs are in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Library; that treatise of Dr. Owen's in the seventeenth; that of Bishop Beveridge in the forty-seventh. Take which of them you please; suppose the last, Bishop Beveridge's "Thoughts upon Religion." Is this whole treatise "diametrically opposite to my present tenets?" The "Resolutions" take up the greatest part of the book; every sentence of which exactly agrees with my present judgment; as do at least nine parts in ten of the preceding "Thoughts," on which those Resolutions are formed. Now, what could possibly induce a person of Mr. Hill's character, a man of a good understanding, and of a generous temper, a well-bred gentleman, and a serious Christian, to violate all the rules of justice and truth, which at other times he so earnestly defends, by positively, deliberately, roundly asserting so entire a falehood, merely to blacken one who loves his person, who esteems his character, and is ready to serve him in any thing within his power? What but so violent an attachment to his opinion, as, while that is in danger suspends all his faculties, so that he neither can feel, nor think, nor speak like himself?

14. In the ninth and tenth volumes are two treatises of Dr. Preston's,—"The Breastplate of Faith and Love," and "The New Covenant." Is either of these "diametrically opposite to my present tenets?" By no means. If a few sentences here and there (and this I only suppose, not grant,) were carelessly left in, though I had scratched them out, which seem (perhaps only seem) to contradict them, these are not the whole tracts; the general tenor of which I still heartily subscribe to.

The tenth volume likewise contains two sermons of Dr. Sibbs's, and his tract upon Solomon's Song. Are any of these "diametrically opposite to my present tenets?" No more than those of Dr. Preston's. I as willingly as ever subscribe to these also.

Is Dr. Owen's tract, "Of the Remainder of Indwelling Sin in Believers," "diametrically opposite to my present tenets?" So far from it, that a few years since I published a sermon on the very same subject. I hope there is no room to charge me with "quirk, quibble, artifice, evasion," on this head; (though I believe as much as on any other;) I use only plain, manly reasoning; and such logic I am not ashamed to avow before the whole learned world.

15. But "I will go farther still," says Mr. H.: "Let Mr. W. only bring me twenty lines together, out of the writings of those four eminent divines, as they stand in the 'Christian Library;' and I will engage to prove that he has twenty times contradicted them in some of his other publications." (p. 19.) Agreed: I bring him the following twenty lines with which Dr. Preston begins his treatise called "The New Covenant:"—

"These words of God to Abraham contain a precept of sincerity, or perfect walking with God: 'Walk before me, and be thou perfect:' And also the motive thereunto, God's all-sufficiency: 'I am God all-sufficient.' As if he should say, 'If there were any defect in me, if thou didst need or couldest desire any thing that were not to be had in me, and thou mightest have it elsewhere, perhaps thy heart might be imperfect in walking toward me. Thou mightest then step out from me, to take in advantages elsewhere. But seeing I am all-sufficient; since I have enough in me to fulfil all thy desires;

since I am every way an adequate object, so that all thy soul can wish for thou mayest have in me; why then shouldest thou not consecrate thyself to me? Why then shouldest thou be uneven in thy ways, serving me sometimes and sometimes the creature? For there is nothing in the creature, but thou mayest find in me. 'I am all-sufficient; therefore walk before me, and be thou perfect!'" (*Christian Library*, vol. x, p. 47.)

Here are exactly twenty lines, neither more nor less, "as they stand in the 'Christian Library.'" Now, fulfil your engagement; prove that I "have twenty times contradicted them in some other of my publications." If you cannot, acknowledge you have done me wrong. In the heat of your resentment, you have undertaken what you are not able to perform; you have spoken rashly and unadvisedly; you have gone much too far, far beyond the bounds of wisdom as well as of love.

16. Nay, but "I will go one step farther yet: I defy Mr. Wesley to bring me twenty lines out of the above tracts, by Preston, Sibbs, Owen, and Beveridge, which he now believes." Is it possible, that Mr. Hill should believe himself, while he is talking at this rate? Or does he expect that any one else should believe him, unless he be drunk with passion or prejudice? Was ever any thing so wild? But I accept of this challenge, and that with more seriousness than it deserves. I will go no farther than the twenty lines cited above: All these I "now believe." And I believe, as I said before, not only the whole treatise from which those words are taken, but the tenor of the whole "Christian Library."

Meantime, it has been acknowledged again and again, that several sentences stand therein which I had put out, in my usual manner, by drawing my pen through them. Be it observed, therefore, once more, that those passages prove nothing but the carelessness of the correctors; consequently, all the pains bestowed to collect them together, whether by Mr. Hill or his coadjutors, is absolutely lost labour, and never can prove that I contradict myself.

17. The case is nearly the same with regard to those other tracts which I published many years ago,—Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms on Justification, and John Goodwin's tract on the same subject. I have lately read them both over with all the attention I am capable of; and I still believe they contain the true Scripture doctrine concerning justification by faith: but it does not follow, that I am accountable for every sentence contained in either of those treatises.

"But does Mr. Wesley believe the doctrine therein contained, or does he not?" I do; and John Goodwin believed the doctrine contained in the sermon on, "The Lord our Righteousness;" the sum of which is, "We are justified, sanctified, and glorified for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered for us." Nothing he asserts is inconsistent with this; though it may be inconsistent with passages left in the "Christian Library." When therefore I write nothing against those passages, or the extracts from Goodwin, that contradict them, this does not prove, (as Mr. Hill archly says,) that "I have nothing to say," but that all those passages and extracts put together are nothing to the purpose. For, were it true, that John Goodwin and Richard Baxter contradicted all those passages, it is nothing to the point in hand; it never can prove, that I, John Wesley, contradict myself.

18. But to return to the everlasting covenant: "Mr. Wesley himself, in his Annotations on Gen. i, 1, calls the Elohim, a 'covenant God.'" True, in covenant with man. But I say not one word of any covenant between the Father and the Son. But "in his note on Isaiah lv, 4, speaking of the covenant made between God and David, he says, 'This David is Christ.'" Undoubtedly I do; but what is this brought to prove? My words are, "I have appointed, and will in due time give him—the David last-mentioned, even Christ—a witness—to declare the will of God concerning the duty and salvation of men, to bear witness to the truth, to confirm God's promises, and, among others, those which respect the calling of the Gentiles; to be a witness to both parties of that covenant made between God and man." (p. 209.) Yea, of the "covenant made between God and man!" Of a covenant between the Father and the Son here is not a word.

"The only possible conclusion to be drawn from this defence of Mr. Wesley's is, that he became a commentator on the Bible before he could read the Bible." That is pity! If he could not read it when he was threescore years old, I doubt he never will. See the candour, the good nature, of Mr. Hill! Is this Attic salt, or wormwood?

What conclusion can be possibly drawn in favour of Mr. Hill? The most favourable I can draw is this, that he never read the book which he quotes; that he took the word of some of his friends. But how shall we excuse them? I hope they trusted their memories, not their eyes. But what recompense can he make to me for publishing so gross a falsehood, which, nevertheless, those who read his tract, and not mine, will take to be as true as the Gospel?

II.

Of Election and Perseverance.

19. In entering upon this head, I observed, "Mr. Sellon has clearly showed, that the Seventeenth Article does not assert absolute predestination. Therefore, in denying this, I neither contradict that article nor myself." (*Remarks*, p. 149.)

It lies therefore upon Mr. Hill to answer Mr. Sellon before he witticises upon me. Let him do this, and he talks to the purpose; otherwise, all the pretty, lively things, he says about Dr. Baroe, Bishop Wilkins, Dr. Clark, and George Bell, are utterly thrown away.

As to George Bell, Mr. Richard says, Mr. M——d "justly censures the enthusiasm and credulity of Mr. John, in paying so much attention to Bell's ridiculous reveries; in calling him a sensible man, and entreating him to continue in his society on account of the great good he did. However, Bell refused to remain in connection with him, because of his double dealings and unfaithful proceedings; for he sometimes was full of Bell's praises; at other times, he would warn the people against him. He also gives a particular narration of what he rightly calls the 'comet-enthusiasm.' Mr. John preached more than ten times about the comet, which he supposed was to appear in 1758, to burn up all the produce of the earth, and lastly to execute its grand commission on the globe itself, causing the stars to fall from heaven." (*Farrago*, p. 37.)

What a heap of dirt is here raked together! I must not let it pass quite unnoticed. (1.) He "justly censures the enthusiasm and credulity of Mr. Wesley in paying so much attention to Bell's ridiculous

reveries." Nay, so very little, that I checked them strongly, as soon as ever they came to my knowledge; particularly his whim about the end of the world, which I earnestly opposed, both in private and public. (2.) "Bragging of the many miraculous cures he had wrought." *I bragged of*—that is, simply related, the case of Mary Special, and no other: in the close of which I said, "Here are three plain facts,—She was ill; she is well; she became so in a moment. Which of these can with any modesty be denied?" I still ask the same question. (3.) That I ever called him "a sensible man," is altogether false. A man of faith and love I then knew him to be; but I never thought him a man of sense. (4.) That I "entreated him to continue in the society," is likewise totally false. (5.) Nor did I ever tell him, on that or any other occasion, of "the great good" he did. I know he was an instrument in God's hand of convincing and converting many sinners. But though I speak this now to all the world, I never spoke it to himself. (6.) Neither did he ever refuse, what never was asked, "to remain in connection with me." (7.) Least of all did he refuse it because of my "double dealings or unfaithful proceedings." He never mentioned to me any such thing, nor had he any pretence so to do. (8.) Nay, but you "was at some times full of Bell's praises." Very moderately full. "At other times," that is, after he ran mad, "you warned the people against him." I warned them not to regard his prophecies, particularly with regard to the 28th of February. (*Journal*, vol. iv, p. 147.)

20. "He also gives us a particular narration of what he rightly calls the *comet-enthusiasm*. Mr. John preached more than ten times about the comet he supposed was to appear in 1758, and to consume the globe." This is a foolish slander, as it is so easily confuted. A tract was published at that very time, entitled, "Serious Thoughts occasioned by the Earthquake at Lisbon." The thing which I then accidentally mentioned in preaching (twice or thrice; it may be, four times) is there set down at large, much more at large than ever I mentioned it in any sermon. The words are these:—

"Dr. Halley fixes the return of the comet, which appeared in 1682, in the year 1758." Observe, Dr. Halley does this, not I. On which he adds: "But may the great, good God avert such a shock or contact of such great bodies, moving with such forces, (which, however, is by no means impossible,) lest this most beautiful order of things be entirely destroyed, and reduced into its ancient chaos." (*Serious Thoughts*, p. 14 *et seq.*)

"But what, if God should not avert this contact? what would the consequence be?" That consequence I afterward describe: "Burning up all the produce of the earth, and then the globe itself." But do I affirm, or suppose, that it actually will do this? I suppose, nay, affirm, at the bottom of the same page, the direct contrary: "What security is there against all this, on the Infidel hypothesis? But on the Christian there is abundant security; for the prophecies are not yet fulfilled."

21. So much for the comet-enthusiasm. We return now to the point of unconditional election: "One would imagine," says Mr. Hill, "by Mr. W.'s quoting the Thirty-first Article, in contradiction to the Seventeenth, that he thought the reformers as inconsistent as himself." (*Farrago*, p. 54.) I did not quote the Thirty-first in contradiction to the

Seventeenth, but in explication of it. The latter, the Thirty-first, can bear but one meaning; therefore it fixes the sense of the former. "Nay, this Article speaks nothing of the extent of Christ's death, but of its all-sufficiency." (pp. 54, 55.) *Nothing of the extent!* Why, it speaks of nothing else; its all-sufficiency is out of the question. The words are: "The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual." It is here affirmed, the death of Christ is a perfect satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world. It would be sufficient for a thousand worlds. But of this the Article says nothing.

But "even Bishop Burnet allows our reformers to have been zealous Calvinists." He does not allow them all to be such; he knew and you know the contrary. You cannot but know, that Bishop Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, to name no more, were firm Universalists.

22. But the contradictions! Where are the contradictions? "Why, sometimes you deny election; yet another time you say,—

> "From all eternity with love
> Unchangeable thou hast me view'd." (p. 21.)

I answered, "I believe this is true, on the supposition of faith foreseen, not otherwise."

Here is therefore no contradiction, unless on that supposition, which I do not allow.

But sometimes "you deny the perseverance of the saints. Yet in one place you say, 'I do not deny that those eminently styled *the elect* shall persevere.'" I mean those that are perfected in love. So I was inclined to think for many years: but for ten or twelve years I have been fully convinced, that even these may make "shipwreck of the faith."

23. But "several of Mr. Hill's quotations are from Mr. Charles Wesley's Hymns, for which Mr. John says he will not be answerable."

I will now explain myself on this head. Though there are some expressions in my brother's Hymns which I do not use, as being very liable to be misconstrued; yet I am fully satisfied, that, in the whole tenor of them, they thoroughly agree with mine, and with the Bible. (2.) That there is no jot of Calvinism therein; that not one hymn, not one verse of a hymn, maintains either unconditional election, or infallible perseverance. Therefore, I can readily answer Mr. H.'s question, "How can Mr. W. answer it to his own conscience, to write prefaces and recommendations to hymns which he does not believe?" There is the mistake. I do believe them; although still I will not be answerable for every expression which may occur therein. But as to those expressions which you quote in proof of final perseverance, they prove thus much, and no more, that the persons who use them have at that time "the full assurance of hope." Hitherto, then, Mr. Hill has brought no proof that I contradict myself.

III.

Of Imputed Righteousness.

24. "Blessed be God, we are not among those who are so dark in their conceptions and expressions. 'We no more deny,' says Mr. W., 'the phrase of *imputed righteousness*, than the thing.'" (p. 23.) It is true: for I continually affirm, to them that believe, faith is imputed for

righteousness. And I do not contradict this, in still denying that phrase, "the imputed righteousness of Christ," to be in the Bible; or in beseeching both Mr. Hervey and you, "not to dispute for that particular phrase."

But "since Mr. W. blesses God for enlightening him to receive the doctrine, and to adopt the phrase of 'imputed righteousness:' how came he to think that clear conceptions of the doctrine were so unnecessary, and the phrase itself so useless, after having so deeply lamented the dark conceptions of those who rejected the term and the thing?"

It was neither this term, "the imputed righteousness of Christ," nor the thing which Antinomians mean thereby, the rejection of which I supposed to argue any darkness of conception. But those I think dark in their conceptions, who reject either the Scripture phrase, "faith imputed for righteousness," or the thing it means.

25. However, to prove his point, Mr. Hill goes on:—

"This doctrine" (of the "imputed righteousness of Christ") "I have constantly believed and taught for near eight-and-twenty years."	"The use of the term" (the "imputed righteousness of Christ") "is not Scriptural; it is not necessary; it has done immense hurt."

"'It has done immense hurt,' says Mr. W.; 'but here is no contradiction.' Whether there be or not, there is a plain concession from Mr. W. himself, that he has been preaching a doctrine for eight-and-twenty years together, which has done immense hurt."

Let this (one instance out of a hundred) be a specimen of Mr. Hill's fairness! The whole strength of the argument depends on the artful jumbling of two sentences together, and inserting two or three little words into the latter of them.

My words are: "We no more deny the phrase" (of "imputed righteousness") "than the thing." (*Remarks*, p. 150.)

"This doctrine I have believed and taught for near eight-and-twenty years." (*Ib.*)

These distinct sentences Mr. Hill is pleased to thrust together into one, and to mend thus:—

"This doctrine (of the imputed righteousness of Christ) I have constantly believed and taught for near eight-and-twenty years."

And here, says Mr. H., is a "plain concession from Mr. W. himself, that he has been preaching a doctrine for twenty-eight years together, which has done immense hurt."

No, the doctrine which I believe has done immense hurt, is that of the imputed righteousness of Christ in the Antinomian sense. The doctrine which I have constantly held and preached is, that faith is imputed for righteousness.

And when I have either in that sermon or elsewhere said, that "the righteousness of Christ is imputed to every believer," I mean, every believer is justified for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered. Yet still I think, "there is no use in contending for that particular phrase." And I say still, "I dare not insist upon it, because I cannot find it in the Bible."

To contradict this, Mr. H. cites these words: "'This is fully consistent with our being justified, through the imputation of Christ's righteousness.' Mr. W.'s notes on Romans iv, 9." Mr. H. adds: "These

two, taken together, produce the following conclusion, that it is perfectly consistent to say, that we are justified by that which cannot be found in the Bible." (*Farrago*, p. 24.)

That note runs thus: "'Faith was imputed to Abraham for righteousness.' This is fully consistent with our being justified through the imputation of the righteousness of Christ: that is, our being pardoned, and accepted of God, for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered. For though this, and this alone, be the meritorious cause of our acceptance with God, yet faith may be said to be 'imputed to us for righteousness,' as it is the sole condition of our acceptance."

Now, is there any shadow of contradiction in this? or of our being justified by that which cannot be found in the Bible?

26. "Mr. W. frequently puts the expression, 'imputed righteousness,' in the mouth of a whole congregation. Yet he says, 'I dare not require any to use it.'" Hence Mr. Hill deduces these two conclusions:—

(1.) "That Mr. W. gives out such doctrines as he dares not require any others to believe." (p. 25.)

By what logic is this deduced? We are not speaking of doctrines at all, but simply of a particular expression. And that expression is not "imputed righteousness," but "the imputed righteousness of Christ."

(2.) "That a whole congregation may have words in their mouths, and yet be all silent."

Well inferred again! But did I say, "A whole congregation had those words in their mouths?" I did not either say or suppose it; any more than that they were all silent.

"Will Mr. W. be ingenuous enough to tell me, whether he did not write this when he was last in a certain country, which abounds with *crassa ingenia?*" [numskulls?] I will. I did not write this in the fogs of Ireland, but in the clear air of Yorkshire.

27. The two next propositions Mr. Hill quotes, are, "They to whom the righteousness of Christ is imputed," (I mean, who truly believe,) "are made righteous by the Spirit of Christ; are renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness."

"The nice, metaphysical doctrine of imputed righteousness" (if it is not carefully guarded) "leads not to repentance, but to licentiousness. I have known a thousand instances of this."

And where is the contradiction between these propositions? "It is just this," says Mr. Hill, "that the doctrine of imputed righteousness makes those who believe it both holy and unholy." (p. 26.)

Unfold the propositions a little more, and then let any man judge.

The First means just this: They whom God justifies, for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered, (whether they ever heard of that phrase, "imputing the righteousness of Christ," or not,) are sanctified by his Spirit; are renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

The Second means: I have known very many who so rested in the doctrine of the righteousness of Christ imputed to them, that they were quite satisfied without any holiness at all.

Now, where is the contradiction?

But my inserting in my own sentence those explanatory words, "I mean, who truly believe," Mr. H. calls an interpolation; and supposes

I "mean to make a distinction between faith in Christ, and faith in the righteousness of Christ." I mean just what I have said again and again, particularly in the note above cited. And this is the very thing which John Goodwin means, as he declares over and over.

Mr. W. "winds up this point of imputed righteousness with a resolution which astonishes me, that 'he will never more use the phrase, *the imputed righteousness of Christ*, unless it occur to him in a hymn, or steal upon him unawares.'" This is my resolution. I repeat once more what I said in the "Remarks:" "The thing, that we are justified merely for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered, I have constantly and earnestly maintained above four-and-thirty years. And I have frequently used the phrase, hoping thereby to please others 'for their good to edification.' But it has had a contrary effect, since so many improve it into an objection. Therefore I will use it no more." (I mean, the phrase *imputed righteousness:* that phrase, *the imputed righteousness of Christ*, I never did use.) "I will endeavour to use only such phrases as are strictly Scriptural. And I will advise all my brethren, all who are in connection with me throughout the three kingdoms, to lay aside that ambiguous, unscriptural phrase, (*the imputed righteousness of Christ*,) which is so liable to be misinterpreted, and speak in all instances, this in particular, as the oracles of God."

IV.

Of a two-fold Justification.

My words cited as contradicting this, run thus:—

28. "In the afternoon I was informed how many wise and learned men, who cannot in terms deny it, (because our Articles and Homilies are not yet repealed,) explain justification by faith: They say, Justification is two-fold, the First in this life, the Second at the last day, &c. In opposition to this, I maintain, that the justification spoken of by St. Paul to the Romans, and in our Articles, is not two-fold; it is one, and no more." (*Remarks*, p. 154.) True. And where do I contradict this? Where do I say, the justification spoken of by St. Paul to the Romans, and in our Articles, is any more than one? The question between them and me concerned this justification, and this only, which I affirmed to be but one. They averred, "But there is a second justification at the last day; therefore justification is not one only." Withbut entering into that question, I replied, "The justification whereof St. Paul and our Articles speak, is one only." And so I say still; and yet I do not deny that there is another justification (of which our Lord speaks) at the last day.

I do not therefore condemn the distinction of a two-fold justification, in saying, That spoken of in our Articles is but one. And this is the thing which I affirmed, in "flat opposition to those men."

29. But "how is it possible to encounter such a man as this, without watching him through every line? And therefore I wish my readers would closely compare the 'Remarks' with the 'Review' itself;" (I desire no more. Whoever does this, will easily discern on which side the truth lies;) "as it is impracticable to point out half the little arts of this kind which Mr. W. has stooped to." That is, in civil terms, "Sir, you are a knave." Sir, I crave your mercy. I stoop to no art, but that

of plain sound reasoning. By this art, and by this alone, I am able to untwist truth from falsehood, how skilfully soever they are woven together. I dare use no other; for (whether you know it or no) I fear God. And by his grace, in simplicity and godly sincerity I have my conversation in the world.

"But how agrees this with what Mr. W. tells us, that he has never contradicted himself with regard to justification, since the year 1738?" (*Farrago*, p. 39.) Perfectly well. "How long has he held that justification is four-fold?" I have said nothing about it yet. "And how will he reconcile this with its being two-fold, and with his preceding affirmation, that it is one and no more?" When time is, this mystery too may be cleared up.

V.

Of a Justified State.

30. Mr. W. says, "The state of a justified person is inexpressibly great and glorious." (p. 34.)

"Yet he asks elsewhere, 'Does not talking of a justified or sanctified state, tend to mislead men?' He answers: 'It frequently does mislead men;'" namely, when it is spoken of in an unguarded manner. "'But where is the contradiction?' Whatever may be the contradiction, this is clearly the conclusion,—that Mr. W., by his own confession, is a misleader of men."

It is not quite clear yet. You have first to prove that I use the phrase "in an unguarded manner." I confess, when it is so used, it tends to mislead men; but I do not confess that I use it so.

VI.

Are Works a Condition of Justification?

31. "Mr. W. says, 'No good works can be previous to justification.' And yet in the same page he asserts, 'Whoever desires to find favour with God should cease from evil, and learn to do well.'"

I answered: "Does not the Bible say so? Who can deny it? Nay, but Mr. W. asks, If this be not in order to find favour, what does he do them for? And I ask it again. Let Mr. Hill or any one else, give me an answer. So if there is any contradiction here, it is not I contradict myself, but Isaiah and our Lord that contradict St. Paul." (*Remarks*, pp. 154.)

Mr. Hill replies: "Then a man may do works in order to find favour, and yet such works cannot be called good." You may call them so, if you please; but be not angry with me, if I do not. I still believe no good works can be done before justification. Yet I believe, (and that without the least self contradiction,) that final salvation is "by works as a condition." And let any one read over the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew, and deny it if he can.

VII.

Is Justification by Faith articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ?

32. In the beginning of the year 1738, I believed it was so. Soon after I found reason to doubt. Since that time I have not varied. "Nay, but in the year 1763 you say, 'This is the name whereby he shall be called, *The Lord our Righteousness*. A truth this, of which may be affirmed, (what Luther affirms of a truth nearly connected

with it, justification by faith,) it is *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ.* (A doctrine without which there can be no Christian Church.) It is certainly the pillar and ground of that faith of which alone cometh salvation.' " (*Farrago*, p. 15.)

I answered: "It is certain, here is a seeming contradiction; but it is not a real one; for these two opposite propositions do not speak of the same thing. The latter speaks of justification by faith; the former, of trusting in the righteousness or merits of Christ. (Justification by faith is only mentioned incidentally in a parenthesis.) Now, although Mr. Law denied justification by faith, he might trust in the merits of Christ. It is this, and this only, that I affirm (whatever Luther does) to be *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ.*" (*Remarks*, p. 391.)

But Mr. Hill thinks, "justification by faith, and by trusting in the merits of Christ, are all one." (*Farrago*, p. 16.) Be they or not, I still think, "some may doubt of justification by faith, and yet not perish everlastingly." Does Mr. Hill judge that such a one cannot be saved? that all Mystics (as well as Mr. Law) go to hell?

VIII.

Both Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness are imputed.

They are; the question is only, In what sense?

IX.

Of Merit. (p. 35.)

33. In the Minutes I say, "We are rewarded *according to* our works, yea, *because of* our works. (Genesis xxii, 16, 17.) How differs this from *for the sake of* our works? And how differs this from *secundum merita operum*, or 'as our works deserve?' Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot." I say so still. Let Mr. Hill, if he can.

"And yet I still maintain," (so I added in the "Remarks;" so I firmly believe,) "there is no merit, taking the word strictly, but in the blood of Christ; that salvation is not by the merit of works; and that there is nothing we are, or have, or do, which can, strictly speaking, deserve the least thing at God's hand.

"And all this is no more than to say, Take the word merit in a strict sense, and I utterly renounce it; take it in a looser sense, and though I never use it, (I mean, I never ascribe it to any man,) yet I do not condemn it. Therefore, with regard to the word merit, I do not contradict myself at all."

"You never use the word!" says Mr. H., "What have we then been disputing about?" (*Farrago*, p. 36.) Why, about a straw; namely, whether there be a sense in which others may use that word without blame.

But can Mr. Hill, or any one living, suppose me to mean, I do not use the word in the present question?

What Mr. H. adds, is a mere play upon words: "Does Mr. W., by this looser merit, mean a merit that does not merit?" Yes; by terming a work meritorious in this improper sense, I do not mean, that it merits or deserves a reward in the proper sense of the word. Instances of the word taken in this improper sense occur all over the Bible.

"This is shamefully evasive." No more than it is Greek. It is a plain, rational, solid distinction; and it holds with regard to numberless

words in all languages, which may be taken either in a proper or impro per sense.

When I say, "I do not grant that works are meritorious, even when accompanied by faith," I take that word in a proper sense. But others take it in an improper, as nearly equivalent with rewardable. Here, therefore, I no more contradict Mr. Fletcher than I do myself. Least of all do I plead, as Mr. H. roundly affirms, "for justification by the merit of my own good works." (p. 52.)

X.

Of Marriage.

34. "Mr. W. says, his thoughts on a single life are just the same they have been these thirty years." (I mean, with regard to the advantages which attend that state in general.) "Why then did he marry?" (p. 39.) I answered short, "For reasons best known to himself." As much as to say, I judge it extremely impertinent for any but a superior to ask me the question. So the harmless raillery which Mr. H. pleases himself with upon this occasion may stand just as it is.

XI.

Concerning Dress.

35. "Mr. W. advises his followers to 'wear nothing of a glaring colour, nothing made in the height of the fashion,' in order to 'increase their reward, and brighten their crown in heaven.'

"Nevertheless, in his 'Letter to a Quaker,' he says, 'To make it a point of conscience to differ from others, as to the shape and colour of their apparel, is mere superstition.'

"Yet he says, 'So I advise; but I do not make it a point of conscience.' It follows, that we are to increase our reward, and brighten our crown in heaven, by doing that which is mere superstition, and without acting from a point of conscience." (p. 40.)

I shall say more on this head than I otherwise would, in order to show every impartial reader, by one instance in a thousand, the manner wherein Mr. H. continually distorts and murders my words.

In my "Advice to the People called Methodists," I say, "I would not advise you to imitate the people called Quakers, in those particularities of dress which can answer no end but to distinguish you from all other people; but I advise you to imitate them in plainness. (1.) Let your apparel be cheap, not expensive. (2.) Let it be grave, not gay or showy; not in the point of the fashion.

"Would you have a farther rule? Then take one you may always carry in your bosom: Do every thing with a single eye; and this will direct you in every circumstance. Let a single intention to please God prescribe both what clothing you shall buy, and the manner wherein it shall be made, and how you shall put on and wear it. In other words, let all you do in this respect, be so done, that you may offer it to God, a sacrifice acceptable through Jesus Christ; so that, consequently, it may increase your reward, and brighten your crown in heaven."

Now, is there any thing ridiculous in all this? I would appeal even to a rational Deist, whether it be not, upon the Christian scheme, all agreeable to the highest reason?

36. "But it is inconsistent with what you said elsewhere: 'To make it a point of conscience to differ from others, as the Quakers do, in the shape or colour of their apparel, is mere superstition.'"

Not inconsistent at all. It is mere superstition to make wearing a broad-brimmed hat, or a coat with four buttons, (the very thing I referred to in the preceding page,) a point of conscience; that is, a thing necessary to salvation.

"Why then," says Mr. H., "we are to increase our reward, and brighten our crown in heaven, by doing what is 'mere superstition,' and without acting from a 'point of conscience!'"

Was ever such twisting of words? Has he not great reason to cry out, "O rare *Logica Wesleiensis! Qui bene distinguit, bene docet!*" [Wesleyan logic! He who distinguishes well, teaches well!] I bless God, I can distinguish reason from sophistry; unkind, unjust, ungenteel sophistry, used purely for this good end,—to asperse, to blacken a fel low Christian, because he is not a Calvinist!

No, Sir; what I call "superstition, and no point of conscience," is wearing a Quaker hat or coat; which is widely different from the plainness of dress that I recommended to the people called Methodists.

My logic, therefore, stands unimpeached; I wish your candour did so too.

I would engage to answer every objection of Mr. H.'s, as fairly and fully as this. But I cannot spare so much time; I am called to other employment.

And I should really think Mr. H. might spend his time better than in throwing dirt at his quiet neighbours.

XII.

Of Tea.

37. "Mr. W. published a tract against drinking tea, and told the tea-drinkers he would set them an example in that piece of self-denial." (*Farrago*, p. 41.)

"I did set them an example for twelve years. Then, at the close of a consumption, by Dr. Fothergill's direction, I used it again." (*Remarks*, p. 157.)

"Why then did Mr. W. re-publish this tract, making the world believe it brought a paralytic disorder upon him?" Before I was twenty years old, it made my hand shake, so that I could hardly write. "Is it not strange then, that Dr. Fothergill should advise Mr. W. to use what had before thrown him into the palsy?" I did not say so. I never had the palsy yet; though my hand shook, which is a "paralytic disorder." But be it strange or not, so Dr. F. advised; if you believe not me, you may inquire of himself. The low wit that follows, I do not meddle with; I leave it with the gentle reader.

XIII.

Of Baptism.

38. "Mr. W. says, 'As there is no clear proof for dipping in Scripture, so there is very probable proof to the contrary.'

"Why then did you at Savannah baptize all children by immersion, unless the parents certified they were weak?" (*Farrago*, p. 42.)

I answered: "Not because I had any scruple, but in obedience to the rubric."

Mr. H. according to custom, repeats the objection, without taking the least notice of the answer.

As to the story of half drowning Mrs. L. S., let her aver it to my face, and I shall say more. Only observe, Mr. Toplady is not "my friend." He is all your own; your friend, ally, and fellow soldier:—

Uti non
Compositi melius cum Bitho Bacchius!

[So that Bacchius and Bithus were not a better match.*]

You are in truth, *duo fulmina belli.* [Two thunderbolts of war.] It is not strange if their thunder should quite drown the sound of my "poor pop-guns."

39. "But what surpasses every thing else is, that Mr. W. cannot even speak of his contradictions, without contradicting himself afresh. For he absolutely denies, not only that he ever was unsettled in his principles, but that he was ever accused of being so, either by friends or foes." (pp. 39, 40.) *Either by friends or foes!* I will rest the whole cause upon this. If this be true, I am out of my wits. If it be false, what is Mr. Hill? An honest, upright, sensible man; but a little too warm, and therefore not seeing so clearly in this as in other things.

My words are: "My friends have oftener accused me of being too stiff in my opinions, than too flexible. My enemies have accused me of both, and of every thing besides." (*Remarks*, p. 163.) Is this "denying that ever I was accused of inconsistency either by friends or foes?"

I do still deny, that Mr. Delamotte spoke to me "of my wavering, unsettled disposition." (*Farrago*, p. 43.) But "he spoke to you," says Mr. Hill, "of something else." It is very likely he might.

40. Mr. W. is equally self-inconsistent "with regard to the Mystics. These, he tells us, he had once in great veneration," (I had, two or three and forty years ago,) "as the best explainers of the Gospel of Christ. Yet afterward he declares, he looks upon them as one great Antichrist." (p. 14.) I did look upon them as such thirty years ago. But in my "Remarks" I say, "I retract this. It is far too strong. But observe, I never contradicted it till now."

But how does this agree with Mr. W.'s saying, "I never was in the way of Mysticism at all?"

Perfectly well: I admired the Mystic writers. But I never was in their way; leaving off the outward means.

"But why did Mr. W. let the expression stand, 'Solomon is the chief of the Mystics?'" Perhaps because I thought it a harmless one, and capable of a good meaning. But I observe again: Mr. H. takes it for granted, that I have the correction of Mr. Fletcher's books. This is a mistake: of some I have; of others I have not.

41. Now comes the capital instance of self-inconsistency: "In 1770, Mr. W. esteems the Minutes the standard of orthodoxy. In 1771, he signs a paper, owning them to be unguarded. In 1772, he tells us, he does not know but it would have been better, not to have signed that paper at all!" (p. 13.) Suppose all this true, what will it prove? Only that I made a concession which was made an ill use of.

But "M. F.'s defence makes poor Mr. W. appear more and more

[* Bacchius and Bithus were two celebrated gladiators of equal age and strength, who, after conquering many competitors, engaged with each other and died of mutual wounds: whence the proverb to express equality, *Bithus contra Bacchium*,—Bithus against Bacchius.—See *Anthon's Lempriere.*]

inconsistent. Mr. W. declares the Minutes to be unguarded:" (that is, "not enough guarded" against cavillers:) "Mr. F. defends them, and strives to reconcile them with the declaration. But then comes Mr. W. and tells us, he does not know, but it had been better not to have signed it at all." And what then? Why, "hereby he intimates, that he has fixed a different sense upon the Minutes from that which they originally bore." No such thing; he intimates this and no more, that by that well-intended concession, he had given occasion, to those who sought occasion, of offence against him.

So all this laboured charge vanishes into air; and no more proves inconsistency than high treason.

42. We come now to the main point, perfection; the objections to which spread almost throughout the book. But the question is not, whether the doctrine be true or false; but whether I contradict myself concerning it.

As to what occurs in the fourth and fifth pages, it may therefore suffice to say, I do believe (as you observe) that real Christians (meaning those that are "perfected in love") are freed from evil or sinful thoughts. And where do I contradict this?

"You say, I cannot prove the facts alleged against some professors of perfection. Indeed I can." (p. 10.) If you could, that would not prove that I contradict myself on this head.

"But one at Worcester writes, 'I can send you an account of two or three shocking instances of bad behaviour among the professors of perfection here.'" Perhaps so. But will that prove my inconsistency?

43. Awhile since, Mr. Ma—d related to me the whole story of Samuel Wi—n. I know not that I ever heard of it before, but only some imperfect fragments of it. The other story, of "a preacher of perfection who said, the Holy Ghost visibly descended on all true converts," may be true for aught I know; but I question much, whether that madman was a preacher. It may likewise be true, that several wild expressions were uttered at West-street chapel. Yet I think, all these put together will not prove, that I contradict myself.

However, I am glad to read, "If I publish another edition of the Review, these instances shall all be omitted; and personal vilifications shall be left to the sole pen of Mr. W." Then you will reduce your Farrago to a page, and your Review to a penny pamphlet. But still "personal vilification" will not suit my pen. I have better employment for it.

44. You say, "Let us now proceed to Mr. W.'s assertions on sinless perfection." (p. 26.)

As I observed before, I am not now to dispute whether they are right or wrong. I keep therefore to that single point, Do I herein contradict myself, or not?

When I said, "If some of our hymns contradict others," I did not allow, they do. I meant only, if it were so, this would not prove that I contradict myself. "But still it proves, the people must sing contradictions." Observe, that is, *if*—.

In your account of perfection, blot out "no wandering thoughts." None in the body are exempt from these. This we have declared over and over; particularly in the sermon wrote upon that subject.

If in the sermon on Ephesians ii, 8, (not xi, 5, as your blunderer prints it,) the words which I had struck out in the preceding edition, are inserted again, what will this prove? Only that the printer, in my absence, printed, not from the last, but from an uncorrected, copy. However, you are hereby excused from unfairness, as to that quotation. But what excuse have you in the other instance, with regard to Enoch and Elijah? On which I asked, "Why is Mr. Hill so careful to name the first edition? Because in the second the mistake is corrected. Did he know this? And could he avail himself of a mistake which he knew was removed before he wrote?" (*Remarks*, p. 158.)

It is now plain he could! Nay, instead of owning his unfairness, he endeavours to turn the blame upon me! "You are as inconsistent in your censures as in your doctrines: you blame me for quoting the last edition of your sermon; whereas you call me to account for quoting the first edition of your notes, concerning Enoch and Elijah; each of whom you have proved, by a peculiar rule of Foundery-logic, to be both in heaven and out of heaven." So, without any remorse, nay, being so totally unconcerned as even to break jests on the occasion, you again "avail yourself of a mistake which you knew was removed before you wrote."

45. But Mr. Wesley "hath both struck out some words, and put in others, into the sermon." This is a common complaint with Mr. Hill, on which therefore it is needful to explain.

I generally abridge what I answer; which cannot be done without striking out all unessential words. And I generally put into quotations from my own writings, such words as I judge will prevent mistakes.

Now to the contradictions:—

"'If we say we have no sin' now remaining," (I mean, after we are justified,) "'we deceive ourselves.'"

I believe this; and yet I believe,

"Sin shall not always in our flesh remain."

Again:

"Many infirmities do remain."

This I believe; and I believe also,

"'He that is born of God,' (and 'keepeth himself,' 1 John v, 18,) 'sinneth not' by infirmities, whether in act, word, or thought."

I believe likewise, that in those perfected in love,

"No wrinkle of infirmity,
No spot of sin remains."

My brother, at the bottom of the page, expressly says, "No sinful infirmity." So whether this be Scriptural or not, here is no contradiction.

I have spoken so largely already concerning sins of surprise and infirmity, that it is quite needless to add any more. I need only refer to the "Remarks," at the 160th and following pages.

46 But to go on:

"I wrestle not now."

This is an expression of my brother's, which I do not subscribe to.

"We wrestle not with flesh and blood."

"This he allows to be his own." (p. 31.)

Indeed I do not; although, it is true, "the perpetual war which I

speak of in the note on Eph. vi, 13, is a war with principalities and powers, but not with flesh and blood." "But either way, Mr. John is stuck fast in the mire. For in his 'Remarks,' he contradicts his brother, in his Annotations, he contradicts himself; and in his Hymn, he contradicts both his brother and himself."

Mr. John is not quite *stuck fast* yet; for this is a mistake from beginning to end. (1.) I do not contradict my brother in my "Remarks." In saying, "I do not subscribe to that expression," I mean, I do not make it my own; I do not undertake to defend it. Yet neither do I enter the lists against it; it is capable of a sound meaning. (2.) I do not contradict myself in the note; let him prove it that can. (3.) I contradict nobody in the hymn; for it is not mine.

Again: "I never said,

> 'While one evil thought can rise,
> I am not born again.'

My brother said so once; but he took the words in too high a sense." I add, and in a sense not warranted by the Bible. And yet I believe, that "real Christians, I mean those perfected in love, are freed from evil or sinful thoughts."

"But is not a babe in Christ born again? Is he not a real Christian?" He is doubtless born again; and in some sense he is a real Christian; but not in the sense above defined.

47. We come now to the additional contradictions which Mr. Hill undertakes to find in my writings. They are already dwindled into one; and I hope to show quickly, this one is none at all. It stands thus:—

"Most express are the words of St. John: 'We know, that whosoever is born of God sinneth not.'"

"Indeed, it is said, This means only, he doth not commit sin wilfully or habitually."

(Observe. I do not deny the text to mean this; but I deny that it means this only.)

As a contradiction to this, Mr. Hill places these words in the opposite column:—

"The Apostle John declares, 'Whosoever is born of God sinneth not,' (1.) By any habitual sin; nor, (2.) By any wilful sin." True; but do I say, the Apostle means this only? Otherwise here is no contradiction. So, although you have got the gallows ready, you have not turned off old Mordecai yet. As you so frequently give me that appellation I for once accept of your favour.

48. "Before I quit this subject," (of perfection,) "I cannot help expressing my astonishment, that Mr. Wesley should deny that his tenets on that point exactly harmonize with those of the Popish Church; since all the decrees and books that have been published by the Roman clergy prove this matter beyond a doubt."

I believe you have been told so. But you should not assert it, unless from personal knowledge. "Alexander Ross says so." What is Alexander Ross? See with your own eyes. "Mr. Hervey too, gives an account of Lindenus and Andradius." Second-hand evidence still. Have you seen them yourself? Otherwise you ought not to allow their testimony. As to that "most excellent and evangelical work," as you term it, the Eleven Letters ascribed to Mr. Hervey, Mr. Sellon has

abundantly shown, that they are most excellently virulent, scurrilous, and abusive; and full as far from the evangelical spirit, as the Koran of Mohammed.

"But Bishop Cowper"—I object to him, beside his being a hot, bitter Calvinist, that he is a dull, heavy, shallow writer. And let him be what he may, all you cite from him is but second-hand authority. "Nay, I refer to the bishop's own words." But still, you have only the words at second-hand. In order to know the tenets of the Church of Rome, you must read the Romish authors themselves. Nay, it does not suffice to read their own private authors. They will disown any thing we charge them with, unless we can prove it by recurring to their public and authentic records. Such are the "*Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini.*" Such the "*Catechismus ad Parochos.*" Till you have read these at least, you should never undertake to determine what is, or what is not, Popery.

49. "But as I am now on the subject of Popery, I must make a few animadversions on what Mr. Wesley affirms, 'I always thought the tenets of the Church of Rome were nearer by half to Mr. Hill's tenets, than to Mr. Wesley's.'" (p. 33.) Nay, give the honour of this to its true author: Mr. Hill goes to consult a Popish friar at Paris, a Benedictine monk, one Father Walsh, concerning the Minutes of the Conference. Father Walsh (Mr. Hill says; and I see no reason to scruple his authority here) assures him that the Minutes contain false doctrine; and that the tenets of the Church of Rome are nearer by half to his (Mr. Hill's) tenets than they are to Mr. Wesley's. (So Mr. Hill himself informs the world, in the Paris Conversation, of famous memory, which I really think he would never have published, unless, as the vulgar say, the devil had owed him a shame.) I add, "Truly, I always thought so." But I am the more confirmed therein, by the authority of so competent a judge; especially when his judgment is publicly delivered by so unexceptionable a witness.

50. Nay, but "you know, the principles of the Pope and of John Calvin are quite opposite to each other." I do not know that they are opposite at all in this point. Many Popes have been either Dominicans or Benedictines: and many of the Benedictines, with all the Dominicans are as firm predestinarians as Calvin himself. Whether the present Pope is a Dominican, I cannot tell: if he is, he is far nearer your tenets than mine.

Let us make the trial with regard to your ten propositions:—

(1.) "You deny election."	"So does the Pope of Rome." I know not that. Probably he holds it.
(2.) "You deny perseverance."	"So does the Pope of Rome." That is much to be doubted.
(3.) "You deny imputed righteousness."	Perhaps the Pope of Rome does but I assert it continually.
(4.) "You hold free-will."	"So does the Pope of Rome." No, not as I do; (unless he is a predestinarian: otherwise,) he ascribes it to nature, I to grace.
(5.) "You hold that works are a condition of justification."	If you mean good works, I do not.
(6.) "You hold a two-fold justifica-	"So does the Pope of Rome." And

tion; one now, another at the last day."

so do all Protestants, if they believe the Bible.

(7.) "You hold the doctrine of merit."

I do not. Neither does the Pope, if Father Walsh says true.

(8.) "You hold sinless perfection."

"So does the Pope." I deny that. How do you prove it?

(9.) "You hold, that sins are only infirmities."

I hold no such thing; and you know it well.

(10.) "You distinguish between venial and mortal sins."

Not so; I abhor the distinction.

Now, let every man of understanding judge, whether Father Walsh did not speak the very truth.

51. "This pamphlet was finished, when I was told, that Mr. W. had lately a very remarkable dream, which awakened him out of a sound sleep. This dream he communicated to his society. It was in substance as follows:—A big, rough man came to him, and gave him a violent blow upon the arm with a red-hot iron.

"Now, the interpretation thereof I conceive to be as follows:—

"(1.) The big, rough man is Mr. Hill: (2.) The bar of iron" (red-hot!) "is *Logica Wesleiensis:* [Wesleyan logic:] (3.) The blow denotes the shock which Mr. John will receive by the said pamphlet: (4.) His being awakened out of a sound sleep, signifies, there is yet hope, that he will, some time or other, come to the right use of his spiritual faculties." (p. 61.)

Pretty, and well devised! And though it is true I never had any such dream since I was born, yet I am obliged to the inventor of it, and that on many accounts.

I am obliged to him, (1.) For sending against me only a big, rough man; it might have been a lion or a bear: (2.) For directing the bar of iron only to my arm; it might have been my poor scull: (3.) For letting the big man give me only one blow; had he repeated it, I had been slain outright: And, (4.) For hoping I shall, some time or other, come to the right use of my spiritual faculties.

52. Perhaps Mr. Hill may expect that I should make him some return for the favour of his heroic poem: but

> Certes I have, for many days,
> Sent my poetic herd to graze.

And had I not, I should have been utterly unable to present him with a parallel. Yet, upon reflection, I believe I can; although I own it is rather of the lyric than the heroic kind. And because possibly he may be inclined to write notes on this too, I will tell him the origin of it. One Sunday, immediately after sermon, my father's clerk said, with an audible voice, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God, a hymn of mine own composing." It was short and sweet, and ran thus:—

> King William is come home, come home!
> King William home is come!
> Therefore let us together sing
> The hymn that's call'd Te D'um!

53. Before I conclude, I beg leave, in my turn, to give you a few advices:—

And, (1.) Be calm. Do not venture into the field again till you are master of your temper. You know, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness," neither promotes the truth "of God."

(2.) Be good natured. Passion is not commendable; but ill nature still less. Even irrational anger is more excusable than bitterness, less offensive to God and man.

(3.) Be courteous. Show good manners, as well as good nature, to your opponent, of whatever kind. "But he is rude." You need not be so too. If you regard not him, reverence yourself.

Absolutely contrary to this is the crying out at every turn, "Quirk! Sophistry! Evasion!" In controversy these exclamations go for nothing. This is neither better nor worse than calling names.

(4.) Be merciful. When you have gained an advantage over your opponent, do not press it to the uttermost. Remember the honest Quaker's advice to his friend a few years ago: "Art thou not content to lay John Wesley upon his back, but thou wilt tread his guts out?"

(5.) In writing, do not consider yourself as a man of fortune, or take any liberty with others on that account. These distinctions weigh little more in the literary world, than in the world of spirits. Men of sense simply consider what is written; not whether the writer be a lord or a cobbler.

Lastly. Remember, "for every idle word men shall speak, they shall give an account in the day of judgment!" Remember, "by thy words shalt thou be justified; or by thy words shalt thou be condemned!"

BRISTOL, March 14, 1773.

AN ANSWER

TO

MR. ROWLAND HILL'S TRACT, ENTITLED, "IMPOSTURE DETECTED."

Jealousy, cruel as the grave!—CANTICLES viii, 6.

Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil, durst not bring a railing accusation against him.—JUDE 9.

IN a tract just published by Mr. Rowland Hill, there are several assertions which are not true; and the whole pamphlet is wrote in an unchristian and ungentlemanlike manner. I shall first set down the assertions in order, and then proceed to the manner.

I. 1. "Throughout the whole of Paul's Epistles, he can scarcely write a single line without mentioning Christ." (p. 3.) I just opened on the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. In the last thirty verses of this chapter, how often does he mention Christ? In every single line?

2. "In that wretched harangue, which he calls a sermon, he makes himself the only subject of his own panegyrics." (p. 4.)

Being aware of this charge, I have said, "I am, in one respect, an improper person to give this information; as it will oblige me frequently to speak of myself, which may have the appearance of ostentation. But, with regard to this, I can only cast myself upon the candour of my hearers; being persuaded they will put the most favourable construction upon what is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. For there is no other person, if I decline

the task, who can supply my place, who has a perfect knowledge of the work in question, from the beginning of it to this day." (*Sermons*, vol. i, p. 491.)

I give an account of the rise of this work at Oxford, from 1725 to 1735, pages 491, 492; at London and elsewhere, page 493. In all this there is not a line of panegyric upon myself, but a naked recital of facts. Nor is there any panegyric on any one in the following pages, but a plain account of the Methodist doctrines.

It may be observed, (if it is worth observing,) that I preached in the open air in October, 1735. Mr. Whitefield was not then ordained.

3. "Not a single line tending to vindicate, or illustrate, any one fundamental doctrine of the Gospel appears throughout the whole." (*Imposture Detected*, p. 4.) Yes: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," is one fundamental doctrine of the Gospel: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is another. And both these are vindicated and illustrated for several pages together.

4. "His sacrilegious hand violates the ashes of the dead, traduces the character of Mr. Whitefield, insinuates that he was the first who preached in the open air; with the greatest bitterness of speech, traduces the dead, as a Dissenter from the Church." (p. 16.)

My words are: "A good man, who met with us at Oxford, while he was absent from us, conversed much with Dissenters, and contracted a strong prejudice against the Church; and not long after he totally separated from us;" (*Ib.* p. 497;) from my brother and me. This is every word I say about Mr. Whitefield. And is this "violating the ashes of the dead?" Is this "traducing his character?" Certainly not traducing him as "a Dissenter from the Church," much less "with the greatest bitterness of speech." Where is the bitterness? And this is the whole ground for pouring out such a flood of abuse, obloquy, and calumny! But Mr. Hill goes on: "With ungodly craft he claws up the ashes of the dead. He says Mr. Whitefield, by conversing with the Dissenters," (I mean chiefly the Presbyterians in New-England,) "contracted a strong prejudice against the Church." (*Imposture Detected*, p. 18.) I say so still. And how will Mr. Hill disprove it? Why, "he manifested his strong attachment to the Church, by erecting Tottenham-Court chapel, for the celebration of the Church service; yea, and reading the Liturgy himself." Nay, if this proved *his* strong attachment to the Church, it will equally prove *mine;* for I have read the Liturgy as often as he; and I am now erecting a chapel (*hinc illæ lachrymæ!*) [hence those tears!] for the celebration of the Church service.

5. "He cast lots for his creed." (p. 8.) Never in my life. That paltry story is untrue. They who tell it cast no honour upon him who published a private letter, wrote in confidence of friendship.

6. "He gives up the righteousness of Christ." (p. 9.) No more than I give up his Godhead. But I renounce both the phrase and thing, as it is explained by Antinomian writers.

7. "He gives up the atonement of Christ. The atonement and the righteousness of Christ he considers as mere words." (p. 10.) Nothing can be more false. It is not concerning these I advise,

Projicere ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba.
[To lay aside big bombastic words.]

"But a man cannot fear God, and work righteousness evangelically,

without living faith." Most certainly. And who denies this? I have proved it a hundred times.

8. "He renounced the grand Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, in those horrid Minutes." I never renounced it yet, and I trust never shall. The "horrid Minutes" Mr. Fletcher has so effectually vindicated, that I wonder Mr. Hill should mention them any more.

9. "After all possible candour and forbearance had been shown to him," (By whom? by Mr. Toplady, Mr. Richard Hill, or Mr. Rowland, who has excelled them all?) "this interloper" (a pretty word, but what does it mean?) "has totally renounced the Gospel of Christ." (p. 11.) Totally false; unless by the Gospel be meant Antinomian Calvinism.

10. "In his last year's Minutes, he speaks of the doctrines of grace" (Calvinism) "with as much venom as ever." Just as much. Let the reader judge. The words occur page 11:—

"Q. 26. Calvinism has been the greatest hinderance of the work of God. What makes men swallow it so greedily?

"A. Because it is so pleasing to flesh and blood; the doctrine of final perseverance in particular.

"Q. 27. What can be done to stop its progress?

"A. (1.) Let all our preachers carefully read our tracts, and Mr. Fletcher's and Sellon's.

(2.) Let them preach universal redemption frequently and explicitly; but in love and gentleness; taking care never to return railing for railing. Let the Calvinists have all this on their side."

Ecce signum! [Lo the sign!]

11. "He is most marvellously curious in forbidding his preachers to say, My Lady."

Were ever words so distorted and misrepresented! The words in the Minutes are:—

"Do not imitate them (the Calvinists of Trevecka in particular) in screaming, allegorizing, calling themselves ordained, boasting themselves of their learning, the College, or My Lady. (p. 12.)

Is this "forbidding them to say, My Lady?" No more than forbidding them to make a bow.

12. "A vast number of sluts had taken possession of the preaching houses," (No; the preaching houses were not in question,) "and female servants, by courtesy called maids," (civil and kind! But neither were servants in question,) "are filthy slovens in their persons, dress, and manœuvres." (See, Mr. Hill understands French!) "So Mr. John gives the public to understand." (No, not Mr. John, but Mr. Hill. He goes on:) "And how is this mighty grievance to be redressed? 'Why,' says this Solomon in a cassock" (Is not that witty?) "'sluts are to be kept out, by not letting them in.'" (*Imposture Detected*, p. 12.) And is all this wit bestowed upon three poor lines? The words are just these:—

"Q. Complaint is made that sluts spoil our houses. How then can we prevent this?

"A. Let no known slut live in any of them." (*Minutes.*)

What a colour does Mr. Hill put upon this! But, meantime, where's conscience? Where is honour?

13. "He denies the doctrines of the Church of England;" (p. 13;)

that is, absolute predestination. Mr. Sellon has abundantly proved, that this is no doctrine of the Church of England. When Mr. Hill has answered his arguments, I will give him some more. The objections against lay preachers (which come ill from Mr. Hill) I have largely answered in the "Third Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion." But I know not that any lay preachers in connection with me, either baptize children, or administer the Lord's Supper. I never entreated any thing of Bishop Erasmus, who had abundant unexceptionable credentials as to his episcopal character. Nor did he "ever reject any overture" made by me. (p. 14.) Herein Mr. Hill has been misinformed. I deny the fact; let him produce his evidence. The perfection I hold is so far from being contrary to the doctrine of our Church, that it is exactly the same which every Clergyman prays for every Sunday: "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name." I mean neither more nor less than this. In doctrine, therefore, I do not dissent from the Church of England.

14. However, "he renounces the discipline of the Chruch."(p. 15.) This objection too I have answered at large, in my Letters to Dr. Church,—another kind of opponent than Mr. Rowland Hill; a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian; and as such he both spoke and wrote.

15. "He falsely says, Almost all who were educated at Trevecka, except those that were ordained, and some of them too, disclaimed the Church, nay, and spoke of it upon all occasions with exquisite bitterness and contempt." This is a terrible truth. If Lady Huntingdon requires it, I can procure affidavits, both concerning the time and place.

16. "He professes he stands in no need of Christ's righteousness." (p. 23.) I never professed any such thing. The very sermon referred to, the fifth in the first volume, proves the contrary. But I flatly deny that sense of imputed righteousness which Mr. Hill contends for.

17. "He expressly maintains the merit of good works, in order to justification." (p. 24.) Neither expressly nor implicitly. I hope Mr. Hill has not read Mr. Fletcher's Checks, nor my sermons on the subject. If he has not, he has a poor excuse for this assertion: If he has, he can have no excuse at all.

18. "He contradicts himself concerning Enoch and Elijah. See his Notes, the former edition." (p. 28.) Wisely directed! for Mr. Hill knew the mistake was corrected in the next edition.

19. "He is ever raising malicious accusations against the lives and doctrines of all Calvinists, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, throughout all the kingdom." (p. 29.)

Thousands of Calvinists know the contrary, both Churchmen and Dissenters.

20. "He exerts all his art to irritate the civil powers against all the people of God." (p. 30.) "He says, the Dissenters revile and lightly esteem the sacred person of the king." I answer, (1.) Are the Dissenters, are the Calvinists, "all the people of God?" (2.) If you think they are, do all these defend the American rebels? Who affirms it? I hope not a quarter, not a tenth part, of them. (3.) Do I say all the Dissenters revile the king? I neither say so, nor think so. Those

that do, are guilty of what you impute to me. They "irritate the civil powers" against themselves.

21. "He says he will no more continue in fellowship with Calvinists than with thieves, drunkards, or common swearers." No; I say I will have no fellowship with those who rail at their governors, (be they Calvinists or Arminians,) who speak all manner of evil of them in private, if not in public too. "Such is the character he gives of the Calvinistic Methodists." (p. 31.) I do not; no more than of the Arminians. But I know there have been such among them: If they are wiser now, I am glad. In the mean time let him wear the cap whom it fits, be it Mr. Wilkes or Mr. Hill himself.

22. "This apostate miscreant" (civil!) "invites the king and his ministers to fall upon"—whom? those who "rail at their governors, who speak all manner of evil of them, in private, if not in public too." I am glad they cry out, though before they are hurt; and I hope they will cease to speak evil of dignities, before those who bear not the sword in vain fall upon them, not for their opinion, but their evil practices.

23. "He says, Calvinists and all Dissenters are rebels." (p. 32.) I never said or thought so. "But a few years ago, he himself thought the Americans were in the right." I did; for then I thought that they sought nothing but legal liberty: But as soon as I was convinced they sought independency, I knew they were in the wrong. Mr. Evans's low and scurrilous tracts have been confuted over and over.

24. "He trumpets himself forth as the greatest man that has ever lived since Constantine the Great." (p. 37.) This too is in italics; it might have been in capitals; but it is an utter falsehood. Mr. Hill might as well have said, "He trumpets himself forth as the King of Great Britain." The passage to which I suppose he alludes, and the only one he can allude to, is this: "When has true religion, since the time of Constantine the Great, made so large a progress within so small a space?" (*Sermons*, vol. i, p. 495.) Is this "trumpeting myself forth as the greatest man that has ever lived since" then?

25. "All his disciples are commanded not to read what is wrote against him." (*Imposture Detected*, p. 38.) No; it is the Tabernacle disciples are commanded not to read Mr. Fletcher. And reason good; for there is no resisting the force of his arguments. Thousands, if they read them with any candour, would see that "God willeth all men to be saved."

26. Mr. Hill concludes: "I should have been glad to have addressed him in the softest and most tender style. But those are weapons he turns to ridicule." (p. 39.) When? Show me a single instance. Indeed, I never was tried. What Calvinist ever addressed me in a soft and tender style? And which of them did I turn to ridicule? I am utterly guiltless in this matter.

II. 1. I have now done with the merits of the cause, having refuted the charge in every article. And as to the manner, let any man of candour judge, whether I have not spoken the truth in love. I proceed now to take some notice of the manner wherein Mr. Hill speaks: To illustrate which, I need only present a few of his flowers to the impartial reader.

2 "All the divinity we find in this wretched harangue which he calls a

sermon, are a few bungling scraps of the religion of nature, namely, love to God and love to man, which a Heathen might have preached as well as Mr. John;" (polite!) "and probably in a much better manner. Erase half a dozen lines, and I defy any one to discover whether the lying apostle of the Foundery be a Jew, a Papist, a Pagan, or a Turk." (p. 4.)

"Else I should have treated his trumpery with the silence and contempt it deserves. But to see Mr. Whitefield scratched out of his grave by the claws of this *designing wolf*," (there is a metaphor for you!) "is enough to make the very stones cry out, or (which would be a greater miracle still) redden even a Wesley's forehead with a blush." (p. 5.) I think it would be a greater miracle still to make a wolf blush.

"The dictatorial Mr. John lyingly maintains argument enough for the gaping dupes whom he leads by the nose." (p. 6.)

"He and his lay lubbers go forth to poison the minds of men." (p. 11.) Are not then the lay lubbers and the gaping dupes just fit for each other?

But who are these lay lubbers? They are "Wesley's ragged legion of preaching tinkers, scavengers, draymen, and chimney sweepers." (p. 21.)

3. "No man would do this, unless he were as unprincipled as a rook, and as silly as a jackdaw.

"His own people say, 'He is a very poor preacher;' and that most of his laymen, raw and ignorant as they are, preach much more to the purpose. Indeed, the old gentleman has lost his teeth. But should he not then cease mumbling with his gums?" (p. 25.)

"Why do they not keep the shatter-brained old gentleman locked up in a garret?" (p. 36.)

4. "I doubt not but for profit's sake he would profess himself a stanch Calvinist." (p. 16.)

"The Rev. Mr. John, Mr. Whitefield's *quondam* understrapper." (*Ib.*) How sadly then did he mistake, when he so often subscribed himself, "Your dutiful, your obliged and affectionate, son!"

"Mark the venom that now distils from his graceless pen." "The venomous quill of this grey-headed enemy to all righteousness." (pp. 17, 19.)

5. "The wretch thought himself safe, but the crafty slanderer is taken in his own net." (p. 20.)

"This truly Socinian, truly Heathen, truly infernal, passage is found in that heretic's sermon." (p. 23.)

"The most rancorous pretences that ever actuated the prostituted pen of a venal profligate." (p. 30.)

"With him devils and Dissenters are terms synonymous. If so, what a devil must he be!" (*Ib.*)

"The sole merit of the disappointed Orlando Furioso" (how pretty and quaint that is!) "is, seeking to enkindle a flame of ecclesiastical and civil discord:" No; to put it out; which, I bless God, is done already, to a great degree: "And his sole perfection consists in perfect hatred of all goodness and all good men." (p. 31.)

Now, let all the world judge between Mr. Hill and me. I do not say all the religious world; but all that have the smallest portion of common sense and common humanity. Setting every thing else aside, suppose him to be my superior in rank, fortune, learning, and understanding: is this treatment for a young man to give to an old one, who, at least, is no fool, and who, before Mr. Hill was born, was in a more honourable employ than he is ever likely to be? What can inspire this young hero with such a spirit, and fill his mouth with such language? Is it any credit to his person, or to his cause? What can men think

either of one or the other? If he does not reverence me, or common decency, should he not reverence himself? Why should he place himself on a level with "the ragged legion of tinkers, scavengers, draymen, chimney sweepers?" Nay, there are many of these who would be ashamed to let such language come out of their mouth. If he writes any more, let him resume the scholar, the gentleman, and the Christian. Let him remember Him who "left us an example, that we might tread in his steps: in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, peradventure God may bring them to the knowledge of the truth."

London, June 28, 1777.

THOUGHTS CONCERNING GOSPEL MINISTERS.

1. How frequently do we hear this expression from the mouths of rich and poor, learned and unlearned! Many lament that they have not a Gospel minister in their church, and therefore are constrained to seek one at the meeting. Many rejoice that they have a Gospel minister, and that there are many such in their neighbourhood. Meantime, they generally speak with much displeasure, if not contempt, of those who they say are not Gospel ministers.

2. But it is to be feared, few of these understand what they say. Few understand what that expression means. Most that use it have only crude, confused notions concerning Gospel ministers. And hence many inconveniences arise; yea, much hurt to the souls of men. They contract prejudices in favour of very worthless men, who are indeed blind leaders of the blind; not knowing what the real Gospel is, and therefore incapable of preaching it to others. Meantime, from the same cause, they contract prejudices against other ministers, who, in reality, both live and preach the Gospel; and therefore are well able to instruct them in all those truths that accompany salvation.

3. But what then is the meaning of the expression? Who is a Gospel minister? Let us consider this important question calmly, in the fear and in the presence of God.

Not every one that preaches the eternal decrees; (although many suppose this is the very thing;) that talks much of the sovereignty of God, of free, distinguishing grace, of dear electing love, of irresistible grace, and of the infallible perseverance of the saints. A man may speak of all these by the hour together; yea, with all his heart, and with all his voice; and yet have no right at all to the title of a Gospel minister.

Not every one that talks largely and earnestly on those precious subjects,—the righteousness and blood of Christ. Let a man descant upon these in ever so lively a manner, let him describe his sufferings ever so pathetically; if he stops there, if he does not show man's duty, as well as Christ's sufferings; if he does not apply all to the consciences of the hearers; he will never lead them to life, either here or hereafter, and therefore is no Gospel minister.

Not every one who deals in the promises only, without ever showing the terrors of the law; that slides over "the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness," and endeavours

to heal those that never were wounded. These promise-mongers are no Gospel ministers.

Not every one (very nearly allied to the former) who bends all his strength to coax sinners to Christ. Such soft, tender expressions, as "My dear hearers, My dear lambs," though repeated a thousand times, do not prove a Gospel minister.

Lastly. Not every one that preaches justification by faith; he that goes no farther than this, that does not insist upon sanctification also, upon all the fruits of faith, upon universal holiness, does not declare the whole counsel of God, and consequently is not a Gospel minister.

4. Who then is such? Who is a Gospel minister, in the full, Scriptural sense of the word? He, and he alone, of whatever denomination, that does declare the whole counsel of God; that does preach the whole Gospel, even justification and sanctification, preparatory to glory. He that does not put asunder what God has joined, but publishes alike, "Christ dying for us, and Christ living in us." He that constantly applies all this to the hearts of the hearers, being willing to spend and be spent for them; having himself the mind which was in Christ, and steadily walking as Christ also walked; he, and he alone, can with propriety be termed a Gospel minister.

5. Let it be particularly observed, if the Gospel be "glad tidings of great salvation which shall be unto all people," then those only are, in the full sense, Gospel ministers who proclaim the "great salvation;" that is, salvation from all (both inward and outward) sin, into "all the mind that was in Christ Jesus;" and likewise proclaim offers of this salvation to every child of man. This honourable title is therefore vilely prostituted, when it is given to any but those who testify "that God willeth all men to be saved," and "to be perfect as their Father which is in heaven is perfect."

THOUGHTS UPON NECESSITY.

TO THE READER.

I HAD finished what I had designed to say on this subject, when the "Essay on Liberty and Necessity" fell into my hands: A most elaborate piece, touched and retouched with all possible care. This has occasioned a considerable enlargement of the following tract. I would fain place mankind in a fairer point of view than that writer has done; as I cannot believe the noblest creature in the visible world to be only a fine piece of clock-work.

Is man a free agent, or is he not? Are his actions free or necessary? Is he self determined in acting; or is he determined by some other being? Is the principle which determines him to act, in himself or in another? This is the question which I want to consider. And is it not an important one? Surely there is not one of greater importance in the whole nature of things. For what is there that more nearly concerns all that are born of women? What can be conceived which more deeply affects, not some only, but every child of man?

I. 1. That man is not self-determined; that the principle of action is lodged not in himself but in some other being: has been an exceeding ancient opinion, yea, near as old as the foundation of the world. It

seems, none that admit of Revelation can have any doubt of this. For it was unquestionably the sentiment of Adam soon after he had eaten of the forbidden fruit. He imputes what he had done, not to himself, but another, "The woman whom thou gavest me." It was also the sentiment of Eve, "The serpent, he beguiled me, and I did eat." "It is true, I did eat; but the cause of my eating, the spring of my action, was in another."

2. The same opinion, that man is not self-determined, took root very early, and spread wide, particularly in the eastern world, many ages before Manes was born. Afterward indeed, he, and his followers, commonly called Manichees, formed it into a regular system. They not only maintained, that all the actions of man were necessarily determined by a power exterior to himself, but likewise accounted for it, by ascribing the good to Oromasdes, the parent of all good; the evil to the other independent being, Arimanius, the parent of all evil.

3. From the eastern world, "when arts and empire learned to travel west," this opinion travelled with them into Europe, and soon found its way into Greece.—Here it was earnestly espoused and vehemently maintained by the Stoic Philosophers; men of great renown among persons of literature, and some of the ablest disputants in the world. These affirmed with one mouth, that from the beginning of the world, if not rather from all eternity, there was an indissoluble chain of causes and effects, which included all human actions; and that these were by fate so connected together, that not one link of the chain could be broken.

4. A fine writer of our own country, who was a few years since gathered to his fathers, has, with admirable skill drawn the same conclusion from different premises. He lays it down as a principle, (and a principle it is, which cannot reasonably be denied,) that as long as the soul is vitally united to the body, all its operations depend on the body; that in particular all our thoughts depend upon the vibrations of the fibres of the brain; and of consequence vary, more or less, as those vibrations vary. In that expression, "our thoughts," he comprises all our sensations, all our reflections and passions; yea, and all our volitions, and consequently our actions, which, he supposes, unavoidably follow those vibrations. He premises, "But you will say, This scheme infers the universal necessity of human actions;" and frankly adds, "Certainly it does. I am sorry for it; but I cannot help it."

5. And this is the scheme which is now adopted by not a few of the most sensible men in our nation. One of these fairly confessing, that "he did not think himself a sinner," was asked, "Do you never feel any wrong tempers? And do you never speak or act in such a manner as your own reason condemns?" He candidly answered, "Indeed I do. I frequently feel tempers, and speak many words, and do many actions, which I do not approve of. But I cannot avoid it. They result, whether I will or no, from the vibrations of my brain, together with the motion of my blood, and the flow of my animal spirits. But these are not in my own power. I cannot help them. They are independent on my choice. And therefore I cannot apprehend myself to be a sinner on this account."

6. Very lately another gentleman, in free conversation, was carrying this matter a little farther. Being asked, "Do you believe God is al-

mighty?" he answered, "I do; or he could not have made the world." "Do you believe he is wise?" "I cannot tell. Much may be said on both sides." "Do you believe he is good?" "No; I cannot believe it. I believe just the contrary. For all the evil in the world is owing to Him. I can ascribe it to no other cause. I cannot blame that cur for barking or biting; it is his nature; and he did not make himself. I feel wrong tempers in myself; but that is not my fault; for I cannot help it. It is my nature; and I could not prevent my having this nature, neither can I change it."

7. The Assembly of Divines, who met at Westminster in the last century, express very nearly the same sentiment, though placed in a different light. They speak to this effect: "Whatever happens in time, was unchangeably determined from all eternity. God ordained or ever the world was made, all the things that should come to pass therein. The greatest and the smallest were equally predetermined: In particular, all the thoughts, all the words, all the actions of every child of man; all that every man thinks or speaks, or does, from his birth, till his spirit returns to God that gave it. It follows, that no man can do either more or less good, or more or less evil, than he does. None can think, speak or act any otherwise than he does, not in any the smallest circumstance. In all he is bound by an invisible, but more than adamantine, chain. No man can move his head or foot, open or shut his eyes, lift his hand, or stir a finger, any otherwise than as God determined he should from all eternity."

8. That this chain is invisible, they allow; man himself perceives nothing of it. He suspects nothing less; he imagines himself to be free in all his actions; he seems to move hither and thither, to go this way or that, to choose doing evil or doing good, just at his own discretion. But all this is an entire mistake; it is no more than a pleasing dream: For all his ways are fixed as the pillars of heaven; all unalterably determined. So that, notwithstanding these gay, flattering appearances,

> In spite of all the labour we create,
> We only row; but we are steer'd by fate!

9. A late writer, in his celebrated book upon free-will, explains the matter thus: "The soul is now connected with a material vehicle, and placed in the material world. Various objects here continually strike upon one or other of the bodily organs. These communicate the impression to the brain; consequent on which such and such sensations follow. These are the materials on which the understanding works, in forming all its simple and complex ideas; according to which our judgments are formed. And according to our judgments are our passions; our love and hate, joy and sorrow, desire and fear, with their innumerable combinations. Now, all these passions together are the will, variously modified: and all actions flowing from the will are voluntary actions; consequently they are good or evil, which otherwise they could not be. And yet it is not in man to direct his own way, while he is in the body, and in the world."

10. The author of an "Essay on Liberty and Necessity," published some years since at Edinburgh, speaks still more explicitly, and endeavours to trace the matter to the foundation:

"The impressions," says he, "which man receives in the natural world, do not correspond to the truth of things. Thus the qualities called second

ary, which we by natural instinct attribute to matter, belong not to matter, nor exist without us; but all the beauty of colours with which heaven and earth appear clothed, is a sort of romance or illusion. For in external objects there is really no other distinction, but that of the size and arrangement of their constituent parts, whereby the rays of light are variously reflected and refracted." (p. 152, &c.)

"In the moral world, whatever is a cause with regard to its proper effect, is an effect with regard to some prior cause, and so backward without end. Events, therefore, being a train of causes and effects, are necessary and fixed. Every one must be, and cannot be otherwise than it is." (p. 157, &c.)

"And yet a feeling of an opposite kind is deeply rooted in our nature. Many things appear to us, as not predetermined by any invariable law. We naturally make a distinction, between things that must be, and things that may be, or may not.

"So with regard to the actions of men. We see that connection between an action and its motive to be so strong, that we reason with full confidence concerning the future actions of others. But if actions necessarily arise from their proper motives, then all human actions are necessary and fixed. Yet they do not appear so to us. Indeed, before any particular action, we always judge, that the action will be the necessary result of some motive. But afterward the feeling instantly varies. We accuse and condemn a man for doing what is wrong. We conceive, he had a power of acting otherwise; and the whole train of our feelings suppose him to have been entirely a free agent.

"But what does this liberty amount to? In all cases, our choice is determined by some motive. It must be determined by that motive which appears the best upon the whole. But motives are not under our power or direction. When two motives offer, we have not the power of choosing as we please. We are necessarily determined.

"Man is passive in receiving impressions of things; according to which the judgment is necessarily formed. This the will necessarily obeys, and the outward action necessarily follows the will.

"Hence it appears, that God decrees all future events. He who gave such a nature to his creatures, and placed them in such circumstances, that a certain train of actions must necessarily follow; he who did so, and who must have foreseen the consequences, did certainly decree, that those events should fall out, and that men should act just as they do.

"The Deity is the First Cause of all things. He formed the plan on which all things were to be governed, and put it in execution by establishing, both in the natural and moral world, certain laws that are fixed and immutable. By virtue of these, all things proceed in a regular train of causes and effects, bringing about the events contained in the original plan, and admitting the possibility of no other. This universe is a vast machine, winded up and set a-going. The several springs and wheels act unerringly one upon another. The hand advances and the clock strikes, precisely as the Artist has determined. In this plan, man, a rational creature, was to fulfil certain ends. He was to appear as an actor, and to act with consciousness and spontaneity. Consequently, it was necessary he should have some idea of liberty, some feeling of things possible and contingent, things depending on himself, that he might be led to exercise that activity for which he was designed. To have seen himself a part of that great machine would have been altogether incongruous to the ends he was to fulfil. Had he seen that nothing was contingent, there would have been no room for forethought, nor for any sort of industry or care. Reason could not have been exercised in the way it is now; that is, man could not have been man. But now, the moment he comes into the world, he acts as a free agent. And contingency, though it has no real existence in things, is made to appear as really existing. Thus is our natural feeling directly opposite to truth and matter of fact; seeing it is certainly impossible, that any man should act any otherwise than he does."

See necessity drawn at full length, and painted in the most lively colours!

II. 1. It is easy to observe, that every one of these schemes implies the universal necessity of human actions. In this they all agree, that man is not a free but a necessary agent, being absolutely determined in all his actions by a principle exterior to himself. But they do not agree, what that principle is. The most ancient of them, the Manichæan, maintained, that men are determined to evil by the evil god, Arimanius; that Oromasdes, the good God, would have prevented or removed that evil, but could not; the power of the evil god being so great, that he is not able to control it.

2. The Stoics, on the other hand, did not impute the evil that is in the world to any intelligent principle, but either to the original stubbornness of matter, which even Divine power was not capable of removing; to the concatenation of causes and effects, which no power whatever could alter; or to unconquerable fate, to which they supposed all the gods, the Supreme not excepted, to be subject.

3. The author of two volumes, entitled, "Man," rationally rejects all the preceding schemes, while he deduces all human actions from those passions and judgments which, during the present union of the soul and body, necessarily result from such and such vibrations of the fibres of the brain. Herein he indirectly ascribes the necessity of all human actions to God; who, having fixed the laws of this vital union according to his own good pleasure, having so constituted man that the motions of the soul thus depend on the fibres of the body, has thereby laid him under an invincible necessity of acting thus, and in no other manner. So do those likewise, who suppose all the judgments and passions necessarily to flow from the motion of the blood and spirits. For this is indirectly to impute all our passions and actions to Him who alone determined the manner wherein our blood and spirits should move.

4. The gentleman next mentioned does this directly, without any softening or circumlocution at all. He flatly and roundly affirms, The Creator is the proper author of every thing which man does; that by creating him thus, he has absolutely determined the manner wherein he shall act; and that therefore man can no more help sinning, than a stone can help falling. The Assembly of Divines do as directly ascribe the necessity of human actions to God, in affirming that God has eternally determined whatsoever shall be done in time. So likewise does Mr. Edwards of New-England; in proving by abundance of deep, metaphysical reasoning, that "we *must* see, hear, taste, feel the objects that surround us, and *must* have such judgments, passions, actions, and no other." He flatly ascribes the necessity of all our actions to Him who united our souls to these bodies, placed us in the midst of these objects, and ordered that these sensations, judgments, passions, and actions should spring therefrom.

5. The author last cited connects together and confirms all the preceding schemes; particularly those of the ancient Stoics and the modern Calvinists.

III. 1. It is not easy for a man of common understanding, especially if unassisted by education, to unravel these finely-woven schemes, or show distinctly where the fallacy lies. But he knows, he feels, he is

certain, they cannot be true; that the holy God cannot be the author of sin. The horrid consequences of supposing this may appear to the meanest understanding, from a few plain, obvious considerations, of which every man that has common sense may judge.

If all the passions, the tempers, the actions of men, are wholly independent on their own choice, are governed by a principle exterior to themselves, then there can be no moral good or evil; there can be neither virtue nor vice, neither good nor bad actions, neither good nor bad passions or tempers. The sun does much good; but it is no virtue; but he is not capable of moral goodness. Why is he not? For this plain reason, because he does not act from choice. The sea does much harm: it swallows up thousands of men; but it is not capable of moral badness, because it does not act by choice, but from a necessity of nature. If indeed one or the other can be said to act at all. Properly speaking, it does not: it is purely passive: it is only acted upon by the Creator; and must move in this manner and no other, seeing it cannot resist his will. In like manner, St. Paul did much good: but it was no virtue, if he did not act from choice. And if he was in all things necessitated to think and act, he was not capable of moral goodness. Nero does much evil; murders thousands of men, and sets fire to the city: but it is no fault; he is not capable of moral badness, if he does not act from choice, but necessity. Nay, properly, the man does not act at all: he is only acted upon by the Creator, and must move thus, being irresistibly impelled. For who can resist his will?

2. Again: if all the actions, and passions, and tempers of men are quite independent on their own choice, are governed by a principle exterior to themselves; then none of them is either rewardable or punishable, is either praise or blame worthy. The consequence is undeniable: I cannot praise the sun for warming, nor blame the stone for wounding, me; because neither the sun nor the stone acts from choice, but from necessity. Therefore, neither does the latter deserve blame, nor the former deserve praise. Neither is the one capable of reward, nor the other of punishment. And if a man does good as necessarily as the sun, he is no more praiseworthy than that; if he does evil as necessarily as the stone, he is no more blameworthy. The dying to save your country is no way rewardable, if you are compelled thereto; and the betraying your country is no way punishable, if you are necessitated to do it.

3. It follows, if there be no such thing as virtue or vice, as moral good or evil, if there be nothing rewardable or punishable in the actions or passions of men, then there can be no judgment to come, and no future rewards and punishments. For might not God as well judge the trees of the wood, or the stones of the field, as man, if man was as totally passive as they? as irresistibly determined to act thus or thus? What should he be commended or rewarded for, who never did any good but when he could not help it, being impelled thereto by a force which he could not withstand? What should he be blamed or punished for, who never did any evil, to which he was not determined by a power he could no more resist, than he could shake the pillars of heaven?

This objection the author of the Essay gives in its full strength: "The advocates for liberty reason thus: If actions be necessary, and not in our

own power, what ground is there for blame, self-condemnation, or remorse If a clock were sensible of its own motions, and knew that they proceeded according to necessary laws, could it find fault with itself for striking wrong? Would it not blame the artist, who had so ill adjusted the wheels? So that, upon this scheme, all the moral constitution of our nature is overturned; there is an end to all the operations of conscience, about right and wrong; man is no longer a moral agent, nor the subject of praise or blame for what he does."

He strangely answers: "Certainly the pain, the remorse, which is felt by any man who had been guilty of a bad action, springs from the notion, that he has a power over his own actions, that he might have forborne to do it. It is on this account, that he is angry at himself, and confesses himself to be blamable. That uneasiness proceeds on the supposition, that he is free, and might have acted a better part. And one under the dominion of bad passions is condemned upon this ground, that it was in his power to be free from them. Were not this the case, brutes might be the objects of moral blame as well as man. But we do not blame them, because they have not freedom, a power of directing their own actions. We must therefore admit, that the idea of freedom is essential to the moral feeling. On the system of universal necessity, there could be no place for blame or remorse. And we struggle in vain to reconcile to this system the testimony which conscience clearly gives to freedom."

Is this an answer to the objection? Is it not fairly giving up the whole cause?

He adds: "A feeling of liberty, which I now scruple not to call deceitful, is interwoven with our nature. Man must be so constituted, in order to attain virtue." *To attain virtue!* Nay, you have yourself allowed, that, on this supposition, virtue and vice can have no being. You go on: "If he saw himself as he really is," (Sir, do not you see yourself so?) "if he conceived himself and all his actions necessarily linked into the great chain, which renders the whole order both of the natural and moral world unalterably determined in every article, what would follow?" Why, just nothing at all. The great chain must remain as it was before; since whatever you see or conceive, that is "unalterably determined in every article."

To confute himself still more fully, he says, "If we knew good and evil to be necessary and unavoidable," (contradiction in terms; but let it pass,) "there would be no more place for praise or blame; no indignation at those who had abused their rational powers; no sense of just punishment annexed to crimes, or of any reward deserved by good actions. All these feelings vanish at once, with the feeling of liberty. And the sense of duty must be quite extinguished: for we cannot conceive any moral obligation, without supposing a power in the agent over his own actions."

If so, what is he who publishes a book to show mankind that they have no power over their own actions?

To the objection, that this scheme "makes God the author of sin," the Essayist feebly answers: "Sin, or moral turpitude, lies in the evil intention of him that commits it, or in some wrong affection. Now, there is no wrong intention in God." What then? Whatever wrong intention or affection is in man, you make God the direct author of it. For you flatly affirm, "Moral evil cannot exist, without being permitted of God. And with regard to a first cause, permitting is the same thing

as causing." That I totally deny: but if it be, God is the proper cause of all the sin in the universe.

4. Suppose, now, the Judge of all the earth,—having just pronounced the awful sentence, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,"—should say to one on the left hand, "What canst thou offer in thy own behalf?" Might he not, on this scheme, answer, "Lord, why am I doomed to dwell with everlasting burnings? For not doing good? Was it ever in my power to do any good action? Could I ever do any, but by that grace which thou hadst determined not to give me? For doing evil? Lord, did I ever do any, which I was not bound to do by thy own decree? Was there ever a moment when it was in my power, either to do good, or to cease from evil? Didst not thou fix whatever I should do, or not do, or ever I came into the world? And was there ever one hour, from my cradle to my grave, wherein I could act otherwise than I did?" Now, let any man say whose mouth would be stopped, that of the criminal or the Judge.

5. But if, upon this supposition, there can be no judgment to come, and no future rewards or punishments, it likewise follows, that the Scriptures, which assert both, cannot be of divine original. If there be not "a day wherein God will judge the world, by that Man whom he hath appointed;" if the wicked shall not go into eternal punishment, neither the righteous into life eternal; what can we think of that book which so frequently and solemnly affirms all these things? We can no longer maintain, that "all Scripture was given by inspiration of God," since it is impossible that the God of truth should be the author of palpable falsehoods. So that, whoever asserts the predetermination of all human actions, a doctrine totally inconsistent with the Scriptural doctrine of a future judgment, heaven and hell, strikes hereby at the very foundation of Scripture, which must necessarily stand or fall with them.

6. Such absurdities will naturally and necessarily follow from the scheme of necessity. But Mr. Edwards has found out a most ingenious way of evading this consequence: "I grant," says that good and sensible man, "if the actions of men were involuntary, the consequence would inevitably follow; they could not be either good or evil; nor, therefore, could they be the proper object either of reward or punishment. But here lies the very ground of your mistake; their actions are not involuntary. The actions of men are quite voluntary; the fruit of their own will. They love, they desire, evil things; therefore they commit them. But love and hate, desire and aversion, are only several modes of willing. Now, if men voluntarily commit theft, adultery, or murder, certainly the actions are evil, and therefore punishable. And if they voluntarily serve God, and help their neighbours, the actions are good, and therefore rewardable."

7. I cannot possibly allow the consequence, upon Mr. Edwards's supposition. Still I say, if they are necessitated to commit robbery or murder, they are not punishable for committing it. But you answer, "Nay, their actions are voluntary, the fruit of their own will." If they are, yet that is not enough to make them either good or evil. For their will, on your supposition, is irresistibly impelled; so that they cannot help willing thus or thus. If so, they are no more blamable for that will, than for the actions which follow it. There is no blame if they are

under a necessity of willing. There can be no moral good or evil, unless they have liberty as well as will, which is entirely a different thing. And the not adverting to this seems to be the direct occasion of Mr. Edwards's whole mistake.

8. God created man an intelligent being; and endued him with will as well as understanding. Indeed, it seems, without this, his understanding would have been given to no purpose. Neither would either his will or understanding have answered any valuable purpose, if liberty had not been added to them, a power distinct from both; a power of choosing for himself, a self-determining principle. It may be doubted whether God ever made an intelligent creature without all these three faculties; whether any spirit ever existed without them; yea, whether they are not implied in the very nature of a spirit. Certain it is, that no being can be accountable for its actions, which has not liberty, as well as will and understanding.

How admirably is this painted by Milton, supposing God to speak concerning his new-made creature!—

"I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
Such I created all the' ethereal powers,—
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith and love,
Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
Not what they would? What praise could they receive,
What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,
When will and reason, (reason also is choice,)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
Made passive both, had served necessity,
Not me? They therefore, as to right belong'd,
So were created—
So without least impulse or shadow of fate,
Or aught by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass, authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose: For so
I form'd them free; and free they must remain,
Till they enthral themselves. I else must change
Their nature, and reverse the high decree,
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom; they themselves ordain'd their fall."

Paradise Lost, book iii.

9. It seems, they who divide the faculties of the human soul into the understanding, will, and affections, unless they make the will and affections the same thing; (and then how inaccurate is the division!) must mean by affections, the will, properly speaking, and by the term *will*, neither more nor less than *liberty*; the power of choosing either to do or not to do, (commonly called liberty of contradiction,) or to do this or the contrary, good or evil, commonly called liberty of contrariety. Without the former at least, there can be nothing good or evil, rewardable or punishable. But it is plain, the doctrine of necessity, as taught either by ancient Heathens, or by the moderns, (whether Deists or Christians,) destroys both, leaves not a shadow of either, in any soul of man: consequently, it destroys all the morality of human actions, making man a mere machine; and leaves no room for any judgment to come, or for either rewards or punishments.

IV. 1 But whatever be the consequences deducible from this, that all human actions are necessary, how will you answer the arguments which are brought in defence of this position? Let us try whether something of this kind may not be done in a few words.

Indeed, as to the first scheme, that of the Manichees, the maintainers of a good and an evil god, though it was formerly espoused by men of renown, St. Augustine in particular; yet it is now so utterly out of date, that it would be lost labour to confute it. A little more plausible is this scheme of the Stoics, building necessity upon fate, upon the insuperable stubbornness of matter, or the indissoluble chain of causes and effects. Perhaps they invented this scheme to exculpate God, to avoid laying the blame upon him, by allowing he would have done better if he could; that he was willing to cure the evil, but was not able. But we may answer them short, There is no fate above the Most High; that is an idle, irrational fiction. Neither is there any thing in the nature of matter which is not obedient to his word. The Almighty is able, in the twinkling of an eye, to reduce any matter into any form he pleases; or to speak it into nothing; in a moment to expunge it out of his creation.

2. The still more plausible scheme of Dr. Hartley, (and I might add those of the two gentlemen above mentioned, which nearly coincide with it,) now adopted by almost all who doubt of the Christian system, requires a more particular consideration, were it only because it has so many admirers. And it certainly contains a great deal of truth, as will appear to any that considers it calmly. For who can deny, that not only the memory, but all the operations of the soul, are now dependent on the bodily organs, the brain in particular? insomuch that a blow on the back part of the head (as frequent experience shows) may take away the understanding, and destroy at once both sensation and reflection; and an irregular flow of spirits may quickly turn the deepest philosopher into a madman. We must allow likewise, that while the very power of thinking depends so much upon the brain, our judgments must needs depend thereon, and in the same proportion. It must be farther allowed, that, as our sensations, our reflections, and our judgments, so our will and passions also, which naturally follow from our judgments, ultimately depend on the fibres of the brain. But does all this infer the total necessity of all human actions? "I am sorry for it," says the Doctor; "but I cannot help it." I verily think I can. I think I can not only cut the knot, by showing (as above) the intolerable absurdities which this scheme implies; but fairly untie it, by pointing out just where the fallacy lies.

3. But first permit me to say a word to the author of the Essay. His grand reason for supposing all mankind in a dream, is drawn from analogy: "We are in a continual delusion as to the natural world; why not as to the moral?" Well; how does he prove, that we are in a continual delusion as to the natural world? Thus: "All the qualities which are termed secondary qualities, we by a natural instinct ascribe to matter. But it is a mere deceit. They do not belong to matter, neither exist without us."

As commonly as this is asserted, it is absolutely false, as will appear quickly.

You instance in colours, and confidently say, "All this beauty of colours,

with which heaven and earth appear to be clothed, is a sort of romance or illusion. In external objects there is no other distinction but that of the size and arrangement of their constituent parts, whereby the rays of light are variously reflected or refracted."

But are those rays of light real? And do they exist without us? Certainly, as much as the sun does. And are the constituent parts of those objects real? Nobody questions it. But are they really of such a size, and arranged in such a manner? They are; and what will you infer from that? I infer, that colour is just as real as size or figure; and that all colours do as really exist without us, as trees, or corn, or heaven, or earth.

"But what do you mean by colour?" When I say, "That cloth is of a red colour," I mean its surface is so disposed as to reflect the red (that is, the largest) rays of light. When I say, "The sky is blue," I mean, it is so disposed as to reflect the blue (that is, the smallest) rays of light. And where is the delusion here? Does not that disposition, do not those rays as really exist, as either the cloth or the sky? And are they not as really reflected, as the ball in a tennis court? It is true, that, when they strike upon my eye, a particular sensation follows in my soul. But that sensation is not colour; I know no one that calls it so. Colour therefore is a real material thing. There is no illusion in the case, unless you confound the perception with the thing perceived. And all other secondary qualities are just as real as figure or any other primary one. So you have no illusion in the natural world to countenance that you imagine to be in the moral. Wherever, therefore, this argument occurs, (and it occurs ten times over,)—"The natural world is all illusion; therefore, so is the moral,"—it is just good for nothing.

But, take it all together, and what a supposition is this! Is it not enough to make one's blood run cold? "The great God, the Creator of heaven and earth, the Father of the spirits of all flesh, the God of truth, has encompassed with falsehood every soul that he has made! has given up all mankind 'to a strong delusion,' to believe a lie! yea, all his creation is a lie; all the natural and all the moral world!" If so, you make God himself, rather than the devil, (horrid thought!) "the father of lies!" Such you doubtless represent him, when you say, not only that he has surrounded us with illusion on every side; but that the feelings which he has interwoven with our inmost nature are equally illusive!

> That all these shadows, which for things we take,
> Are but the empty dreams which in death's sleep we make!

And yet, after this, you make a feint of disputing in defence of a material world! Inconsistency all over! What proof have we of this, what possible proof can we have, if we cannot trust our own eyes, or ears, or any or all of our senses? But it is certain I can trust none of my senses, if I am a mere machine. For I have the testimony of all my outward and all my inward senses, that I am a free agent. If therefore I cannot trust them in this, I can trust them in nothing. Do not tell me there are sun, moon, and stars, or that there are men, beasts, or birds, in the world. I cannot believe one tittle of it, if I cannot believe what I feel in myself, namely, that it depends on me, and no other being, whether I shall now open or shut my eyes, move my head hither and thither, or

stretch my hand or my foot. If I am necessitated to do all this, contrary to the whole both of my inward and outward senses, I can believe nothing else, but must necessarily sink into universal skepticism

Let us now weigh the main argument on which this author builds the melancholy hypothesis of necessity: "Actions necessarily arise from their several motives: therefore, all human actions are necessary." Again: "In all cases the choice must be determined by that motive which appears the best upon the whole. But motives are not under our power. Man is passive in receiving impressions of things, according to which the last judgment is necessarily formed. This the will necessarily obeys, and the outward action necessarily follows the will."

Let us take this boasted argument in pieces, and survey it part by part. (1.) "Motives are not under our power." This is not universally true: some are, some are not. That man has a strong motive to run his neighbour through, namely, violent anger; and yet the action does not necessarily follow. Often it does not follow at all; and where it does, not necessarily: he might have resisted that motive. (2.) "In all cases the choice must be determined by that motive which appears the best upon the whole." This is absolutely false. It is flatly contrary to the experience of all mankind. Who may not say on many occasions, *Video meliora?* [I see better things.] I know what I do, is not "best upon the whole?" (3.) "Man is passive in receiving the impressions of things." Not altogether. Even here much depends on his own choice. In many cases he may or may not receive the impression; in most he may vary it greatly. (4.) "According to these his last judgment is necessarily formed." Nay, this too depends much upon his choice. Sometimes his first, sometimes his last, judgment, is according to the impressions which he has received; and frequently it is not. (5.) "This the will necessarily obeys." Indeed it does not. The mind has an intrinsic power of cutting off the connection between the judgment and the will. (6.) "And the outward action necessarily follows the will." Not so. The thing I would, I do not; and the thing I would not, that I do. Whatever then becomes of the chain of events, this chain of argument has not one good link belonging to it.

4. But allowing all he contends for,—that upon such vibrations of the brain, such sensations directly follow, and indirectly, as the various combinations and results of them, all our judgments and passions, and consequently words and actions; yet this infers no necessity at all, if there be a God in the world. Upon this the whole matter turns. And,

"This circumstance the Doctor had forgot." And so indeed have almost the whole tribe of modern philosophers. They do not at all take God into their account; they can do their whole business without him. But in truth this their wisdom is their folly; for no system, either of morality or philosophy, can be complete, unless God be kept in view, from the very beginning to the end. Every true philosopher will surely go at least as far as the poor Heathen poet:—

> Εκ Διος αρχωμεθα, και εν Δι ληγετε Μωσαι.
> "Muses, begin and end with God supreme!"

Now, if there be a God, he cannot but have all power over every creature that he has made. He must have equal power over matter and spirits, over our souls and bodies. What are then all the vibrations of

the brain to him? or all the natural consequences of them? Suppose there be naturally the strongest concatenation of vibrations, sensations reflections, judgments, passions, actions; cannot He, in a moment, whenever and however he pleases, destroy that concatenation? Cannot he cut off, or suspend, in any degree, the connection between vibrations and sensations, between sensations and reflections, between reflections and judgments, and between judgments and passions or actions? We cannot have any idea of God's omnipotence, without seeing he can do this if he will.

5. "If he will," you may say, "we know he can. But have we any reason to think he will?" Yes; the strongest reason in the world, supposing that God is love; more especially, suppose he "is loving to every man," and that "his mercy is over all his works." If so, it cannot be, that he should see the noblest of his creatures under heaven necessitated to evil, and incapable of any relief but from himself, without affording that relief. It is undeniable, that he has fixed in man, in every man, his umpire, conscience; an inward judge, which passes sentence both on his passions and actions, either approving or condemning them. Indeed it has not power to remove what it condemns; it shows the evil which it cannot cure. But the God of power can cure it; and the God of love will, if we choose he should. But he will no more necessitate us to be happy, than he will permit any thing beneath the sun to lay us under a necessity of being miserable. I am not careful therefore about the flowing of my blood and spirits, or the vibrations of my brain; being well assured, that, however my spirits may flow, or my nerves and fibres vibrate, the Almighty God of love can control them all, and will (unless I obstinately choose vice and misery) afford me such help, as, in spite of all these, will put it into my power to be virtuous and happy for ever

Glasgow, May 14, 1774.

A THOUGHT ON NECESSITY.

I. 1. The late ingenious Dr. Hartley, in his "Essay on Man," resolves all thought into vibrations of the brain. When any of the fine fibres of the brain are moved, so as to vibrate to and fro, then (according to his scheme) a perception or sensation is the natural consequence. These sensations are at first simple, but are afterward variously compounded; till, by farther vibrations, ideas of reflection are added to ideas of sensation. By the additional vibrations of this curious organ our judgments of things are also formed; and from the same fruitful source arise our reasonings in their endless variety.

2. From our apprehensions of things, from our judgments and reasonings concerning them, all our passions arise; whether those which are more sudden and transient, or those of a permanent nature. And from the several mixtures and modifications of these, our tempers or dispositions flow; very nearly, if not altogether, the same with what are usually termed virtues or vices.

3. Our passions and tempers are the immediate source of all our words and actions. Of consequence, these likewise depending on our passions,

and our passions on our judgments and apprehensions, all our actions. passions, and judgments are ultimately resolvable into the vibrations of the brain. And all of them together follow each other in one connected chain.

4. "But you will say," (says the Doctor,) "This infers the universal necessity of human actions. I am sorry for it; but I cannot help it." But since he saw, this destroyed that very essence of morality, leaving no room for either virtue or vice, why did he publish it to the world? Why? Because his brain vibrated in such a manner, that he could not help it.

Alas for poor human nature! If this is so, where is "the dignity of man?"

II. 1. But other great men totally disapprove of the doctrine of vibration. They give an entirely different account of this whole affair. They say, the delicate, soft, and almost fluid substance, of which the brain is composed, is absolutely incapable of such vibrations as the Doctor ascribes to it; but that the animal spirits, whatever they are, continually moving through that soft substance, naturally form various traces therein; first, very simple, then less or more compounded; that these are afterward varied innumerable ways; and that from these simple or compounded traces arise simple or compounded ideas, whether of sensation or reflection. From these result the judgments we form, with all our train of reasonings; and, at a little farther remove, our passions, our tempers, and from these our words and actions.

2. It is easy to observe, that this scheme equally infers the universal necessity of human actions. The premises indeed are a little different, but the conclusion is one and the same. If every thought, word, and action necessarily depends upon those traces in the brain, which are formed whether we will or no, without either our consent or knowledge; then the man has no more liberty in thinking, speaking, or acting, than the stone has in falling.

III. That great man, President Edwards, of New-England, places this in a still stronger light. He says,—

1. The whole frame of this world wherein we are placed is so constituted, that, without our choice, visible objects affect our eyes, sounds strike upon the ear, and the other things which surround us affect the other bodily organs, according to their several natures.

2. The nerves, which are spread all over the body, without any choice of ours, convey the impression made on the outward organ to the common sensory; supposed to be lodged either in the pineal gland, or in some other part of the brain.

3. Immediately, without our choice, the perception or sensation follows: and from this,

4. The simple apprehension, (analogous to sensation,) which furnishes us with simple ideas.

5. These ideas are more and more associated together, still without our choice; and we understand, judge, reason accordingly; yea, love, hate, joy, grieve, hope, or fear.

6. And according to our passions we speak and act. Where is liberty then? It is excluded. All you see, is one connected chain, fixed as the pillars of heaven.

IV. To the same effect, though with a little variation, speaks the ingenious Lord Kames. He says,—

The universe is one immense machine, one amazing piece of clock-work, consisting of innumerable wheels fitly framed, and indissolubly linked together. Man is one of these wheels, fixed in the middle of this vast automaton. And he moves just as necessarily as the rest, as the sun, or moon, or earth. Only with this difference, (which was necessary for completing the design of the great Artificer,) that he seems to himself perfectly free; he imagines that he is unnecessitated, and master of his own motion; whereas in truth he no more directs or moves himself than any other wheel in the machine.

The general inference then is still the same; the point which all these so laboriously endeavour to prove is, that inevitable necessity governs all things, and men have no more liberty than stones.

V. 1. But allowing all this; allowing (in a sense) all that Dr. Hartley, Edwards, and their associates contend for; what discovery have they made? What new thing have they found out? What does all this amount to? With infinite pains, with immense parade, with the utmost ostentation of mathematical and metaphysical learning, they have discovered just as much as they might have found in one single line of the Bible.

"Without me ye can do nothing!" absolutely, positively nothing! seeing, in him all things live and move, as well as have their being; seeing, he is not only the true *primum mobile*, [first mover,] containing the whole frame of creation, but likewise the inward, sustaining, acting principle, indeed the only proper agent in the universe; unless so far as he imparts a spark of his active, self-moving nature to created spirits. But more especially "ye can do nothing" right, nothing wise, nothing good, without the direct, immediate agency of the First Cause.

2. Let the trial be made. And First, what can reason, all-sufficient reason, do in this matter? Let us try, upon Dr. Hartley's scheme. Can it prevent or alter the vibrations of the brain? Can it prevent or alter the various compositions of them? or cut off the connection between these, and our apprehensions, judgments, reasonings? or between these and our passions? or that between our passions, and our words and actions? Not at all. Reason can do nothing in this matter. In spite of all our reason, nature will keep its course, will hold on its way, and utterly bear down its feeble opponent.

3. And what can reason do, upon the second supposition? Can it prevent or alter the traces in the brain? Not a jot more than it could the vibrations. They laugh at all its power. Can it cut off the connection between those traces and our apprehensions; or that between our apprehensions and our passions; or between our passions and actions? Nothing at all of this. It may see the evil, but it cannot help it.

4. Try what reason can do, upon the third supposition, that of President Edwards. Can it change the appearances of the things that surround us? or the impression which the nerves convey to the common sensory? or the sensation that follows? or the apprehension? Or can it cut off the connection between our apprehensions of things and our passions? or that between our passions and our actions? Poor, impotent reason! It can do neither more nor less in any of these matters. It cannot alter the outward constitution of things; the nature of light,

sound, or the other objects that surround us. It cannot prevent their affecting our senses thus and thus. And then, will not all the rest follow?

5. Make a trial, if reason can do any more, upon Lord Kames's supposition. Can it in any degree alter the nature of the universal machine? Can it change or stop the motion of any one wheel? Utterly impossible.

6. Has free-will any more power in these respects than reason? Let the trial be made upon each of these schemes.

What can it do upon Dr. Hartley's scheme? Can our free-will alter one vibration of the brain? What can it do upon the second scheme? Can it erase or altar one of the traces formed there? What can it do upon Mr. Edwards's? Can it alter the appearances of the things that surround us? or the impressions they make upon the nerves? or the natural consequences of them? Can it do any thing more on Lord Kames's scheme? Can it any ways alter the constitution of the great clock? Stand still! Look awhile into your own breast! What can your will do in any of these matters? Ah, poor free-will! Does not plain experience show, it is as impotent as your reason? Let it stand then as an eternal truth, "Without me ye can do nothing."

VI. 1. But in the same old book there is another word: "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me." Here the charm is dissolved! The light breaks in, and the shadows flee away.

One of these sentences should never be viewed apart from the other: Each receives light from the other. God hath joined them together, and let no man put them asunder.

Now, taking this into the account, I care not one pin for all Dr. Hartley can say of his vibrations. Allowing the whole which he contends for, allowing all the links of his mathematical chain to be as indissolubly joined together as are the propositions in Euclid; suppose vibrations, perceptions, judgments, passions, tempers, actions, ever so naturally to follow each other: What is all this to the God of nature? Cannot he stop, alter, annihilate any or all of these, in whatever manner, and in whatever moment he pleases? Away then with all these fine-wrought speculations! Sweep them off as a spider's web! Scatter them in the wind! How helpless soever they may be "who are without God in the world;" however they may groan under the iron hand of dire necessity; necessity has no power over those "who have the Lord for their God." Each of these can say, through happy experience, "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me."

2. Again: Allowing all the minute philosophers can say, of the traces formed in the brain, and of perceptions, judgments, passions, tempers, words, and actions naturally flowing therefrom: Whatever dreadful consequences may follow from hence, with regard to those who know not God, who have only natural reason and free-will to oppose the power of nature; (which we know to have no more force than a thread of tow that has touched the fire;) under the influence of the God of nature, we laugh all our enemies to scorn. He can alter or efface all these traces in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. Still, although "without Him I can do nothing," "I can do all things through Christ strengthening me."

3. Yet again: Let Mr. Edwards say all he will or can, concerning the outward appearances of things, as giving rise to sensations, associa-

tion of ideas, passions, dispositions, and actions; allowing this to be the course of nature! What then? See One superior to nature! What is the course of nature to Him? By a word, a nod, he turneth it upside down!

His power inverted Nature owns,
Her only law his sovereign word.

Let your chain be wrought ever so firm; He nods, and it flies in pieces; He touches it, and all the links fall asunder, as unconnected as the sand.

4. Once more: After Lord Kames has said all he pleases concerning the grand machine of the universe, and concerning the connection of its several wheels, yet it must be allowed, He that made it can unmake it; can vary every wheel, every spring, every movement, at his own good pleasure. Neither, therefore, does this imply any necessity laid either upon the thoughts, passions, or actions, of those that know and trust in Him who is the Creator and Governor of heaven and earth.

5. Ah, poor Infidel! this is no comfort to you! You must plunge on in the fatal whirlpool! You are without hope! without help! For there is only one possible help; and that you spurn. What follows then? Why

Si figit adamantinos
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.

[If direful Necessity fix her adamantine spikes in your pate, you cannot deliver your soul from fear, nor your life from the snares of death.]

O what advantage has a Christian (a real Christian) over an Infidel! He sees God! Consequently

Metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

He tramples on inexorable fate,
And fear, and death, and hell!

6. Ah, poor Predestinarian! If you are true to your doctrine, this is no comfort to you! For perhaps you are not of the elect number: if so, you are in the whirlpool too. For what is your hope? Where is your help? There is no help for you in your God. *Your* God! No; he is not yours; he never was; he never will be. He that made you, He that called you into being, has no pity upon you! He made you for this very end,—to damn you; to cast you headlong into a lake of fire burning with brimstone! This was prepared for you, or ever the world began! And for this you are now reserved in chains of darkness, till the decree brings forth; till, according to his eternal unchangeable, irresistible will,

You groan, you howl, you writhe in waves of fire,
And pour forth blasphemies at his desire.

O God, how long shall this doctrine stand!

AN ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY.

Brethren and Fathers,—Let it not be imputed to forwardness, vanity, or presumption, that one who is of little esteem in the Church takes upon him thus to address a body of people, to many of whom he owes the highest reverence. I owe a still higher regard to Him who I believe requires this at my hands; to the great Bishop of our souls; before whom both you and I must shortly give an account of our stewardship. It is a debt I owe to love, to real, disinterested affection, to declare what has long been the burden of my soul. And may the God of love enable you to read these lines in the same spirit wherewith they were wrote! It will easily appear to an unprejudiced reader, that I do not speak from a spirit of anger or resentment. I know well, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." Much less would I utter one word out of contempt; a spirit justly abhorred by God and man. Neither of these can consist with that earnest, tender love, which is the motive of my present undertaking. In this spirit I desire to cast my bread upon the waters; it is enough if I find it again after many days.

Meantime, you are sensible, love does not forbid, but rather require, plainness of speech. Has it not often constrained you, as well as me, to lay aside, not only disguise, but reserve also; and "by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God?" And while I endeavour to do this, let me earnestly entreat you, for the love of God, for the love of your own soul, for the love of the souls committed to your charge, yea, and of the whole Church of Christ, do not bias your mind, by thinking *who* it is that speaks; but impartially consider *what* is spoken. And if it be false or foolish, reject it; but do not reject "the words of truth and soberness."

My first design was, to offer a few plain thoughts to the clergy of our own Church only. But upon farther reflection, I see no cause for being so "straitened in my own bowels." I am a debtor to all; and therefore, though I primarily speak to them with whom I am more immediately connected, yet I would not be understood to exclude any, of whatsoever denomination, whom God has called to "watch over the souls of others, as they that must give account."

In order to our giving this account with joy, are there not two things which it highly imports us to consider: First, What manner of men ought we to be? Secondly, Are we such, or are we not?

I. And, First, if we are "overseers over the Church of God, which he hath bought with his own blood," what manner of men ought we to be, in gifts as well as in grace?

I. To begin with gifts; and, (1.) With those that are from nature. Ought not a minister to have, First, a good understanding, a clear apprehension, a sound judgment, and a capacity of reasoning with some closeness? Is not this necessary in a high degree for the work of the ministry? Otherwise, how will he be able to understand the various

states of those under his care; or to steer them through a thousand difficulties and dangers, to the haven where they would be? Is it not necessary, with respect to the numerous enemies whom he has to encounter? Can a fool cope with all the men that know not God, and with all the spirits of darkness? Nay, he will neither be aware of the devices of Satan, nor the craftiness of his children.

Secondly. Is it not highly expedient that a guide of souls should have likewise some liveliness and readiness of thought? Or how will he be able, when need requires, to "answer a fool according to his folly?" How frequent is this need! seeing we almost everywhere meet with those empty, yet petulant creatures, who are far "wiser in their own eyes, than seven men that can render a reason." Reasoning, therefore, is not the weapon to be used with them. You cannot deal with them thus. They scorn being convinced; nor can they be silenced but in their own way.

Thirdly. To a sound understanding, and a lively turn of thought, should be joined a good memory; if it may be, ready, that you may make whatever occurs in reading or conversation your own; but, however, retentive, lest we be "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." On the contrary, "every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven," every teacher fitted for his work, "is like a householder, who bringeth out of his treasures things new and old."

2. And as to acquired endowments, can he take one step aright, without first a competent share of knowledge? a knowledge, First, of his own office; of the high trust in which he stands, the important work to which he is called? Is there any hope that a man should discharge his office well, if he knows not what it is? that he should acquit himself faithfully of a trust, the very nature whereof he does not understand? Nay, if he knows not the work God has given him to do, he cannot finish it.

Secondly. No less necessary is a knowledge of the Scriptures, which teach us how to teach others; yea, a knowledge of all the Scriptures; seeing scripture interprets scripture; one part fixing the sense of another. So that, whether it be true or not, that every good textuary is a good divine, it is certain none can be a good divine who is not a good textuary. None else can be mighty in the Scriptures; able both to instruct and to stop the mouths of gainsayers.

In order to do this accurately, ought he not to know the literal meaning of every word, verse, and chapter; without which there can be no firm foundation on which the spiritual meaning can be built? Should he not likewise be able to deduce the proper corollaries, speculative and practical, from each text; to solve the difficulties which arise, and answer the objections which are or may be raised against it; and to make a suitable application of all to the consciences of his hearers?

Thirdly. But can he do this, in the most effectual manner, without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this, will he not frequently be at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties, with respect to controverted scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them: for whenever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once.

Fourthly. Is not a knowledge of profane history, likewise, of ancient customs, of chronology and geography, though not absolutely necessary yet highly expedient, for him that would throughly understand the Scriptures; since the want even of this knowledge is but poorly supplied by reading the comments of other men?

Fifthly. Some knowledge of the sciences also, is, to say the least, equally expedient. Nay, may we not say, that the knowledge of one, (whether art or science,) although now quite unfashionable, is even necessary next, and in order to, the knowledge of the Scripture itself? I mean logic. For what is this, if rightly understood, but the art of good sense? of apprehending things clearly, judging truly, and reasoning conclusively? What is it, viewed in another light, but the art of learning and teaching; whether by convincing or persuading? What is there, then, in the whole compass of science, to be desired in comparison of it?

Is not some acquaintance with what has been termed the second part of logic, (metaphysics,) if not so necessary as this, yet highly expedient, (1.) In order to clear our apprehension, (without which it is impossible either to judge correctly, or to reason closely or conclusively,) by ranging our ideas under general heads? And, (2.) In order to understand many useful writers, who can very hardly be understood without it?

Should not a minister be acquainted too with at least the general grounds of natural philosophy? Is not this a great help to the accurate understanding several passages of Scripture? Assisted by this, he may himself comprehend, and on proper occasions explain to others, how the invisible things of God are seen from the creation of the world; how "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork;" till they cry out, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all."

But how far can he go in this, without some knowledge of geometry? which is likewise useful, not barely on this account, but to give clearness of apprehension, and a habit of thinking closely and connectedly.

It must be allowed indeed, that some of these branches of knowledge are not so indispensably necessary as the rest; and therefore no thinking man will condemn the Fathers of the Church, for having, in all ages and nations, appointed some to the ministry, who, suppose they had the capacity, yet had not had the opportunity of attaining them. But what excuse is this for one who has the opportunity, and makes no use of it? What can be urged for a person who has had a university education, if he does not understand them all? Certainly, supposing him to have any capacity, to have common understanding, he is inexcusable before God and man.

Sixthly. Can any who spend several years in those seats of learning, be excused if they do not add to that of the languages and sciences, the knowledge of the Fathers? the most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being both nearest the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by whom all Scripture was given. It will be easily perceived, I speak chiefly of those who wrote before the Council of Nice. But who would not likewise desire to have some acquaintance with those that followed them? with St. Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Austin; and, above all, the man of a broken heart, Ephraim Syrus?

Seventhly. There is yet another branch of knowledge highly necessary for a clergyman, and that is, knowledge of the world; a knowledge of men, of their maxims, tempers, and manners, such as they occur in real life. Without this he will be liable to receive much hurt, and capable of doing little good; as he will not know, either how to deal with men according to the vast variety of their characters, or to preserve himself from those who almost in every place lie in wait to deceive.

How nearly allied to this is the discernment of spirits! so far as it may be acquired by diligent observation. And can a guide of souls be without it? If he is, is he not liable to stumble at every step?

Eighthly. Can he be without an eminent share of prudence? that most uncommon thing which is usually called common sense? But how shall we define it? Shall we say, with the Schools, that it is *recta ratio rerum agibilium particularium?* [A right regard of particular things which may be done?] Or is it an habitual consideration of all the circumstances of a thing,—

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando? [Who, what, where, with what helps, why, how, when?] and a facility of adapting our behaviour to the various combinations of them? However it be defined, should it not be studied with all care, and pursued with all earnestness of application? For what terrible inconveniences ensue, whenever it is remarkably wanting.

Ninthly. Next to prudence or common sense, (if it be not included therein,) a clergyman ought certainly to have some degree of good breeding; I mean address, easiness, and propriety of behaviour, wherever his lot is cast: perhaps one might add, he should have (though not the stateliness; for he is "the servant of all," yet) all the courtesy of a gentleman, joined with the correctness of a scholar. Do we want a pattern of this? We have one in St. Paul, even before Felix, Festus, King Agrippa. One can scarce help thinking he was one of the best bred men, one of the finest gentlemen in the world. O that we likewise had the skill to "please all men for their good unto edification!"

In order to this, especially in our public ministrations, would not one wish for a strong, clear, musical voice, and a good delivery, both with regard to pronunciation and action? I name these here, because they are far more acquirable than has been commonly imagined. A remarkably weak and untunable voice has by steady application become strong and agreeable. Those who stammered almost at every word, have learned to speak clearly and plainly. And many who were eminently ungraceful in their pronunciation and awkward in their gesture, have in some time, by art and labour, not only corrected that awkwardness of action and ungracefulness of utterance, but have become excellent in both, and in these respects likewise the ornaments of their profession.

What may greatly encourage those who give themselves up to the work, with regard to all these endowments, many of which cannot be attained without considerable labour, is this: They are assured of being assisted in all their labour by Him who teacheth man knowledge. And who teacheth like him? Who, like him, giveth wisdom to the simple? How easy is it for him, (if we desire it, and believe that he is both able and willing to do this,) by the powerful, though secret, influences of his Spirit, to open and enlarge our understanding; to strengthen all our

taculties; to bring to our remembrance whatsoever things are needful, and to fix and sharpen our attention to them; so that we may profit above all who depend wholly on themselves, in whatever may qualify us for our Master's work!

3. But all these things, however great they may be in themselves, are little in comparison of those that follow. For what are all other gifts, whether natural or acquired, when compared to the grace of God? And how ought this to animate and govern the whole intention, affection, and practice of a minister of Christ?

(1.) As to his intention, both in undertaking this important office, and in executing every part of it, ought it not to be singly this, to glorify God, and to save souls from death? Is not this absolutely and indispensably necessary, before all and above all things? "If his eye be single, his whole body," his whole soul, his whole work, "will be full of light." "God who commanded light to shine out of darkness," will shine on his heart; will direct him in all his ways, will give him to see the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. But if his eye, his intention, be not single, if there be any mixture of meaner motives, (how much more, if those were or are his leading motives in undertaking or exercising this high office!) his "whole body," his whole soul, "will be full of darkness," even such as issues from the bottomless pit: Let not such a man think that he shall have any blessing from the Lord. No; the curse of God abideth on him. Let him not expect to enjoy any settled peace, any solid comfort, in his own breast; neither can he hope there will be any fruit of his labours, any sinners converted to God.

(2.) As to his affections. Ought not a "steward of the mysteries of God," a shepherd of the souls for whom Christ died, to be endued with an eminent measure of love to God, and love to all his brethren? a love the same in kind, but in degree far beyond that of ordinary Christians? Can he otherwise answer the high character he bears, and the relation wherein he stands? Without this, how can he go through all the toils and difficulties which necessarily attend the faithful execution of his office? Would it be possible for a parent to go through the pain and fatigue of bearing and bringing up even one child, were it not for that vehement affection, that inexpressible ϛοργη, which the Creator has given for that very end? How much less will it be possible for any pastor, any spiritual parent, to go through the pain and labour of "travailing in birth for," and bringing up, many children to the measure of the full stature of Christ, without a large measure of that inexpressible affection which "a stranger intermeddleth not with!"

He therefore must be utterly void of understanding, must be a madman of the highest order, who, on any consideration whatever, undertakes this office, while he is a stranger to this affection. Nay, I have often wondered that any man in his senses does not rather dig or thresh for a livelihood, than continue therein, unless he feels at least (which is *extremâ lineâ amare*) [to love in the highest degree] such an earnest concern for the glory of God, and such a thirst after the salvation of souls, that he is ready to do any thing, to lose any thing, or to suffer any thing, rather than one should perish for whom Christ died.

And is not even this degree of love to God and man utterly inconsistent with the love of the world; with the love of money or praise;

with the very lowest degree of either ambition or sensuality? How much less can it consist with that poor, low, irrational, childish principle, the love of diversions? (Surely even a man, were he neither a minister nor a Christian, should "put away childish things.") Not only this, but the love of pleasure, and, what lies still deeper in the soul, the love of ease, flees before it.

(3.) As to his practice: "Unto the ungodly, saith God, Why dost thou preach my laws?" What is a minister of Christ, a shepherd of souls, unless he is all devoted to God? unless he abstain, with the utmost care and diligence, from every evil word and work; from all appearance of evil; yea, from the most innocent things, whereby any might be offended or made weak? Is he not called, above others, to be an example to the flock, in his private as well as public character? an example of all holy and heavenly tempers, filling the heart so as to shine through the life? Consequently, is not his whole life, if he walks worthy of his calling, one incessant labour of love; one continued tract of praising God, and helping man; one series of thankfulness and beneficence? Is he not always humble, always serious, though rejoicing evermore; mild, gentle, patient, abstinent? May you not resemble him to a guardian angel, ministering to those "who shall be heirs of salvation?" Is he not one sent forth from God, to stand between God and man, to guard and assist the poor, helpless children of men, to supply them both with light and strength, to guide them through a thousand known and unknown dangers, till at the appointed time he returns, with those committed to his charge, to his and their Father who is in heaven?

O who is able to describe such a messenger of God, faithfully executing his high office! working together with God, with the great Author both of the old and of the new creation! See his Lord, the eternal Son of God, going forth on that work of omnipotence, and creating heaven and earth by the breath of his mouth! See the servant whom he delighteth to honour, fulfilling the counsel of his will, and in his name speaking the word whereby is raised a new spiritual creation. Empowered by him, he says to the dark, unformed void of nature, "Let there be light; and there is light. Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." He is continually employed, in what the angels of God have not the honour to do,—coöperating with the Redeemer of men in "bringing many children to glory."

Such is a true minister of Christ; and such, beyond all possibility of dispute, ought both you and I to be.

II. But are we such? What are we in the respects above named? It is a melancholy but necessary consideration. It is true, many have wrote upon this subject; and some of them admirably well: yet few, if any, at least in our nation, have carried their inquiry through all these particulars. Neither have they always spoken so plain and home as the nature of the thing required. But why did they not? Was it because they were unwilling to give pain to those whom they loved? Or were they hindered by fear of disobliging, or of incurring any temporal inconvenience? Miserable fear! Is any temporal inconvenience whatever to be laid in the balance with the souls of our brethren? Or were they prevented by shame, arising from a consciousness of their own many and great defects? Undoubtedly this might extenuate the fault, but not alto-

gether remove it. For is it not a wise advice, "Be not ashamed when it concerneth thy soul?" especially when it concerns the souls of thousands also? In such a case may God

> Set as a flint our steady face,
> Harden to adamant our brow!

But is there not another hinderance? Should not compassion, should not tenderness hinder us from giving pain? Yes, from giving unnecessary pain. But what manner of tenderness is this? It is like that of a surgeon who lets his patient be lost because he is too compassionate to probe his wounds. Cruel compassion! Let me give pain, so I may save life. Let me probe, that God may heal.

1. Are we then such as we are sensible we should be, First, with regard to natural endowments? I am afraid not. If we were, how many stumbling blocks would be removed out of the way of serious Infidels? Alas, what terrible effects do we continually see of that common though senseless imagination, "The boy, if he is fit for nothing else, will do well enough for a parson!" Hence it is, that we see (I would to God there were no such instance in all Great Britain, or Ireland!) dull, heavy, blockish ministers; men of no life, no spirit, no readiness of thought; who are consequently the jest of every pert fool, every lively, airy coxcomb they meet. We see others whose memory can retain nothing; therefore they can never be men of considerable knowledge; they can never know much even of those things which they are most nearly concerned to know. Alas, they are pouring the water into a leaky vessel; and the broken cistern can hold no water! I do not say, with Plato, that "all human knowledge is nothing but remembering." Yet certain it is, that, without remembering, we can have but a small share of knowledge. And even those who enjoy the most retentive memory, find great reason still to complain,

> Skill comes so slow, and life so fast does fly;
> We learn so little, and forget so much!

And yet we see and bewail a still greater defect in some that are in the ministry. They want sense, they are defective in understanding, their capacity is low and shallow, their apprehension is muddy and confused; of consequence, they are utterly incapable either of forming a true judgment of things, or of reasoning justly upon any thing. O how can these who themselves know nothing aright, impart knowledge to others? how instruct them in all the variety of duty, to God, their neighbour, and themselves? How will they guide them through all the mazes of error, through all the entanglements of sin and temptation? How will they apprize them of the devices of Satan, and guard them against all the wisdom of the world?

It is easy to perceive, I do not speak this for their sake; (for they are incorrigible;) but for the sake of parents, that they may open their eyes and see, a blockhead can never "do well enough for a parson." He may do well enough for a tradesman; so well as to gain fifty or a hundred thousand pounds. He may do well enough for a soldier; nay, (if you pay well for it,) for a very well-dressed and well-mounted officer. He may do well enough for a sailor, and may shine on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war. He may do so well, in the capacity of a lawyer or phy-

sician, as to ride in his gilt chariot. But O! think not of his being a minister, unless you would bring a blot upon your family, a scandal upon our Church, and a reproach on the Gospel, which he may murder, but cannot teach.

Are we such as we are sensible we should be, Secondly, with regard to acquired endowments? Here the matter (suppose we have common understanding) lies more directly within our own power. But under this, as well as the following heads, methinks, I would not consider at all, how many or how few are either excellent or defective. I would only desire every person who reads this to apply it to himself. Certainly some one in the nation is defective. Am not I the man?

Let us each seriously examine himself. Have I, (1.) Such a knowledge of Scripture, as becomes him who undertakes so to explain it to others, that it may be a light in all their paths? Have I a full and clear view of the analogy of faith, which is the clue to guide me through the whole? Am I acquainted with the several parts of Scripture; with all parts of the Old Testament and the New? Upon the mention of any text, do I know the context, and the parallel places? Have I that point at least of a good divine, the being a good textuary? Do I know the grammatical construction of the four Gospels; of the Acts; of the Epistles; and am I a master of the spiritual sense (as well as the literal) of what I read? Do I understand the scope of each book, and how every part of it tends thereto? Have I skill to draw the natural inferences deducible from each text? Do I know the objections raised to them or from them by Jews, Deists, Papists, Arians, Socinians, and all other sectaries, who more or less corrupt or cauponize the word of God? Am I ready to give a satisfactory answer to each of these objections? And have I learned to apply every part of the sacred writings, as the various states of my hearers require?

(2.) Do I understand Greek and Hebrew? Otherwise, how can I undertake, (as every minister does,) not only to explain books which are written therein, but to defend them against all opponents? Am I not at the mercy of every one who does understand, or even pretends to understand, the original? For which way can I confute his pretence? Do I understand the language of the Old Testament? critically? at all? Can I read into English one of David's Psalms; or even the first chapter of Genesis? Do I understand the language of the New Testament? Am I a critical master of it? Have I enough of it even to read into English the first chapter of St. Luke? If not, how many years did I spend at school? How many at the university? And what was I doing all those years? Ought not shame to cover my face?

(3.) Do I understand my own office? Have I deeply considered before God the character which I bear? What is it to be an ambassador of Christ, an envoy from the King of heaven? And do I know and feel what is implied in "watching over the souls" of men "as he that must give account?"

(4.) Do I understand so much of profane history as tends to confirm and illustrate the sacred? Am I acquainted with the ancient customs of the Jews and other nations mentioned in Scripture? Have I a competent knowledge of chronology, that at least which refers to the sacred writings? And am I so far (if no farther) skilled in geography, as to

know the situation, and give some account, of all the considerable places mentioned therein?

(5.) Am I a tolerable master of the sciences? Have I gone through the very gate of them, logic? If not, I am not likely to go much farther when I stumble at the threshold. Do I understand it so as to be ever the better for it? to have it always ready for use; so as to apply every rule of it, when occasion is, almost as naturally as I turn my hand? Do I understand it at all? Are not even the moods and figures above my comprehension? Do not I poorly endeavour to cover my ignorance, by affecting to laugh at their barbarous names? Can I even reduce an indirect mood to a direct; an hypothetic to a categorical syllogism? Rather, have not my stupid indolence and laziness made me very ready to believe, what the little wits and pretty gentlemen affirm, "that logic is good for nothing?" It is good for this at least, (wherever it is understood,) to make people talk less; by showing them both what is, and what is not, to the point; and how extremely hard it is to prove any thing. Do I understand metaphysics; if not the depths of the Schoolmen, the subtleties of Scotus or Aquinas, yet the first rudiments, the general principles, of that useful science? Have I conquered so much of it, as to clear my apprehension and range my ideas under proper heads; so much as enables me to read with ease and pleasure, as well as profit, Dr. Henry Moore's Works, Malebranche's "Search after Truth," and Dr. Clarke's "Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God?" Do I understand natural philosophy? If I have not gone deep therein, have I digested the general grounds of it? Have I mastered Gravesande, Keill, Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, with his "Theory of Light and Colours?" In order thereto, have I laid in some stock of mathematical knowledge? Am I master of the mathematical A B C of Euclid's Elements? If I have not gone thus far, if I am such a novice still, what have I been about ever since I came from school?

(6.) Am I acquainted with the Fathers; at least with those venerable men who lived in the earliest ages of the Church? Have I read over and over the golden remains of Clemens Romanus, of Ignatius and Polycarp; and have I given one reading, at least, to the works of Justin Martyr, Tertullian Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Cyprian?

(7.) Have I any knowledge of the world? Have I studied men, (as well as books,) and observed their tempers, maxims, and manners? Have I learned to beware of men; to add the wisdom of the serpent to the innocence of the dove? Has God given me by nature, or have I acquired, any measure of the discernment of spirits; or of its near ally, prudence, enabling me on all occasions to consider all circumstances, and to suit and vary my behaviour according to the various combinations of them? Do I labour never to be rude or ill mannered; not to be remarkably wanting in good breeding? Do I endeavour to copy after those who are eminent for address and easiness of behaviour? Am I (though never light or trifling, either in word or action, yet) affable and courteous to all men? And do I omit no means which is in my power, and consistent with my character, of "pleasing all men" with whom I converse, "for their good to edification?"

If I am wanting even in these lowest endowments, shall I not frequently regret the want? How often shall I move heavily and be far

less useful than I might have been! How much more shall I suffer in my usefulness, if I have wasted the opportunities I once had of acquainting myself with the great lights of antiquity, the Ante-Nicene Fathers; or if I have droned away those precious hours wherein I might have made myself master of the sciences! How poorly must I many times drag on, for want of the helps which I have vilely cast away! But is not my case still worse, if I have loitered away the time wherein I should have perfected myself in Greek and Hebrew? I might before this have been critically acquainted with these treasuries of sacred knowledge. But they are now hid from my eyes; they are close locked up, and I have no key to open them. However, have I used all possible diligence to supply that grievous defect, (so far as it can be supplied now,) by the most accurate knowledge of the English Scriptures? Do I meditate therein day and night? Do I think (and consequently speak) thereof, "when I sit in the house, and when I walk by the way; when I lie down, and when I rise up?" By this means have I at length attained a thorough knowledge, as of the sacred text, so of its literal and spiritual meaning? Otherwise how can I attempt to instruct others therein? Without this, I am a blind guide indeed! I am absolutely incapable of teaching my flock what I have never learned myself; no more fit to lead souls to God, than I am to govern the world.

2. And yet there is a higher consideration than that of gifts; higher than any or all these of joined together; a consideration in view of which all external and all intellectual endowments vanish into nothing. Am I such as I ought to be, with regard to the grace of God? The Lord God enable me to judge aright of this!

And, (1.) What was my intention in taking upon me this office and ministry? What was it, in taking charge of this parish, either as minister or curate? Was it always, and is it now, wholly and solely to glorify God, and save souls? Has my eye been singly fixed on this, from the beginning hitherto? Had I never, have I not now, any mixture in my intention; any alloy of baser metal? Had I, or have I, no thought of worldly gain; "filthy lucre," as the Apostle terms it? Had I at first, have I now, no secular view? no eye to honour or preferment? to a plentiful income; or, at least, a competency? a warm and comfortable livelihood?

Alas! my brother! "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" Was a comfortable livelihood, then, your motive for entering into the ministry? And do you avow this in the face of the sun, and without one blush upon your cheek? I cannot compare you with Simon Magus; you are many degrees beneath him. He offered to give money for the gift of God, the power of conferring the Holy Ghost. Hereby, however, he showed that he set a higher value on the gift, than on the money which he would have parted with for it. But you do not; you set a far higher value on the money than on the gift; insomuch that you do not desire, you will not accept of, the gift, unless the money accompany it! The Bishop said, when you was ordained, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost." But that was the least of your care. Let who will receive this, so you receive the money, the revenue of a good benefice. While you minister the word and sacraments before God, he gives the Holy Ghost to those who duly receive

them: So that, "through your hands," likewise, "the Holy Ghost is," in this sense, "given" now. But you have little concern whether he be or not; so little, that you will minister no longer, he shall be given no more either through your lips or hands, if you have no more money for your labour. O Simon, Simon! what a saint wert thou, compared to many of the most honourable men now in Christendom!

Let not any either ignorantly or wilfully mistake me. I would not "muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." I know the spiritual "labourer," too, "is worthy of his reward;" and, that, if "we sow unto" our flock "spiritual things," it is meet that we "reap of their carnal things." I do not therefore blame, no, not in any degree, a minister's taking a yearly salary; but I blame his seeking it. The thing blamable is the having it in his view, as the motive, or any part of the motive, for entering into this sacred office.

Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est
Ærugo mera.

["This is fell poison's blackest juice."—BOSCAWEN.]

If preferment, or honour, or profit, was in his eye, his eye was not single. And our Lord knew no medium between a single and an evil eye. The eye, therefore, which is not single is evil. It is a plain, adjudged case. He then that has any other design in undertaking or executing the office of a minister than purely this, to glorify God and save souls, his eye is not single. Of consequence, it is evil; and therefore his "whole body" must be "full of darkness." "The light which is in" him "is" very "darkness;" darkness covers his whole soul; he has no solid peace; he has no blessing from God; and there is no fruit of his labours.

It is no wonder that they who see no harm in this, see no harm in adding one living to another, and, if they can, another to that; yet still wiping their mouth, and saying, they have done no evil. In the very first step, their eye was not single; therefore their mind was filled with darkness. So they stumble on still in the same mire, till their feet "stumble on the dark mountains."

It is pleaded, indeed, that "a small living will not maintain a large family." *Maintain!* How? It will not clothe them "in purple and fine linen;" nor enable them to fare "sumptuously every day:" But will not the living you have now afford you and yours the plain necessaries, yea, and conveniences, of life? Will it not maintain you in the frugal, Christian simplicity which becomes a minister of Christ? It will not maintain you in pomp and grandeur, in elegant luxury, in fashionable sensuality. So much the better. If your eyes were open, whatever your income was, you would flee from these as from hell-fire.

It has been pleaded, Secondly, "By having a larger income, I am able to do more good." But dare you aver, in the presence of God, that it was singly with this view, only for this end, that you sought a larger income? If not, you are still condemned before God; your eye was not single. Do not therefore quibble and evade. This was not your motive of acting. It was not the desire of doing more good, whether to the souls or bodies of men; it was not the love of God: (You know it was not; your own conscience is as a thousand witnesses:) But it was "the love of money," and "the desire of other things,"

which animated you in this pursuit. If then, the word of God is true, you are in darkness still: It fills and covers your soul.

I might add, a larger income does not necessarily imply a capacity of doing more spiritual good. And this is the highest kind of good. It is good to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked: But it is a far nobler good to "save souls from death," to "pluck" poor "brands out of the burning." And it is that to which you are peculiarly called, and to which you have solemnly promised to "bend all your studies and endeavours." But you are by no means sure, that, by adding a second living to your first, you shall be more capable of doing good in this kind than you would have been had you laid out all your time, and all your strength, on your first flock.

"However, I shall be able to do more temporal good." You are not sure even of this. "If riches increase, they are increased that eat them." Perhaps your expenses may rise proportionably with your income. But if not, if you have a greater ability, shall you have a greater willingness, to do good? You have no reason in the world to believe this. There are a thousand instances of the contrary. How many have less will when they have more power! Now they have more money, they love it more; when they had little, they did their "diligence gladly to give of that little;" but since they have had much, they are so far from "giving plenteously," that they can hardly afford to give at all.

"But by my having another living, I maintain a valuable man, who might otherwise want the necessaries of life." I answer, (1.) Was this your whole and sole motive in seeking that other living? If not, this plea will not clear you from the charge; your eye was not single. (2.) If it was, you may put it beyond dispute; you may prove at once the purity of your intention:—Make that valuable man rector of one of your parishes, and you are clear before God and man.

But what can be pleaded for those who have two or more flocks, and take care of none of them? who just look at them now and then for a few days, and then remove to a convenient distance, and say, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease; eat, drink, and be merry?"

Some years ago I was asking a plain man, "Ought not he who feeds the flock, to eat of the milk of the flock?" He answered: "Friend, I have no objection to that. But what is that to him who does not feed the flock? He stands on the far side of the hedge, and feeds himself. It is another who feeds the flock; and ought he to have the milk of the flock? What canst thou say for him?" Truly, nothing at all; and he will have nothing to say for himself, when the great Shepherd shall pronounce that just sentence, "Bind" the unprofitable servant "hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness."

I have dwelt the longer on this head, because a right intention is the first point of all, and the most necessary of all; inasmuch as the want of this cannot be supplied by any thing else whatsoever. It is the setting out wrong; a fault never to be amended, unless you return to the place whence you came, and set out right. It is impossible therefore to lay too great stress upon a single eye, a pure intention; without which, all our sacrifice, our prayers, sermons, and sacraments, are an abomination to the Lord.

I cannot dismiss this important article, without touching upon one thing more. How many are directly concerned therein, I leave to the Searcher of hearts.

You have been settled in a living or a curacy for some time. You are now going to exchange it for another. Why do you do this? For what reason do you prefer this before your former living or curacy? "Why, I had but fifty pounds a year where I was before, and now I shall have a hundred." And is this your real motive of acting? the true reason why you make the exchange? "It is: And is it not a sufficient reason?" Yes, for a Heathen; but not for one who calls himself a Christian.

Perhaps a more gross infatuation than this was never yet known upon earth. There goes one who is commissioned to be an ambassador of Christ, a shepherd of never dying souls, a watchman over the Israel of God, a steward of the mysteries which "angels desire to look into." Where is he going? "To London, to Bristol, to Northampton." Why does he go thither? "To get more money." A tolerable reason for driving a herd of bullocks to one market rather than the other; though if a drover does this without any farther view, he acts as a Heathen, not a Christian. But what a reason for leaving the immortal souls over whom the Holy Ghost had made you overseer! And yet this is the motive which not only influences in secret, but is acknowledged openly and without a blush! Nay, it is excused, justified, defended; and that not by a few, here and there, who are apparently void both of piety and shame; but by numbers of seemingly religious men, from one end of England to the other!

(2.) Am I, Secondly, such as I ought to be, with regard to my affections? I am taken from among, and ordained for, men, in things pertaining to God. I stand between God and man, by the authority of the great Mediator, in the nearest and most endearing relation both to my Creator and to my fellow creatures. Have I accordingly given my heart to God, and to my brethren for his sake? Do I love God with all my soul and strength? and my neighbour, every man, as myself? Does this love swallow me up, possess me whole, constitute my supreme happiness? Does it animate all my passions and tempers, and regulate all my powers and faculties? Is it the spring which gives rise to all my thoughts, and governs all my words and actions? If it does, not unto me, but unto God be the praise! If it does not, "God be merciful to me a sinner!"

At least, do I feel such a concern for the glory of God, and such a thirst after the salvation of men, that I am ready to do any thing, however contrary to my natural inclination, to part with any thing, however agreeable to me, to suffer any thing, however grievous to flesh and blood, so I may save one soul from hell? Is this my ruling temper at all times and in all places? Does it make all my labour light? If not what a weariness is it! what a drudgery! Had I not far better hold the plough?

But is it possible this should be my ruling temper, if I still love the world? No, certainly, if I "love the world, the love of the Father is not in me. The love of God is not in me, if I love money, if I love pleasure, so called, or diversion. Neither is it in me, if I am a lover

of honour or praise, or of dress, or of good eating and drinking. Nay even indolence, or the love of ease, is inconsistent with the love of God.

What a creature then is a covetous, an ambitious, a luxurious, an indolent, a diversion-loving clergyman! Is it any wonder that infidelity should increase, where any of these are to be found? that many, comparing their spirit with their profession, should blaspheme that worthy name whereby they are called? But "wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh! It were good for that man if he had never been born." It were good for him now, rather than he should continue to turn the lame out of the way, "that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the depth of the sea!"

(3.) May not you, who are of a better spirit, consider, Thirdly, Am I such as I ought to be, with regard to my practice? Am I, in my private life, wholly devoted to God? Am I intent upon this one thing, to do in every point "not my own will, but the will of him that sent me?" Do I carefully and resolutely abstain from every evil word and work? "from all appearance of evil?" from all indifferent things, which might lay a stumbling block in the way of the weak? Am I zealous of good works? As I have time, do I do good to all men? and that in every kind, and in as high a degree as I am capable?

How do I behave in the public work whereunto I am called,—in my pastoral character? Am I "a pattern" to my "flock, in word, in behaviour, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity?" Is my "word," my daily conversation, "always in grace," always "meet to minister grace to the hearers?" Is my behaviour suitable to the dignity of my calling? Do I walk as Christ also walked? Does the love of God and man not only fill my heart, but shine through my whole conversation? Is the spirit, the temper which appears in all my words and actions, such as allows me to say with humble boldness, Herein "be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ?" Do all who have spiritual discernment take knowledge (judging of the tree by its fruits) that "the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God;" and that in all "simplicity and godly sincerity I have my conversation in the world?" Am I exemplarily pure from all worldly desire, from all vile and vain affections? Is my life one continued labour of love, one tract of praising God and helping man? Do I in every thing see "Him who is invisible?" And "beholding with open face the glory of the Lord," am I "changed into the same image from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord?"

Brethren, is not this our calling, even as we are Christians; but more eminently as we are ministers of Christ? And why (I will not say, do we fall short, but why) are we satisfied with falling so short of it? Is there any necessity laid upon us, of sinking so infinitely below our calling? Who hath required this at our hands? Certainly, not He by whose authority we minister. Is not his will the same with regard to us, as with regard to his first ambassadors? Is not his love, and is not his power still the same, as they were in the ancient days? Know we not, that Jesus Christ "is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever?" Why then may not you be as "burning and as shining lights," as those that shone seventeen hundred years ago? Do you desire to partake of the same burning love, of the same shining holiness? Surely you do. You cannot but be sensible it is the greatest blessing which can be bestowed

on any child of man. Do you design it; aim at it; "press on to" this "mark of the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus?" Do you constantly and earnestly pray for it? Then, as the Lord liveth, ye shall attain. Only let us pray on, and "tarry at Jerusalem, till we be endued with power from on high." Let us continue in all the ordinances of God, particularly in meditating on his word, "in denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily," and, "as we have time, doing good to all men;" and then assuredly "the great Shepherd" of us and our flocks will "make us perfect in every good work to do his will, and work in us all that is well pleasing in his sight!" This is the desire and prayer of

Your Brother and Servant, in our common Lord,

JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON, February 6, 1756.

A LETTER

TO

THE REVEREND MR. TOOGOOD, OF EXETER;

OCCASIONED BY HIS "DISSENT FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FULLY JUSTIFIED."

SIR,—If you fairly represent Mr. White's arguments, they are liable to much exception. But whether they are or no, your answers to them are far from unexceptionable. To the manner of the whole I object, you are not serious; you do not write as did those excellent men, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Howe, Dr. Calamy, who seem always to speak, not laughing, but weeping. To the matter I object, that if your argument hold, as it is proposed in your very title page; if "a dissent from our Church be the genuine consequence of the allegiance due to Christ;" then all who do not dissent have renounced that allegiance, and are in a state of damnation!

I have not leisure to consider all that you advance in proof of this severe sentence. I can only at present examine your main argument, which indeed contains the strength of your cause: "My separation from the Church of England," you say, "is a debt I owe to God, and an act of allegiance due to Christ, the only Lawgiver in the Church." (p. 2.)

Again: "The controversy turns upon one single point, Has the Church power to decree rites and ceremonies? If it has this power, then all the objections of the Dissenters, about kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and the like, are impertinent: if it has no power at all of this kind, yea, if Christ, the great Lawgiver and King of the Church, hath expressly commanded, that no power of this kind shall ever be claimed or ever be yielded by any of his followers; then the Dissenters will have honour before God for protesting against such usurpation." (p. 3.)

I join issue on this single point: "If Christ hath expressly commanded, that no power of this kind shall ever be claimed, or ever yielded, by any of his followers;" then are all who yield it, all Churchmen,

in a state of damnation, as much as those who "deny the Lord that bought them." But if Christ hath not expressly commanded this, we may go to Church, and yet not go to hell.

To the point then: The power I speak of is a power of decreeing rites and ceremonies, of appointing such circumstantials (suppose) of public worship as are in themselves purely indifferent, being no way determined in Scripture.

And the question is, "Hath Christ expressly commanded, that this power shall never be claimed, nor ever yielded, by any of his followers?" This I deny. How do you prove it?

Why, thus: "If the Church of England has this power, so has the Church of Rome." (p. 4.) Allowed. But this is not to the purpose. I want "the express command of Christ?"

You say, "Secondly, The persons who have this power in England, are not the clergy but the parliament." (pp. 8, 9.) Perhaps so. But this also strikes wide. Where is "the express command of Christ?"

You ask, "Thirdly, How came the civil magistrate by this power?" (p. 11.) "Christ commands us to 'call no man upon earth father and master;' that is, to acknowledge no authority of any in matters of religion." (p. 12.) At length we are come to the express command, which, according to your interpretation, is express enough; "that is, Acknowledge no authority of any in matters of religion;" own no power in any to appoint any circumstance of public worship, any thing pertaining to decency and order. But this interpretation is not allowed. It is the very point in question.

We allow, Christ does here expressly command, to acknowledge no such authority of any, as the Jews paid their Rabbies, whom they usually styled either Fathers or Masters; implicitly believing all they affirmed, and obeying all they enjoined. But we deny, that he expressly commands, to acknowledge no authority of governors, in things purely indifferent, whether they relate to the worship of God or other matters.

You attempt to prove it by the following words: "'One is your Master,' and Lawgiver, 'even Christ; and all ye are brethren,' Matt. xxiii, 8, 9; all Christians; having no dominion over one another." True; no such dominion as their Rabbies claimed; but in all things indifferent, Christian magistrates have dominion. As to your inserting, "and Lawgiver," in the preceding clause, you have no authority from the text; for it is not plain, that our Lord is here speaking of himself in that capacity. Διδασκαλος, the word here rendered "Master," you well know, conveys no such idea. It should rather have been translated "Teacher." And indeed the whole text primarily relates to doctrines.

But you cite another text: "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; but it shall not be so among you," Matt. xx, 25. Very good; that is, Christian pastors shall not exercise such dominion over their flock, as Heathen princes do over their subjects. Most sure; but, without any violation of this, they may appoint how things shall "be done decently and in order."

"But Christ is the sole Lawgiver, Judge, and Sovereign in his Church." (p. 12.) He is the sole *sovereign* Judge and Lawgiver. But it does not follow (what you continually infer) that there are no subor

dinate judges therein; nor, that there are none who have power to make regulations therein in subordination to Him. King George is sovereign judge and lawgiver in these realms. But are there no subordinate judges? Nay, are there not many who have power to make rules or laws in their own little communities? And how does this "invade his authority and throne?" Not at all, unless they contradict the laws of his kingdom.

"However, he alone has authority to fix the terms of communion for his followers, or Church." (*Ib.*) "And the terms he has fixed, no men on earth have authority to set aside or alter." This I allow, (although it is another question,) none has authority to exclude from the Church of Christ those who comply with the terms which Christ has fixed. But not to admit into the society called the Church of England, or, not to administer the Lord's Supper to them, is not the same thing with "excluding men from the Church of Christ;" unless this society be the whole Church of Christ, which neither you nor I will affirm. This society therefore may scruple to receive those as members, who do not observe her rules in things indifferent, without pretending "to set aside or alter the terms which Christ has fixed" for admission into the Christian Church; and yet without "lording it over God's heritage, or usurping Christ's throne." Nor does all "the allegiance we owe him" at all hinder our "obeying them that have the rule over us," in things of a purely indifferent nature. Rather, our allegiance to him requires our obedience to them. In being "their servants," thus far we are "Christ's servants." We obey his general command, by obeying our governors in particular instances.

Hitherto you have produced no express command of Christ to the contrary. Nor do you attempt to show any such, but strike off from the question for the twelve or fourteen pages following. But after these you say, "The subjects of Christ are expressly commanded to receive nothing as parts of religion, which are only 'commandments of men,' Matt. xv, 9." (p. 26.) We grant it; but this is no command at all, not to "obey those who have the rule over us." And we must obey them in things indifferent, or not at all. For in things which God hath forbidden, should such be enjoined, we dare not obey. Nor need they enjoin what God hath commanded.

Upon the whole, we agree that Christ is the only "supreme Judge and Lawgiver in the Church;" I may add, and in the world; for "there is no power," no secular power, "but of God;" of God who "was manifested in the flesh, who is over all, blessed for ever." But we do not at all agree in the inference which you would draw therefrom, namely, that there is no subordinate judge or lawgiver in the Church. You may just as well infer, that there is no subordinate judge or lawgiver in the world. Yea, there is, both in the one and the other. And in obeying these subordinate powers, we do not, as you aver, renounce the Supreme; no, but we obey them for his sake.

We believe, it is not only innocent, but our bounden duty, so to do; in all things of an indifferent nature to submit ourselves "to every ordinance of man;" and that "for the Lord's sake;" because we think he has not forbidden but expressly commanded it. Therefore, "as a genuine fruit of our allegiance to Christ," we submit both to the king

and governors sent by him, so far as possibly we can, without breaking some plain command of God. And you have not yet brought any plain command to justify that assertion, that "we may not submit either to the king, or to governors sent by him, in any circumstance relating to the worship of God."

Here is a plain declaration, "There is no power but of God; the powers that exist are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power," (without an absolute necessity, which in things indifferent there is not,) "resisteth the ordinance of God." And here is a plain command grounded thereon: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Now, by what scripture does it appear, that we are not to be subject in any thing pertaining to the worship of God? This is an exception which we cannot possibly allow, without clear warrant from holy writ. And we apprehend, those of the Church of Rome alone can decently plead for such an exception. It does not sound well in the mouth of a Protestant, to claim an exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil powers in all matters of religion, and in the minutest circumstance relating to the Church.

Another plain command is that mentioned but now: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." And this we shall think ourselves hereby fully authorized to do, in things of a religious, as well as a civil, nature, till you can produce plain, explicit proof from Scripture, that we must submit in the latter, but not in the former. We cannot find any such distinction in the Bible; and till we find it there, we cannot receive it, but must believe our allegiance to Christ requires submission to our governors in all things indifferent.

This I speak, even on supposition, that the things in question were enjoined merely by the king and parliament. If they were, what then? Then I would submit to them "for the Lord's sake." So that in all your parade, either with regard to King George or Queen Anne, there may be wit, but no wisdom; no force, no argument, till you can support this distinction from plain testimony of Scripture.

Till this is done, it can never be proved that "a dissent from the Church of England (whether it can be justified from other topics or no) is the genuine and just consequence of the allegiance which is due to Christ, as the only Lawgiver in the Church." As you proposed to "bring the controversy to this short and plain issue, to let it turn on this single point," I have done so; I have spoken to this alone; although I could have said something on many other points which you have advanced as points of the utmost certainty, although they are far more easily affirmed than proved. But I waive them for the present; hoping this may suffice to show any fair and candid inquirer, that it is very possible to be united to Christ and to the Church of England at the same time; that we need not separate from the Church, in order to preserve our allegiance to Christ; but may be firm members thereof, and yet "have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man."

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

BRISTOL, January 10, 1758.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

CONCERNING GODFATHERS AND GODMOTHERS

1. In the ancient Church, when baptism was administered, there were usually two or more sponsors (so Tertullian calls them, a hundred years after the death of St. John) for every person to be baptized. As these were witnesses, before God and the Church, of the solemn engagements those persons then entered into, so they undertook (as the very word implies) to watch over those souls in a peculiar manner, to instruct, admonish, exhort, and build them up in the faith once delivered to the saints. These were considered as a kind of spiritual parents to the baptized, whether they were infants or at man's estate; and were expected to supply whatever spiritual helps were wanting either through the death or neglect of the natural parents.

2. These have been retained in the Christian Church from the earliest times, as the reason for them was the same in all ages. In our Church they are termed, by a proper and expressive name, godfathers and godmothers. And it is appointed, "that there shall be for every male child to be baptized, two godfathers and one godmother; and for every female, one godfather and two godmothers."

3. But it is objected against these, (1.) That there is no mention of godfathers and godmothers in Scripture. (2.) That many undertake this without ever considering what they undertake, or once seriously thinking how to perform it. And (3.) That no serious man would undertake it, because it is impossible to perform it.

4. I answer, First, it is undoubtedly true, godfathers and godmothers are not mentioned in Scripture; and therefore it cannot be said they are absolutely necessary, or that baptism cannot be administered without them. But yet it may be said they are highly expedient; for when they are prudently chosen, they may be of unspeakable use to the persons baptized, and a great relief and comfort to the parents of them.

5. I answer, Secondly, it is too true that many undertake this solemn office, without ever considering what they undertake; giddy, ignorant persons, if not openly vicious, who never once seriously think how to perform it. But whose fault is this? It is not the fault of the Church, which carefully guards against this very thing, by ordering, "that none but communicants be admitted to be godfathers or godmothers." Now, communicants we may presume to be serious persons who will both consider and perform what they undertake. It is altogether the fault of those foolish parents who will, on any account whatever, either desire or suffer those to be sponsors for their children, that do not take care of their own souls. It is these inconsiderate and cruel men, who have no compassion for their own flesh, that deprive their children of all the benefits of this wise institution, and bring a scandal on the institution itself, by their wicked abuse of it. I therefore earnestly exhort all who have any concern, either for their own or their children's souls, at all hazards to procure such persons to be sponsors, as truly fear God. Regard not whether they are rich or poor; and if they are poor, see

that it be no expense to them. You will then tear up by the roots one of the most plausible objections which can be made against this primitive custom.

6. For, Thirdly, there is no reason why any truly serious man should scruple to undertake the office. If you suppose godfathers and godmothers undertake what is impossible to perform, you entirely mistake. And your mistake lies here: You think they undertake what they do not. Do not you think the sponsors themselves undertake or promise, that the child shall "renounce the devil and all his works, constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments?" Whereas in truth they neither undertake nor promise any such thing. When they answer, "I renounce them all, this I steadfastly believe, I will," (obediently keep God's holy will and commandments,) they promise nothing at all; they engage for nothing; it is another person that promises all this. Whatever is then promised or undertaken, it is not by them, but by the child. It is his part, not theirs. So the Church tells you expressly: "This infant must for *his* part promise." It is he promises in these words, not they. So again: "This child hath promised to renounce the devil, to believe in God, and to serve him." If it be said, "But why are those questions inserted, which seem to mean what they really do not?" I answer, I did not insert them, and should not be sorry had they not been inserted at all. I believe the compilers of our Liturgy inserted them because they were used in all the ancient Liturgies. And their deep reverence for the primitive Church made them excuse some impropriety of expression.

7. What then is your part, who are sponsors for the child? This likewise is expressly told you: "It is your part to see that this infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he hath here made by you. You shall call upon him to hear sermons, and shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health; and that this child may be virtuously brought up, to lead a godly and a Christian life."

8. Can any thing then be plainer than what you do not, and what you do, undertake? You do not undertake that he shall renounce the devil and serve God; this the baptized himself undertakes. You do undertake to see that he be taught what things a Christian ought to know and believe. And what is there in this which is impossible? which any serious person may not perform?

9. If then you that are parents will be so wise and kind to your children as to waive every other consideration, and to choose for their sponsors those persons alone who truly fear and serve God; if some of you who love God, and love one another, agree to perform this office of love for each other's children; and if all you who undertake it perform it faithfully, with all the wisdom and power God hath given you; what a foundation of holiness and happiness may be laid, even to your late posterity! Then it may justly be hoped, that not only you and your house, but also the children which shall be born, shall serve the Lord.

ATHLONE, August 6, 1752.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES AND BURIAL GROUNDS.

1. It has been a custom for some ages, in Roman Catholic countries, to have a particular form of consecration for all churches and chapels: and not for these only, but for every thing pertaining to them; such as fonts, chalices, bells, sacerdotal vestments, and church yards in particular. And all these customs universally prevailed in England, as long as it was under the Papal power.

2. From the time of our Reformation from Popery, most of these customs fell into disuse. Unconsecrated bells were rung without scruple, and unconsecrated vestments worn. But some of them remained still; the consecration of churches and church yards in particular; and many scrupled the performing Divine service in an unconsecrated church, and could not consent that their bodies should be buried in unconsecrated ground.

3. Accordingly, the consecrating of churches and church yards has been practised in England ever since. But it is a thing purely indifferent, being neither forbidden nor established by law. The case is different in Ireland. While the Earl of Strafford was lord lieutenant of that kingdom, a law was made for the consecration, not only of churches, but of church yards also. And a form of consecration for both was inserted in the Common Prayer Book, which is used at this day; much resembling that which Archbishop Laud used in the consecration of St. Katherine Creed's church, in London.

4. But such a law has never passed in England, much less been inserted in our Common Prayer Book. However, such consecration has been generally practised, though not authorized by the legislature. "Is it then illegal?" That word is capable of a two-fold meaning. It may mean, either, without any law in its favour, or, against law. I do not conceive it to be illegal in the latter sense. Perhaps it is in the former: I do not know any law that enjoins or even permits it.

5. And certainly, as it is not enjoined by the law of the land, so it is not enjoined by the law of God. Where do we find one word in the New Testament enjoining any such thing? Neither do I remember any precedent of it in the purest ages of the Church. It seems to have entered, and gradually spread itself, with the other innovations and superstitions of the Church of Rome. "Do you think it, then, a superstitious practice?" Perhaps it is not, if it be practised as a thing indifferent. But if it be done as a necessary thing, then it is flatly superstitious.

6. For this reason I never wished that any bishop should consecrate any chapel or burial ground of mine. Indeed, I should not dare to suffer it; as I am clearly persuaded the thing is wrong in itself, being not authorized either by any law of God, or by any law of the land. In consequence of which, I conceive, that either the clerk or the sexton may as well consecrate the church or the church yard, as the bishop.

7. With regard to the latter, the church yard, I know not who could answer that plain question: "You say, this is consecrated ground, so many feet broad, and so many long. But pray how deep is the consecrated ground?"—"*Deep!* What does that signify?" O, a great deal: for if my grave be dug too deep, I may happen to get out of the consecrated ground: and who can tell what unhappy consequences may fol low from this?

8. I take the whole of this practice to be a mere relic of Romish superstition. And I wonder that any sensible Protestant should think it right to countenance it; much more, that any reasonable man should plead for the necessity of it! Surely, it is high time now that we should be guided, not by custom, but by Scripture and reason.

DUMFRIES, May 14, 1788.

SERIOUS THOUGHTS

OCCASIONED

BY THE LATE EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON.

[PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1755.]

Tua res agitur, paries quum proximus ardet.

[When your neighbour's house is on fire, your own interest is involved.]

THINKING men generally allow that the greater part of modern Christians are not more virtuous than the ancient Heathens; perhaps less so; since public spirit, love of our country, generous honesty, and simple truth, are scarce any where to be found. On the contrary, covetousness, ambition, various injustice, luxury, and falsehood in every kind, have infected every rank and denomination of people, the clergy themselves not excepted. Now, they who believe there is a God are apt to believe he is not well pleased with this. Nay, they think he has intimated i. very plainly, in many parts of the Christian world. How many hundred thousand men have been swept away by war, in Europe only, within half a century! How many thousands, within little more than this, hath the earth opened her mouth and swallowed up! Numbers sunk at Port Royal, and rose no more! Many thousands went quick into the pit at Lima! The whole city of Catanea, in Sicily, and every inhabitant of it, perished together. Nothing but heaps of ashes and cinders show where it stood. Not so much as one Lot escaped out of Sodom!

And what shall we say of the late accounts from Portugal? That some thousand houses, and many thousand persons, are no more! that a fair city is now in ruinous heaps! Is there indeed a God that judges the world? And is he now making inquisition for blood? If so, it is not surprising, he should begin there, where so much blood has been poured on the ground like water! where so many brave men have been murdered, in the most base and cowardly as well as barbarous manner, almost every day, as well as every night, while none regarded or laid it to heart. "Let them hunt and destroy the precious life, so we may

secure our stores of gold and precious stones."* How long has their blood been crying from the earth! Yea, how long has that bloody *House of Mercy*,† the scandal not only of all religion, but even of human nature, stood to insult both heaven and earth! "And shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a city as this?"

It has been the opinion of many, that even this nation has not been without some marks of God's displeasure. Has not war been let loose even within our own land, so that London itself felt the alarm? Has not a pestilential sickness broken in upon our cattle, and, in many parts, left not one of them alive? And although the earth does not yet open in England or Ireland, has it not shook, and reeled to and fro like a drunken man? and that not in one or two places only, but almost from one end of the kingdom to the other?

Perhaps one might ask, Was there nothing uncommon, nothing more than is usual at this season of the year, in the rains, the hail, the winds, the thunder and lightning which we have lately heard and seen? particularly, in the storm which was the same day and hour that they were playing off Macbeth's thunder and lightning at the theatre. One would almost think they designed this (inasmuch as the entertainment continued, notwithstanding all the artillery of heaven) as a formal answer to that question, "Canst thou thunder with a voice like Him?"

What shall we say to the affair of Whitson Cliffs? of which, were it not for the unparalleled stupidity of the English, all England would have rang long ago, from one sea to another. And yet, seven miles from the place, they knew little more of it in May last, than if it had happened in China or Japan.

The fact (of the truth of which any who will be at the pains of inquiring may soon be satisfied) is this: On Tuesday, March 25, last, (being the week before Easter,) many persons heard a great noise near a ridge of mountains, called Black Hamilton, in Yorkshire. It was observed chiefly on the south-west side of the mountain, about a mile from the course where the Hamilton races are run, near a ledge of rocks, commonly called Whitson Cliffs, two miles from Sutton, and about five from Thirsk.

The same noise was heard on Wednesday by all who went that way. On Thursday, about seven in the morning, Edward Abbot, weaver, and Adam Bosomworth, bleacher, both of Sutton, riding under Whitson Cliffs, heard a roaring (so they termed it) like many cannons, or loud and rolling thunder. It seemed to come from the Cliffs; looking up to which, they saw a large body of stone, four or five yards broad, split and fly off from the very top of the rock. They thought it strange, but rode on. Between ten and eleven, a larger piece of the rock, about fifteen yards thick, thirty high, and between sixty and seventy broad, was torn off and thrown into the valley.

About seven in the evening, one who was riding by observed the

* Merchants who have lived in Portugal inform us, that the king had a large building filled with diamonds; and more gold stored up, coined and uncoined, than all the other princes of Europe together.

† The title which the Inquisition of Portugal (if not in other countries also) takes to itself.

ground to shake exceedingly; and soon after several large stones or rocks, of some tons weight each, rose out of the ground. Others were thrown on one side, others turned upside down, and many rolled over and over. Being a little surprised, and not very curious, he hasted on his way.

On Friday and Saturday the ground continued to shake, and the rocks to roll over one another. The earth also clave asunder in very many places, and continued so to do till Sunday morning.

Being at Osmotherley, seven miles from the Cliffs, on Monday, June 1, and finding Edward Abbot there, I desired him the next morning to show me the way thither. I walked, crept, and climbed round and over great part of the ruins. I could not perceive by any sign, that there was ever any cavity in the rock at all; but one part of the solid stone is cleft from the rest, in a perpendicular line, and as smooth as if cut with instruments. Nor is it barely thrown down, but split into many hundred pieces, some of which lie four or five hundred yards from the main rock.

The ground nearest the cliff is not raised, but sunk considerably beneath the level. But, at some distance, it is raised in a ridge of eight or ten yards high, twelve or fifteen broad, and near a hundred long. Adjoining to this lies an oval piece of ground, thirty or forty yards in diameter, which has been removed, whole as it is, from beneath the cliff, without the least fissure, with all its load of rocks, some of which were as large as the hull of a small ship. At a little distance is a second piece of ground, forty or fifty yards across, which has also been transplanted entire, with rocks of various sizes upon it, and a tree growing out of one of them. By the removal of one or both of these, I suppose the hollow near the cliff was made.

All around them lay stones and rocks, great and small, some on the surface of the earth, some half sunk into it, some almost covered, in variety of positions. Between these the ground was cleft asunder in a thousand places. Some of the apertures were nearly closed again, some gaping as at first. Between thirty and forty acres of land, as is commonly supposed, (though some reckon above sixty,) are in this condition.

On the skirts of these, I observed, in abundance of places, the green turf (for it was pasture land) as it were pared off, two or three inches thick, and wrapped round like sheets of lead. A little farther it was not cleft or broken at all, but raised in ridges, five or six foot long, exactly resembling the graves in a church yard. Of these there is a vast number.

That part of the cliff from which the rest is torn, lies so high and is now of so bright a colour, that it is plainly visible to all the country round, even at the distance of several miles. We saw it distinctly, not only from the street in Thirsk, but for five or six miles after, as we rode toward York. So we did likewise in the great North Road, between Sandhutton and Northallerton.

But how may we account for this phenomenon? Was it effected by a merely natural cause? If so, that cause must either have been fire, water, or air. It could not be fire; for then some mark of it must have appeared, either at the time, or after it. But no such mark does appear, nor ever did; not so much as the least smoke, either when the first or second rock was removed, or in the whole space between Tuesday and Sunday.

It could not be water; for no water issued out, when the one or the other rock was torn off. Nor had there been any rains for some time before. It was in that part of the country a remarkable dry season. Neither was there any cavity in that part of the rock, wherein a sufficient quantity of water might have lodged. On the contrary, it was one single, solid mass, which was evenly and smoothly cleft in sunder.

There remains no other natural cause assignable, but imprisoned air.

I say imprisoned; for as to the fashionable opinion, that the exterior air is the grand agent in earthquakes, it is so senseless, unmechanical, unphilosophical a dream, as deserves not to be named but to be exploded. But it is hard to conceive, how even imprisoned air could produce such an effect. It might indeed shake, tear, raise, or sink the earth; but how could it cleave a solid rock? Here was not room for a quantity of it sufficient to do any thing of this nature; at least, unless it had been suddenly and violently expanded by fire, which was not the case. Could a small quantity of air, without that violent expansion, have torn so large a body of rock from the rest, to which it adhered in one solid mass? Could it have shivered this into pieces, and scattered several of those pieces some hundred yards round? Could it have transported those promontories of earth with their incumbent load, and set them down unbroken, unchanged, at a distance? Truly I am not so great a volunteer in faith as to be able to believe this. He that supposes this, must suppose air to be not only very strong, (which we allow,) but a very wise agent; while it bore its charge with so great caution, as not to hurt or dislocate any part of it.

What, then, could be the cause? What indeed, but God, who arose "to shake terribly the earth;" who purposely chose such a place, where there is so great a concourse of nobility and gentry every year; and wrought in such a manner, that many might see it and fear, that all who travel one of the most frequented roads in England might see it, almost whether they would or no, for many miles together? It must likewise for many years, maugre all the art of man, be a visible monument of His power; all that ground being now so incumbered with rocks and stones, that it cannot be either ploughed or grazed. Nor can it well serve any use, but to tell all that see it, Who can stand before this great God?

Who can account for the late motion in the waters; not only that of the sea, and rivers communicating therewith, but even that in canals, fishponds, cisterns, and all either large or small bodies of water? It was particularly observed, that while the water itself was so violently agitated, neither did the earth shake at all, nor any of the vessels which contained that water. Was such a thing ever known or heard of before? I know not, but it was spoken of once, near eighteen hundred years ago, in those remarkable words, "There shall be σεισμοι" (not only "earthquakes," but various "concussions" or "shakings") "in divers places." And so there have been in Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, in Holland, in England, in Ireland; and not improbably in many other places too, which we are not yet informed of. Yet it does not seem that a concussion of this kind has ever been known before, since either the same or some other comet revolved so near the earth. For we know of no other natural cause in the universe which is adequate to such an

effect. And that this is the real cause, we may very possibly be convinced in a short time.

But alas! why should we not be convinced sooner, while that conviction may avail, that it is not chance which governs the world? Why should we not now, before London is as Lisbon, Lima, or Catanea, acknowledge the hand of the Almighty, arising to maintain his own cause? Why, we have a general answer always ready, to screen us from any such conviction: "All these things are purely natural and accidental; the result of natural causes." But there are two objections to this answer: first, it is untrue: secondly, it is uncomfortable.

First. If by affirming, "All this is purely natural," you mean, it is not providential, or that God has nothing to do with it, this is not true, that is, supposing the Bible to be true. For supposing this, you may descant ever so long on the natural causes of murrain, winds, thunder, lightning, and yet you are altogether wide of the mark, you prove nothing at all, unless you can prove that God never works in or by natural causes. But this you cannot prove; nay, none can doubt of his so working, who allows the Scripture to be of God. For this asserts, in the clearest and strongest terms, that "all things" (in nature) "serve him;" that (by or without a train of natural causes) he "sendeth his rain on the earth;" that he "bringeth the winds out of his treasures," and "maketh a way for the lightning and the thunder;" in general, that "fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil his word." Therefore, allowing there are natural causes of all these, they are still under the direction of the Lord of nature: nay, what is nature itself, but the art of God, or God's method of acting in the material world? True philosophy therefore ascribes all to God, and says, in the beautiful language of the wise and good man,—

> Here like a trumpet, loud and strong,
> Thy thunder shakes our coast;
> While the red lightnings wave along,
> The banners of thy host.

A second objection to your answer is, It is extremely uncomfortable. For if things really be as you affirm; if all these afflictive incidents entirely depend on the fortuitous concourse and agency of blind, material causes; what hope, what help, what resource is left for the poor sufferers by them? Should the murrain among the cattle continue a few years longer, and consequently produce scarcity or famine, what will there be left for many of the poor to do, but to lie down and die? If tainted air spread a pestilence over our land, where shall they fly for succour? They cannot resist either the one or other; they cannot escape from them. And can they hope to appease

> *Illachrymabilem Plutona?*—Inexorable Pluto, king of shades?

Shall they intreat the famine or the pestilence to show mercy? Alas! they are as senseless as you suppose God to be.

However, you who are men of fortune can shift tolerably well, in spite of these difficulties. Your money will undoubtedly procure you food as long as there is any in the kingdom. And if your physicians cannot secure you from the epidemic disease, your coaches can carry you from the place of infection. Be it so: but you are not out of all danger yet, unless you can drive faster than the wind. Are you sure of this? And

are your horses literally swifter than the lightning? Can they leave the panting storm behind? If not, what will you do when it overtakes you? Try your eloquence on the whirlwind. Will it hear your voice? Will it regard either your money, or prayers, or tears? Call upon the lightning. Cry aloud; see whether your voice will "divide the flames of fire." O no! it hath no ears to hear! It devoureth and showeth no pity!

But this is not all. Here is a nearer enemy. The earth threatens to swallow you up. Where is your protection now? What defence do you find from thousands of gold and silver? You cannot fly; for you cannot quit the earth, unless you will leave your dear body behind you. And while you are on the earth, you know not where to flee to, neither where to flee from. You may buy intelligence, where the shock was yesterday, but not where it will be to-morrow,—to-day. It comes! The roof trembles! The beams crack! The ground rocks to and fro! Hoarse thunder resounds from the bowels of the earth! And all these are but the beginning of sorrows. Now, what help? What wisdom can prevent, what strength resist, the blow? What money can purchase, I will not say deliverance, but an hour's reprieve? Poor honourable fool, where are now thy titles? Wealthy fool, where is now thy golden god? If any thing can help, it must be prayer. But what wilt thou pray to? Not to the God of heaven; you suppose him to have nothing to do with earthquakes. No; they proceed in a merely natural way, either from the earth itself, or from included air, or from subterraneous fires or waters. If thou prayest, then, (which perhaps you never did before,) it must be to some of these. Begin: "O earth, earth, earth, hear the voice of thy children! Hear, O air, water, fire!" And will they hear? You know it cannot be. How deplorable, then, is his condition, who in such an hour has none else to flee to! How uncomfortable the supposition, which implies this, by direct necessary consequence, namely, that all these things are the pure result of merely natural causes!

But supposing the earthquake which made such havoc at Lisbon should never travel so far as London, is there nothing else which can reach us? What think you of a comet? Are we absolutely out of the reach of this? You cannot say we are; seeing these move in all directions, and through every region of the universe. And would the approach of one of these amazing spheres be of no importance to us? especially in its return from the sun; when that immense body is (according to Sir Isaac Newton's calculation) heated two thousand times hotter than a red-hot cannon ball. The late ingenious and accurate Dr. Halley (never yet suspected of enthusiasm) fixes the return of the great comet in the year 1758; and he observes that the last time it revolved, it moved in the very same line which the earth describes in her annual course round the sun; but the earth was on the other side of her orbit. Whereas, in this revolution, it will move, not only in the same line, but in the same part of that line wherein the earth moves. And "who can tell," says that great man, "what the consequences of such a contact may be?"

Who can tell! Any man of common understanding, who knows the very first elements of astronomy. The immediate consequence of such

a body of solid fire touching the earth must necessarily be, that it will set the earth on fire, and burn it to a coal, if it do not likewise strike it out of its course; in which case, (so far as we can judge,) it must drop down directly into the sun.

But what, if this vast body is already on its way? if it is nearer than we are aware of? What, if these unusual unprecedented motions of the waters be one effect of its near approach? We cannot be certain that it will be visible to the inhabitants of our globe, till it has imbibed the solar fire. But possibly we may see it sooner than we desire. We may see it not as Milton speaks,—

> From its horrid hair
> Shake pestilence and war;

but ushering in far other calamities than these, and of more extensive influence. Probably it will be seen first drawing nearer and nearer, till it appears as another moon in magnitude, though not in colour, being of a deep fiery red; then scorching and burning up all the produce of the earth, driving away all clouds, and so cutting off the hope or possibility of any rain or dew; drying up every fountain, stream, and river, causing all faces to gather blackness, and all men's hearts to fail; then executing its grand commission on the globe itself, and causing the stars to fall from heaven.* O, who may abide when this is done? Who will then be able to stand?

> *Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cœli*
> *Ardeat; et mundi moles operosa laboret?*

[When the sea, the land, and the court of heaven, wrapt in flames, shall burn; and the mighty fabric of the universe shall labour?]

What shall we do? do now, that none of these things may come upon us unawares? We are wisely and diligently providing for our defence against one enemy; with such a watchful wisdom and active diligence, as is a comfort to every honest Englishman. But why should we not show the same wisdom and diligence in providing against all our enemies? And if our wisdom and strength be sufficient to defend us, let us not seek any farther. Let us without delay recruit our forces, and guard our coasts against the famine, and murrain, and pestilence; and still more carefully against immoderate rains, and winds, and lightnings, and earthquakes, and comets; that we may no longer be under any painful apprehensions of any present or future danger, but may smile,

> Secure, amidst the jar of elements,
> The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds!

But if our own wisdom and strength be not sufficient to defend us, let us not be ashamed to seek farther help. Let us even dare to own we believe there is a God; nay, and not a lazy, indolent, epicurean deity, who sits at ease upon the circle of the heavens, and neither knows nor cares what is done below; but one who, as he created heaven and earth, and all the armies of them, as he sustains them all by the word of his power, so cannot neglect the work of his own hands. With pleasure we own there is such a God, whose eye pervades the whole sphere of

* What security is there against all this, upon the Infidel hypothesis? But upon the Christian, there is abundant security: for the Scripture prophecies are not yet fulfilled.

created beings, who knoweth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names; a God whose wisdom is as the great abyss deep and wide as eternity;

> Who, high in power, in the beginning said,
> Let sea, and air, and earth, and heaven be made;
> And it was so: And when he shall ordain
> In other sort, hath but to speak again,
> And they shall be no more:

Yet more; whose mercy riseth above the heavens, and his faithfulness above the clouds; who is loving to every man, and his mercy over all his works. Let us secure him on our side; let us make this wise, this powerful, this gracious God our friend. Then need we not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea; no, not though the heavens being on fire are dissolved, and the very elements melt with fervent heat. It is enough that the Lord of hosts is with us, the God of love is our everlasting refuge.

But how shall we secure the favour of this great God? How, but by worshipping him in spirit and in truth; by uniformly imitating him we worship, in all his imitable perfections? without which the most accurate systems of opinions, all external modes of religion, are idle cobwebs of the brain, dull farce and empty show. Now, God is love: Love God then, and you are a true worshipper. Love mankind, and God is your God, your Father, and your Friend. But see that you deceive not your own soul; for this is not a point of small importance. And by this you may know: If you love God, then you are happy in God; if you love God, riches, honours, and the pleasures of sense are no more to you than bubbles on the water: You look on dress and equipage, as the tassels of a fool's cap; diversions, as the bells on a fool's coat. If you love God, God is in all your thoughts, and your whole life is a sacrifice to him. And if you love mankind, it is your one design, desire, and endeavour, to spread virtue and happiness all around you; to lessen the present sorrows, and increase the joys, of every child of man; and, if it be possible, to bring them with you to the rivers of pleasure that are at God's right hand for evermore.

But where shall you find one who answers this happy and amiable character? Wherever you find a Christian; for this and this alone, is real, genuine Christianity. Surely you did not imagine that Christianity was no more than such a system of opinions as is vulgarly called faith; or a strict and regular attendance on any kind of external worship. O no! Were this all that it implied, Christianity were indeed a poor, empty, shallow thing; such as none but half-thinkers could admire, and all who think freely and generously must despise. But this is not the case; the spirit above described, this alone, is Christianity. And, if so, it is no wonder that even a celebrated unbeliever should make that frank declaration, "Well, after all, these Christian dogs are the happiest fellows upon earth!" Indeed they are. Nay, we may say more; they are the only happy men upon earth; and that though we should have no regard at all to the particular circumstances above mentioned; suppose there was no such thing as a comet in the universe, or none that would ever approach the solar system; suppose there had never been an earthquake in the world, or that we were assured there never would

be another; yet what advantage has a Christian (I mean always a real, Scriptural Christian) above all other men upon earth!

What advantage has he over you in particular, if you do not believe the Christian system! For suppose you have utterly driven away storms, lightnings, earthquakes, comets, yet there is another grim enemy at the door; and you cannot drive him away. It is death. "O that death," (said a gentleman of large possessions, of good health, and a cheerful natural temper,) "I do not love to think of it! It comes in and spoils all!" So it does indeed. It comes with its "miscreated front," and spoils all your mirth, diversions, pleasures! It turns all into the silence of a tomb, into rottenness and dust; and many times it will not stay till the trembling hand of old age beckons to it; but it leaps upon you while you are in the dawn of life, in the bloom and strength of your years.

The morning flowers display their sweets,
And gay their silken leaves unfold,
Unmindful of the noon-tide heats,
And fearless of the evening cold.

Nipp'd by the wind's unkindly blast,
Parch'd by the sun's directer ray,
The momentary glories waste,
The short-lived beauties die away.

And where are you then? Does your soul disperse and dissolve into common air? Or does it share the fate of its former companion, and moulder into dust? Or does it remain conscious of its own existence, in some distant, unknown world? It is all unknown! A black, dreary, melancholy scene! Clouds and darkness rest upon it.

But the case is far otherwise with a Christian. To him life and immortality are brought to light. His eye pierces through the vale of the shadow of death, and sees into the glories of eternity. His view does not terminate on that black line,

The verge 'twixt mortal and immortal being;

but extends beyond the bounds of time and place, to the house of God eternal in the heavens. Hence he is so far from looking upon death as an enemy, that he longs to feel his welcome embrace. He groans (but they are pleasing groans) to have mortality swallowed up of life.

Perhaps you will say, "But this is all a dream. He is only in a fool's paradise!" Supposing he be, it is a pleasing dream.

Maneat mentis gratissimus error!

[May this delightful delusion of the mind continue!]

If he is only in a fool's paradise, yet it is a paradise; while you are wandering in a wide, weary, barren world. Be it folly; his folly gives him that present happiness which all your wisdom cannot find. So that he may now turn the tables upon you and say,—

"Whoe'er can ease by folly get,
With safety may despise
The wretched, unenjoying wit,
The miserable wise."

Such unspeakable advantage (even if there is none beyond death) has a Christian over an Infidel! It is true, he has given up some pleasures before he could attain to this. But what pleasures? That of eating till he is sick; till he weakens a strong, or quite destroys a weak, constitution. He has given up the pleasure of drinking a man into a beast, and that of ranging from one worthless creature to another, till he brings

a canker upon his estate, and perhaps rottenness into his bones. But in lieu of these, he has now (whatever may be hereafter) a continual serenity of mind, a constant evenness and composure of temper, "a peace which passeth all understanding." He has learned in every state wherein he is, therewith to be content; nay, to give thanks, as being clearly persuaded it is better for him than any other. He feels continual gratitude to his supreme Benefactor, Father of Spirits, Parent of Good; and tender, disinterested benevolence to all the children of this common Father. May the Father of your spirit, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, make you such a Christian! May he work in your soul a divine conviction of things not discerned by eyes of flesh and blood! May he give you to see him that is invisible, and to taste of the powers of the world to come! May he fill you with all peace and joy in believing, that you may be happy in life, in death, in eternity!

FREE THOUGHTS
ON
THE PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1768.

Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas; et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.—HORAT.

[You treat a subject full of danger; and go through fires covered with deceitful ashes.]

You desire me to give you my thoughts freely on the present state of public affairs. But do you consider? I am no politician; politics lie quite out of my province. Neither have I any acquaintance, at least no intimacy, with any that bear that character. And it is no easy matter to form any judgment concerning things of so complicated a nature. It is the more difficult, because, in order to form our judgment, such a multitude of facts should be known, few of which can be known with tolerable exactness by any but those who are eye witnesses of them. And how few of these will relate what they have seen precisely as it was, without adding, omitting, or altering any circumstance, either with or without design! And may not a slight addition or alteration give a quite different colour to the whole?

And as we cannot easily know, with any accuracy, the facts on which we are chiefly to form our judgment; so, much less can we expect to know the various springs of action which gave rise to those facts, and on which, more than on the bare actions themselves, the characters of the actors depend. It is on this account that an old writer advises us to judge nothing before the time; to abstain, as far as possible, from judging peremptorily, either of things or persons, till the time comes, when "the hidden things of darkness," the facts now concealed, "will be brought to light," and the hidden springs of action will be discovered —"the thoughts and intents of" every human "heart."

Perhaps you will say, "Nay, every Englishman is a politician; we suck in politics with our mother's milk. It is as natural for us to talk politics as to breathe; we can instruct both the king and his council. We can in a trice reform the state, point out every blunder of this or that minister, and tell every step they ought to take to be arbiters of all Europe."

I grant, every cobbler, tinker, porter, and hackney coachman can do this; but I am not so deep learned: while they are sure of every thing, I am in a manner sure of nothing; except of that very little which I see with my own eyes, or hear with my own ears. However, since you desire me to tell you what I think, I will do it with all openness. Only please to remember, I do not take upon me to dictate either to you or to any one. I only use the privilege of an Englishman, to speak my naked thoughts; setting down just what appears to me to be the truth, till I have better information.

At present, indeed, I have not much information, having read little upon this head but the public papers; and you know these are mostly on one side; in them little is to be seen on the other side; and that little is seldom wrote by masterly writers. How few of them have such a pen as Junius!

But supposing we have ever so much information, how little can one rely on it! on the information given by either party! For is not one as warm as the other? And who does not know how impossible it is for a man to see things right when he is angry? Does not passion blind the eyes of the understanding, as smoke does the bodily eyes? And how little of the truth can we learn from those who see nothing but through a cloud?

This advantage then I have over both parties,—the being angry at neither. So that if I have a little understanding from nature or experience, it is (in this instance at least) unclouded by passion. I wish the same happiness which I wish to myself, to those on one side and on the other. I would not hurt either in the least degree; I would not willingly give them any pain.

I have likewise another advantage, that of having no bias one way or the other. I have no interest depending; I want no man's favour, having no hopes, no fears, from any man; and having no particular attachment of any kind to either of the contending parties.

But am I so weak as to imagine, that because I am not angry at them, they will not be angry at me? No; I do not imagine any such thing. Probably both will be angry enough; that is, the warm men on both sides, were it only for this,—that I am not as warm as themselves. For what is more insufferable to a man in a passion, than to see you keep your temper? And is it not a farther provocation, that I do not behave as he does to his opponent; that I call him no ill names; that I give him no ill words? I expect, therefore, to be abused on all sides; and cannot be disappointed, unless by being treated with common humanity.

This premised, I come to the point, to give you my "free thoughts on the present state of public affairs;" the causes and consequences of the present commotions. But permit me to remind you, that I say nothing peremptorily. I do not take upon me to affirm that things are

thus or thus. I just set down my naked thoughts, and that without any art or colouring.

"What then do you think is the direct and principal cause of the present public commotions, of the amazing ferment among the people, the general discontent of the nation?" which now rises to a higher degree than it has done in the memory of man; insomuch that I have heard it affirmed with my own ears, "King George ought to be treated as King Charles was!" Is it the extraordinary bad character of the king? I do not apprehend it is. Certainly, if he is not, as some think, the best prince in Europe, he is far from being the worst. One not greatly prejudiced in his favour does not charge him with want of virtue, (of this he judges him to have more than enough,) but with wanting those royal vices, which (with Machiavel and the ingenious Doctor Mandeville) he supposes would be public benefits.

"But does he not likewise want understanding?" So it has been boldly affirmed. And it must be acknowledged, this charge is supported by facts which cannot be denied. The First is, he believes the Bible; the Second, he fears God; the Third, he loves the queen. Now, suppose the First of these, considering the prejudice of education, might consist with some share of understanding, yet how can this be allowed with regard to the Second? For although, in the times of ignorance and barbarism men imagined, "the fear of God" was "the beginning of wisdom," our enlightened age has discovered it is the end of it; that whenever the fear of God begins, wisdom is at an end. And with regard to the Third, for a man to love his wife, unless perhaps for a month or two, must argue such utter want of sense, as most men of rank are now ashamed of. But, after all, there are some, who, allowing the facts, deny the consequence; who still believe, and that after the most accurate inquiry, from such as have had the best means of information, that there are few noblemen or gentlemen in the nation, (and we have many not inferior to most in Europe,) who have either so good a natural understanding, or so general a knowledge of all the valuable parts of learning.

"But suppose something might be said for his majesty's understanding, what can be said in excuse of his bad actions; as, First, his pardoning a murderer?" I really think something may be said on this head also. Can you or I believe that the king knew him to be such? understood him to be a wilful murderer? I am not sure of it at all; neither have you any rational proof, even supposing this to have been the case, which is far from being clear. And if he did not know or believe him to be such, how can he be blamed for pardoning him? Not to have pardoned him in this case would have been inexcusable before God and man.

"But what can be said in excuse of his being governed by his mother, and fixing all his measures at Carlton House?" It may be said, that if it was so, it is past, and so is no matter of present complaint. But who informed you that it was? any eye and ear witness? "O, it is in every body's mouth." Very well; but every body is nobody; so this proof is no proof at all. And what better proof have you, or any man, of his fixing any of his measures there? This has been affirmed a hundred times, but never was proved yet. "Nay, but is it not undeniable fact,

that he spent hour after hour with her; and especially when he was hard pressed, and knew not which way to turn?" And what then? Who loves him better than his parent? And whom has he a right to love better than her? Who is more faithful to him, more steadily desirous of his welfare? And whom can he trust better? Suppose then it was true, (which is more than any man can prove,) that he did consult her on all occasions, and particularly when he was in trouble and perplexity, who can blame him for so doing?

"Well, be this as it may, who can help blaming him for giving so many pensions?" This is a thing which I do not understand, and can therefore neither praise nor blame. Some indeed, I think, are well bestowed on men eminent in their several professions. All, I believe, are well designed, particularly those given to men who are removed from public employments. Yet, I fear, some of these are ill bestowed on those who not only fly in the face of their benefactor, but avail themselves of his favours to wound the deeper. "For were he not in the wrong, these would never turn against him!" What pity they should enjoy them another day, after such foul and flagrant ingratitude!

This fault (if it were really such) would argue too great easiness of temper. But this is quite the reverse of what is commonly objected,—inflexible stubbornness. "Nay, what else could occasion the settled disregard of so many petitions and remonstrances, signed by so many thousand hands, and declaring the sense of the nation." *The sense of the nation!* Who can imagine this that knows the manner wherein nine in ten, I might say ninety-nine in a hundred, of those petitions are procured? A lord or squire (sometimes two or more) goes, or sends his steward, round the town where his seat is, with a paper, which he tells the honest men is for the good of their king and country. He desires each to set his name or mark to this. And who has the hardiness to gainsay; especially if my lord keeps open house? Meantime, the contents of it they know nothing about.

I was not long since at a town in Kent, when one of these petitions was carrying about. I asked one and another, "Have you signed the petition?" and found none that had refused it. And yet not one single person to whom I spoke had either read it, or heard it read.

Now, I would ask any man of common sense, what stress is to be laid on these petitions; and how they do declare "the sense of the nation;" nay, of the very persons that have signed them? What a shocking insult is it then on the whole kingdom, to palm these petitions upon us, of which the very subscribers have not read three lines, as the general "sense of the nation?"

But suppose they had read all that they have subscribed, what judges are they of these matters? To put this beyond dispute, let us only propose one case out of a thousand. Step back a few years, and suppose Mr. Pitt at the head of the administration. Here comes up a petition from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, signed by five hundred hands, begging his majesty to dismiss that corrupt minister, who was taking such measures as tended to the utter ruin of the nation. What would Mr. Pitt say to this? Would he not ask, "How came these colliers and keelmen to be so well acquainted with affairs of state? How long have they been judges of public administration? of naval and military operations? How

came they to understand the propriety or impropriety of the measures I take? Do they comprehend the balance of Europe? Do they know the weakness and strength of its several kingdoms; the characters of the monarchs and their ministers; the springs of this and that public motion? Else, why do they take upon them to scan my conduct? *Ne sutor ultra crepidam!* 'Let them mind their own work,' keep to their pits and keels, and leave state affairs to me."

"But surely you do not place the citizens of London on a level with the colliers of Newcastle!" I do not. And yet I suppose they were equally incompetent judges of the measures which Mr. Pitt took. And I doubt they are full as incompetent judges of the measures taken by the present ministry. To form a tolerable judgment of them requires, not only a good understanding, but more time than common tradesmen can spare, and better information than they can possibly procure. I think, therefore, that the encouraging them to pass their verdict on ministers of state, yea, on king, lords, and commons, is not only putting them out of their way, but doing them more mischief than you are aware of.

"But the remonstrance! Surely the king ought to have paid more regard to the remonstrance of the city of London." Consider the case: The city had presented a petition which he could by no means approve of, as he judged it was designed not so much to inform him as to inflame his subjects. After he had rejected this, as mildly as could be done, whilst he viewed it in this light, they present a remonstrance to the same effect, and (as he judged) with the same design. What then could he do less than he did? Could he seem to approve what he did not approve? If not, how could he testify his full disapprobation in more inoffensive terms?

As to the idle, shameless tale of his bursting out into laughter at the magistrates, any who know his majesty's temper would as soon believe that he spit in their faces, or struck them a box on the ear.

His majesty's character, then, after all the pains which have been taken to make him odious, as well as contemptible, remains unimpeached; and therefore cannot be, in any degree, the cause of the present commotions. His whole conduct, both in public and private, ever since he began his reign, the uniform tenor of his behaviour, the general course both of his words and actions, has been worthy of an Englishman, worthy of a Christian, and worthy of a king.

"Are not, then, the present commotions owing to his having extraordinary bad ministers? Can you say that his ministers are as blameless as himself?" I do not say this; I do not think so. But I think they are not one jot worse than those that went before them; nor than any set of ministers who have been in place for at least thirty years last past. I think they are not a jot worse than their opponents, than those who bawl the loudest against them, either with regard to intellectual or moral abilities, with regard to sense or honesty. Set twenty against twenty, or ten against ten; and is there a pin to choose?

"However, are not these commotions owing to the extraordinary bad measures they have taken? Surely you will not attempt to defend all their measures!" No, indeed. I do not defend general warrants. But I observe, 1. The giving these, be it good or bad, is no extraordinary

measure. Has it not been done by all ministers for many years, and that with little or no objection? 2. This ordinary measure is of exceeding little importance to the nation in general: so little, that it was never before thought worthy to be put into the list of public grievances: so little, that it never deserved the hundredth part of the outcry which has been made concerning it.

I do not defend the killing of Mr. Allen. But I would have the fact truly represented. By the best information I can gain, I believe it stands just thus: About that time the mob had been very turbulent. On that day they were likely to be more insolent than ever. It was therefore judged proper to send a party of soldiers to prevent or repress their violence. Their presence did not prevent it; the mob went so far as to throw stones at the soldiers themselves. One of them hit and wounded a soldier; two or three pursued him; and fired at one, whom, being in the same dress, they supposed to be the same man. But it was not; it was Mr. Allen. Now, though this cannot be excused, yet, was it the most horrid villany that ever was perpetrated? Surely, no. Notwithstanding all the tragical exclamations which have been made concerning it, what is this to the killing a man in cool blood? And was this never heard of in England?

I do not defend the measures which have been taken relative to the Middlesex election. But let it be remembered, First, that there was full as much violence on the one side as on the other. Secondly, that a right of expulsion, of putting a member out of the house, manifestly implies a right of exclusion, of keeping him out; otherwise that right amounts to just nothing at all. Thirdly, that consequently, a member expelled is incapable of being reëlected, at least during that session; as incapable as one that is disqualified any other way. It follows, Fourthly, that the votes given for this disqualified person are null and void, being, in effect, given for nobody. Therefore, Fifthly, if the other candidate had two hundred votes, he had a majority of two hundred.

Let it be observed farther, if the electors had the liberty of choosing any qualified person, it is absolute nonsense to talk of their being deprived of the liberty of choosing, because they were not permitted to choose a person utterly unqualified.

But suppose a single borough or county were deprived of this in a single instance; (which undoubtedly is the case, whenever a person duly elected does not sit in the house;) how is this depriving the good people of England, the nation, of their birthright? What an insult upon common sense is this wild way of talking! If Middlesex is wronged (put it so) in this instance, how is Yorkshire or Cumberland affected by it; or twenty counties and forty boroughs besides; much less all the nation? "O, but they may be affected by and by." Very true! And the sky may fall!

To see this whole matter in the clearest light, let any one read and consider the speech of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, on a motion, made by Lord Chatham, "to repeal and rescind the resolutions of the house of commons, in regard to the expulsion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes:"—

"In this debate, though it has been already spoken to with great eloquence and perspicuity, I cannot content myself with only giving a single vote; I

feel myself under a strong necessity of saying something more. The subject requires it; and though the hour is late," (it being then near ten o'clock,) "I shall demand your indulgence, while I offer my sentiments on this motion.

"I am sure, my lords, many of you must remember, from your reading and experience, several persons expelled the house of commons, without ever this house once pretending to interfere or call in question by what authority they did so. I remember several myself;" (here his lordship quoted several cases;) "in all which, though most of the candidates were sure to be re-chosen, they never once applied, resting contented with the expulsatory power of the house, as the only self sufficient, dernier resort of application.

"It has been echoed on all sides, from the partisans of this motion, that the house of commons acted illegally, in accepting Colonel Luttrel, who had but two hundred and ninety-six votes, in preference to Mr. Wilkes, who had one thousand one hundred and forty-three. But this is a mistake of the grossest nature imaginable, and which nothing but the intemperature of people's zeal could possibly transport them to, as Mr. Wilkes had been previously considered by the laws as an unqualified person to represent the people in parliament; therefore it appears very plainly, that Colonel Luttrel had a very great majority, not less than two hundred and ninety-six, Mr. Wilkes being considered as nobody in the eye of the law; consequently, Colonel Luttrel had no legal opposition.

"In all contested elections, where one of the parties think themselves not legally treated, I should be glad to know to whom it is they resort? Is it to the freeholders of the borough, or the county they would represent? Or is it to the people at large? Who cannot see at once the absurdity of such a question? Who so ignorant of our laws, that cannot immediately reply and say, 'It is the house of commons who are the only judges to determine every nicety of the laws of election; and from whom there is no appeal, after they have once given their determination?' All the freeholder has to do is to determine on his object, by giving him his vote; the ultimate power lies with the house of commons, who is to judge of his being a legal object of representation in the several branches of his qualifications. This, my lords, I believe, is advancing no new doctrine, nor adding an iota to the privilege of a member of the house of commons, more than what the constitution long ago has given him; yet here is a cry made, in a case that directly applies to what I have been speaking of, as if it was illegal, arbitrary, and unprecedented.

"I do not remember, my lords, in either the course of my reading or observation ever to have known an instance of a person's being re-chosen, after being expelled, till the year 1711; then, indeed, my memory serves me with the case of Sir Robert Walpole. He was expelled the house of commons, and was afterward re-chosen: But this last event did not take place till the meeting of the next parliament; and during that interval, I find no debate about the illegality of his expulsion, no interference of the house of lords, nor any addresses from the public, to decry that measure by a dissolution of parliament.

"Indeed, as for a precedent of one house interfering with the rules, orders, or business of another, my memory does not serve me at present with the recollection of a single one. As to the case of Titus Oates, as mentioned by the noble lord in my eye, (Lord Chatham,) he is very much mistaken in regard to the mode: his was a trial in the king's bench, which, on a writ of error, the house of commons interfered in, and they had an authority for so doing. A judge certainly may be mistaken in points of law; the wisest and the best of us may be so at times; and it reflects no discredit, on the contrary, it does particular honour, when he finds himself so mistaken, to reverse his own decree. But for one house of parliament interfering with the business, and reversing the resolutions, of another, it is not only unprecedented, but unconstitutional to the last degree.

"But suppose, my lords, that this house coincided with this motion; suppose we all agreed, *nem. con.*, to repeal and rescind the resolutions of the

house of commons, in regard to the expulsion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes;—Good God! what may be the consequence! The people are violent enough already; and to have the superior branch of legislation join them, would be giving such a public encouragement to their proceedings, that I almost tremble while I even suppose such a scene of anarchy and confusion."

What then can we think of the violent outcry, that the nation is oppressed, deprived of that liberty which their ancestors bought with so much treasure and blood, and delivered down through so many generations? Do those who raise this cry believe what they say? If so, are they not under the highest infatuation? seeing that England, from the time of William the Conqueror, yea, of Julius Cæsar, never enjoyed such liberty, civil and religious, as it does at this day. Nor do we know of any other kingdom or state in Europe or in the world, which enjoys the like.

I do not defend the measures which have been taken with regard to America: I doubt whether any man can defend them, either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence. But whose measures were these? If I do not mistake, Mr. George Grenville's. Therefore the whole merit of these measures belongs to him, and not to the present ministry.

"But is not the general dissatisfaction owing, if not to any of the preceding causes, to the extraordinary bad conduct of the parliament, particularly the house of commons?" This is set in so clear a light by a late writer, that I need only transcribe his words:—

"The last recess of parliament was a period filled with unprecedented troubles; and the session opened in the midst of tumults. Ambitious men, with a perseverance uncommon in indolent and luxurious times, rung all the changes of popular noise for the purpose of intimidation. The ignorant, who could not distinguish between real and artificial clamours, were alarmed; the lovers of their own ease wished to sacrifice the just dignity of the house of commons to a temporary relief, from the grating sound of seditious scurrility.

"Hence the friends of the constitution saw the opening of the session with anxiety and apprehension. They were afraid of the timidity of others, and dreaded nothing more than that panic to which popular assemblies, as well as armies, are sometimes subject. The event has shown that their fears were groundless: The house supported its decisions against the current of popular prejudice; and, in defending their own judicial rights, secured the most solid part of the liberties of their constituents.

"Their firm adherence to their resolutions was not more noble than their concessions in the matter of their own rights was disinterested and generous. The extensive privileges which, in a series of ages, had accumulated to the members of both houses, were certainly inconsistent with the impartial distribution of justice. To sacrifice these privileges was not only diametrically opposite to the idea of self interest, with which some asperse the legislature, but it has also thrown a greater weight into the scale of public freedom than any other act passed since the Revolution. And it has reflected honour on the present administration, that a bill, so very favourable to the liberty of the subject, was brought in, and carried through by them.

"The arbitrary manner of determining petitions about elections has been a serious complaint, and of long continuance. I shall not deny to Mr. Grenville the merit of bringing in a bill for remedying this grievance; but its passing as it did is a certain proof that the pretended influence of administration over a majority of the house is a mere bugbear, held forth for private views by the present opposition.

"During the whole session, the house of lords behaved with that dignity and unalterable firmness which became the first assembly in a great nation. Attacked with impertinent scurrility, they smiled upon rage, and treated the

ravings of a despotic tribune with contempt. When, with an infamous perversion of his pretended love to freedom, he attempted to extend the control of the peers to the resolutions of the representatives of the people, they nobly rejected the golden bait; and scorned to raise the dignity of their house upon the ruins of the other. They, in short, throughout the session, showed a spirit that disdained to be braved, a magnanimity that diminished their own personal power for the ease and comfort of the inferior subject.

"If the conduct of parliament is in any instance blamable, it is in a lenity that is inconsistent with the vulgar idea of political courage. They have been attacked with scurrility in the lower house; in the upper, they have been treated with indecency and disrespect. Their prudence and love for the public peace prevailed over their resentment. They knew that legal punishment is in these times the road to popularity; and they were unwilling to raise insignificant men into a consequence that might disturb the State."

So far we have gained. We have removed the imaginary causes of the present commotions. It plainly appears, they are not owing to the extraordinary badness, either of the king, of his parliament, of his ministers, or of the measures which they have taken. To what then are they owing? What are the real causes of this amazing ferment among the people?

Before I say any thing on this subject, let me remind you once more, that I do not dictate; I do not take upon me to affirm any thing, but simply tell you what I think. I think, the first and principal spring of the whole motion is French gold. "But why do you think so?" I will tell you as plainly as I can:—

A person of a complete, uniform character, encumbered with no religion, with no regard to virtue or morality, squanders away all that he has. He applies for a place, but is disappointed. He is thoroughly exasperated, abuses the ministry, asperses the king's mother in the grossest manner, is prosecuted, (not for this, but other achievements,) and retires to France. After some time, he suddenly returns to London, sets up for a patriot, and vehemently inveighs against evil counsellors, grievances, and mal-administration. The cry spreads; more and more espouse his cause, and second him with all their might. He becomes head of the party; and not only the vulgar but the world runs after him. He drives on with still increasing numbers, carrying all before him, inflaming the nation more and more, and making their minds evil affected, in appearance toward the ministers of state, but in reality toward the king. Now, can any reasonable man believe that the French are ignorant of all this; or that they have no hand at all therein, but are mere unconcerned spectators? Do they not understand their own interest better? If they did not kindle the fire, will they not use all means to prevent its going out? Will they not take care to add fuel to the flame? Will they not think forty or fifty thousand louis-d'ors well bestowed on so important an occasion?

I cannot but think this is (at least) one principal spring of all the present commotions. But may not other causes likewise concur? As, First, covetousness; a love of English as well as of French gold. Do not many hunger after the lucrative employments which their neighbours enjoy? They had rather have them themselves. And will not those that are hungry naturally cry for food? Secondly, ambition. How many desire honour, perhaps more than they do money itself! and how various

are the shapes which they will put on in order to attain it? Thirdly, those who are not so much under the power of these, are yet susceptible of pride or envy; and frequently of both together. To these we may, Fourthly, add resentment. Many doubtless look upon themselves as injured, were it only on this account, that they are not regarded, yea, and recompensed, as their merits or services deserve. Others are angry because they are disappointed; because, after all their schemes, which they imagined could not fail of success, they are not able to carry their point.

Now, all these, united by these various motives, some encouraged by good pay in hand, (and perhaps by promises of more,) others animated by covetousness, by ambition, by envy, pride, and resentment, by every means animate all they have access to. They treat both rich and poor. according to their rank, with all elegance and profuseness. They talk largely and vehemently. They write abundantly, having troops enough in their service. They publish addresses, petitions, remonstrances, directed nominally to the king, (otherwise they would not answer the end,) but really to the people. Herein their orators make use of all the powers of rhetoric. They bring forth their strong reasons,—the very best which the cause will bear. They set them off with all the beauty of language, all the poignancy of wit. They spread their writings in pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, &c, to every corner of the land. They are indefatigable in their work; they never stop to take breath; but as they have tongues and pens at command, when one has done, another begins, and so on and on with a continuance. By this means the flame spreads wider and wider; it runs as fire among the stubble. The madness becomes epidemic, and no medicine hitherto has availed against it. The whole nation sees the State in danger, as they did the Church sixty years ago; and the world now wonders after Mr. Wilkes, as it did then after Dr. Sacheverel.

One means of increasing the ferment is the suffering no contradiction; the hooting at all who labour for peace, and treading them down like dirt; the using them just as they do the king, without either justice or mercy. If any writes on that head, presently the cry is raised, "O, he only writes for pay!" But, if he does, do not those on the other side too? Which are paid best I do not know; but doubtless both are paid. a very few old-fashioned mortals excepted, who, having nothing to hope, and nothing to fear, simply consider the good of their country.

"But what do you think the end will be?" It is easy to foresee this. Supposing things to take their natural course, they must go from bad to worse.

In stipulam veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
Incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
Exiit, oppositasque evicit gurgite moles.

[As when fire, impelled by furious winds, seizes on stubble; or a swift mountain torrent bursts forth, and levels with its whirling rage the opposing mounds.]

The people will be inflamed more and more; the torrent will swell higher and higher, till at length it bursts through all opposition, and overflows the land. The consequences of these commotions will be (unless a higher hand interpose) exactly the same as those of the like commotions in the last century. First, the land will become a field of blood; many thousands of poor Englishmen will sheathe their swords

in each other's bowels, for the diversion of their good neighbours. Then either a commonwealth will ensue, or else a second Cromwell. One must be; but it cannot be determined which, King W———, or King Mob.

"But that case is not parallel with this." It is not, in all particulars. In many respects it is widely different. As, First, with regard to the king himself. Few will affirm the character of King Charles, even allowing the account given by Lord Clarendon to be punctually true in every respect, to be as faultless as that of King George. But other passions, as well as love, are blind. So that when these are raised to a proper height, especially when Junius has thrown a little more of his magic dust into the eyes of the people, and convinced them, that what are virtues in others, are mere vices in him, the good patriots will see no manner of difference between a King George and King Charles, or even a Nero.

The case is also widely different, Secondly, with regard to the ministry. King George has no such furious drivers about him as poor King Charles had. But a skilful painter may easily add a few features either to one or the other, and by a little colouring make Lord North the very picture of Lord Strafford, and Archbishop Cornwallis of Archbishop Laud.

How different likewise is the case, Thirdly, with regard to the administration of public affairs! The requiring tonnage and poundage, the imposing ship money, the prosecutions in the bishops' courts, in the high commission court, and in the star chamber, were real and intolerable grievances. But what is there in the present administration which bears any resemblance to these? Yet if you will view even such an affair as the Middlesex election through Mr. Horne's magnifying glass, it will appear a more enormous instance of oppression than a hundred star chambers put together.

The parallel does not hold, Fourthly, with regard to the opposers of the king and his ministry. Is Mr. Burke the same calm, wise, disinterested man that Mr. Hampden was? And where shall we find twenty noblemen and twenty gentlemen (to name no more) in the present opposition, whom any impartial man will set on a level with the same number of those that opposed King Charles and his ministry?

Nor does the parallel hold, Fifthly, in this respect: That was in great measure a contest about religion; at least, about rites, and ceremonies, and opinions, which many supposed to be religion. But all religion is out of the question now: This is generally allowed, both by the one side and the other, to be so very a trifle, that they do not give themselves the least concern about it.

In one circumstance more there is an obvious difference. The parliament were then the king's enemies: Now they are his firmest friends. But indeed this difference may easily be removed. Let the king only take Mr. Wilkes's advice, and dissolve parliament. The parliament of 1640, the first which sat after the troubles began, although many therein were much dissatisfied with the measures which had been taken, yet would never have been prevailed upon to join in the schemes which afterward prevailed. But when that parliament was so seasonably dissolved, and a few men, wise in their generation, practising with

unwearied industry on the heated spirits of the people, had procured a new parliament to be chosen after their own heart; then it was not long ere the train took fire, and the whole constitution was blown up!

But, notwithstanding the disparity between the present and past times in the preceding respects, yet how surprisingly does the parallel hold in various particulars! 1. A handful of people laid a scheme, which few would have believed had a man then declared it unto them; though indeed it is probable that at the beginning they had no settled scheme at all. 2. These professed great zeal for the good of their country, were vehement contenders for liberty, cried aloud against evil ministers and the evil measures which they pursued, and were continually declaiming against either real or imaginary grievances. 3. They were soon joined by men eminent for probity as well as for understanding, who undoubtedly *were* what the others *appeared*, lovers of their king and country, and desired nothing but the removal of bad ministers, and the redress of real grievances. 4. The spirits even of these were gradually sharpened and embittered against the king. And they were drawn farther and farther by the art of their leaders, till they had gone so far, they knew not how to retreat; yea, till they, passively at least, concurred in those measures which at first their very souls abhorred. 5. Meantime, the nation in general was inflamed with all possible diligence, by addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, admirably well devised for the purpose; which were the most effectual libels that could be imagined against the king and government, and were continually spread throughout the land, with all care and assiduity. 6. Among the most inflamed and embittered in all England were the people of London, as the managers had the best opportunity of practising upon them. 7. All this time they professed the highest regard for the king, for his honour as well as safety; an authentic monument whereof we have in the Solemn League and Covenant. And these professions they continued with equal vehemence till within a short time of the cutting off his head!

Now, what man that has the least degree of understanding may not see, in the clearest light, how surprisingly the parallel holds in all these circumstances?

"But do not you think it is in the power of the king to put an end to all these commotions, by only sending his mother away, changing his ministers, and dissolving the parliament?" He may send his mother away; and so he may his wife, if they please to rank her among his evil counsellors. He may put out his present ministers, and desire the lord mayor to put others in their place. He may likewise dissolve the present parliament, (as King Charles did that of 1640,) and exchange it for one chosen, animated, and tutored by Mr. Wilkes and his friends. But can you really believe this would mend the matter? would put an end to all these commotions? Certainly the sending his mother to the Indies would avail nothing, unless he removed his ministers too. Nor would the putting out these, yea, every man of them, avail any thing, unless at the same time he put in every man whom Lord Chatham chose. But neither would this avail, unless he struck the finishing stroke, by dissolving the parliament. Then indeed he would be as perfectly safe as the "sheep that had given up their dogs."

It would puzzle the wisest man alive to tell what the king can do

What can he do, that will still the raging of the sea, or the madness of the people? Do you imagine it is in his power to do any thing which will please all parties? Can he do any thing that will not displease one as much as it will please the other? Shall he drive his mother out of the land? (This was wrote before the princess dowager went abroad.) Will this then please all parties? Nay, will not some be apt to inquire, "How has she deserved it at his hands?" "Why, she is an evil counsellor." How does this appear? Who are the witnesses of it? Indeed we have read as grave and formal accounts of the conferences at Carlton House, as if the relater had stood all the time behind the curtain, and taken down the whole matter in short-hand. But what shadow of proof of all this? No more than of the conferences related in Tristram Shandy.

"But she is a bad woman." Who ever said or thought so, even while she was in the flower of her age? From the time she first set foot in England, was there a more faultless character in the nation? Nay, was not her whole behaviour as a wife, as a mother, as a mistress, and as a princess, not only blameless but commendable in the highest degree, till that period of time arrived, when it was judged proper, in order to blacken her (supposed) favourite, to asperse her too? And then she was *illud quod dicere nolo!* [what I will not express!] One would think that even the *ignobile vulgus*, "the beasts of the people," the lowest, basest herd who wore the human form, would be ashamed of either advancing or crediting so senseless, shameless a tale. Indeed I can hardly think it is credited by one in a hundred even of those who foul their mouths with repeating it. Let it die and be forgotten! Let it not be remembered, that ever any Englishman took so dirty a slander into his mouth.

"However, become what will of his mother, let him put away his bad ministers." Suppose they really are bad, do you know where he can find better? Where can he find twenty men, we will not say of Christian but of Roman integrity? Point them out,—men of sound judgment, of clear apprehension, of universal benevolence, lovers of mankind, lovers of their country, lovers of their king; men attached to no party, but simply pursuing the general good of the nation; not haughty or overbearing, not addicted to passion, not of a revengeful temper; superior to covetousness on the one hand, free from profuseness on the other. I say, show me the men, only this small number; or rather, show them to his majesty. Let clear and satisfactory proof be given that this is their character; and if these worthy men are not employed in the place of the unworthy ones, you will then have some reason to stretch your throat against evil ministers.

"But if the matter were wholly left to him, would not Lord ——— immediately employ twenty such?" That may bear some doubt. It is not certain that he would; perhaps he knows not where to find them. And it is not certain to a demonstration, that he would employ them if he did. It is not altogether clear, that he is such himself, that he perfectly answers this character. Is he free from pride; from any thing haughty in his temper, or overbearing in his behaviour? Is he neither passionate nor revengeful? Is it indisputably plain, that he is equally clear of covetousness on the one hand, and profuseness on the other? Is he steady and uniform in his conduct; always one thing? Is he

attached to no party, but determined at all events singly to pursue the general good of the nation? Is he a lover of the king? Is he remarkably grateful to him, from whom he has received no common favours? If not, though he has a strong understanding, and a large share of manly eloquence, still it may be doubted, whether he and his friends would behave a jot better than the ministers we have already.

And suppose the king were to dissolve the parliament, what hope is there of having a better, even though the nation were as quiet and peaceable as it was ten years ago? Are not the present members, generally speaking, men of the greatest property in the land? And are they not, the greater part of them at least, as honest and wise as their neighbours? How then should we mend ourselves at any time; but especially at such a time as this? If a new parliament were chose during this epidemic madness, what probability of a better than the present? Have we not all the reason in the world to apprehend it would be a much worse? that it would be the parliament of 1641, instead of the parliament of 1640? Why, this is the very thing we want, the very point we are aiming at. Then would Junius and his friends quickly say, "Sir King, know your place! *Es et ipse lignum.* [You are but a log.] Take your choice! Be king log, or to the block!"

Does it not then appear, upon the whole, that it is by no means in the power of the king, by any step which he can possibly take, to put a stop to the present commotions; that especially he cannot make concessions without making a bad matter worse; that the way he has taken the standing his ground, was as wise a method as he could take, and as likely to restore the peace of the nation, as any the wit of man could devise? If any is more likely, would it not be, vigorously to execute the laws against incendiaries; against those who, by spreading all manner of lies, inflame the people even to madness; to teach them, that there is a difference between liberty, which is the glory of Englishmen, and licentiousness, a wanton abuse of liberty, in contempt of all laws, divine and human? Ought they not to feel, if they will not see, that *scandalum regis*, "scandalizing the king," is as punishable as *scandalum magnatum?* [scandalizing nobles?] that for the future none may dare to slander the king, any more than one of his nobles; much less to print and spread that deadly poison among his majesty's liege subjects? Is not this little less than high treason? Is it not sowing the seeds of rebellion?

It is possible this might restore peace, but one cannot affirm it would. Perhaps God has "a controversy with the land," for the general neglect, nay, contempt, of all religion. Perhaps he hath said, "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" And if this be the case, what can avail, unless his anger be turned away from us? Was there ever a time in which there was a louder call for them that fear God to humble themselves before him? if haply general humiliation and repentance may prevent general destruction!

THOUGHTS UPON LIBERTY.

I scorn to have my free born toe
Dragoon'd into a wooden shoe.—PRIOR.

1. ALL men in the world desire liberty; whoever breathes, breathes after this, and that by a kind of natural instinct antecedent to art or education. Yet at the same time all men of understanding acknowledge it is a rational instinct. For we feel this desire, not in opposition to, but in consequence of, our reason. Therefore it is not found, or in a very low degree, in many species of brutes, which seem, even when they are left to their choice, to prefer servitude before liberty.

2. The love of liberty is then the glory of rational beings; and it is the glory of Britons in particular. Perhaps it would be difficult to find any nation under heaven, who are more tenacious of it; nay, it may be doubted if any nation ever was; not the Spartans, not the Athenians; no, not the Romans themselves, who have been celebrated for this very thing by the poets and historians of all ages.

3. Was it not from this principle, that our British forefathers so violently opposed all foreign invaders; that Julius Cæsar himself, with his victorious legions, could make so little impression upon them; that the generals of the succeeding emperors sustained so many losses from them; and that, when at length they were overpowered, they rather chose to lose all they had than their liberty; to retire into the Cambrian or Caledonian mountains, where, if they had nothing else, they might at least enjoy their native freedom?

4. Hence arose the vehement struggles of the Cambro Britons through so many generations against the yoke, which the Saxons first, and afterward the English, strove to impose upon them; hence the struggles of the English barons against several of their kings, lest they should lose the blessing they had received from their forefathers; yea, the Scottish nobles, as all their histories show, would no more bear to be enslaved than the Romans. All these therefore, however differing from each other in a thousand other respects, agreed in testifying the desirableness of liberty, as one of the greatest blessings under the sun.

5. Such was the sense of all our ancestors, even from the earliest ages. And is it not also the general sense of the nation at this day? Who can deny, that the whole kingdom is panting for liberty? Is not the cry for it gone forth, not only through every part of our vast metropolis,—from the west end of the city to the east, from the north to the south, so that instead of no complaining in our streets, there is nothing but complaining,—but likewise into every corner of our land, borne by all the four winds of heaven? Liberty! Liberty! sounds through every county, every city, every town, and every hamlet!

6. Is it not for the sake of this, that the name of our great patriot (perhaps not so admirable in his private character as the man of Ross, or so great a lover of his country as Codrus or old Curtius) is more celebrated than that of any private man has been in England for these thousand years; that his very picture is so joyfully received in every

part of England and Ireland; that we stamp his (I had almost said, adored) name on our handkerchiefs, on the cheerful bowl, yea, and on our vessels of various kinds, as well as upon our hearts? Why is all this, but because of the inseparable connection between Wilkes and liberty; liberty that came down, if not fell, from heaven; whom all England and the world worshippeth?

7. But mean time might it not be advisable to consider, (if we are yet at leisure to consider any thing,) what is liberty? Because it is well known the word is capable of various senses. And possibly it may not be equally desirable in every sense of the word.

8. There are many nations in America, those particularly that border on Georgia and Carolina, wherein if one disapproves of what another says, or perhaps dislikes his looks, he scorns to affront him to his face, neither does he betray the least dissatisfaction. But as soon as opportunity serves, he steps from behind a tree and shoots him. And none calls him that does it to an account. No; this is the liberty he derives from his forefathers.

9. For many ages the free natives of Ireland, as well as the Scottish Highlands, when it was convenient for them, made an excursion from their woods or fastnesses, and carried off, for their own proper use, the sheep, and oxen, and corn of their neighbours. This was the liberty which the O'Neals, the Campbells, and many other septs and clans of venerable antiquity, had received by immemorial tradition from their ancestors.

10. Almost all the soldiers in the Christian world, as well as in the Mohammedan and Pagan, have claimed, more especially in time of war, another kind of liberty; that of borrowing the wives and daughters of the men that fell into their hands; sometimes, if they pleaded scruple of conscience or honour, using a little necessary force. Perhaps this may be termed the liberty of war. But I will not positively affirm, that it has never been used in this free country, even in the time of peace.

11. In some countries of Europe, and indeed in England, there have been instances of yet another sort of liberty, that of calling a monarch to account; and, if need were, taking off his head; that is, if he did not behave in a dutiful manner to our sovereign lords the people.

12. Now, that we may not always be talking at random, but bring the matter to a determinate point, which of these sorts of liberty do you desire? Is it the First sort; the liberty of knocking on the head, or cutting the throats, of those we are out of conceit with? Glorious liberty indeed! What would not king mob do to be gratified with it but for a few weeks? But, I conceive, calm, sensible men, do not desire to see them entrusted with it. They apprehend there might be some consequences which, upon the whole, would not redound to the prosperity of the nation.

13. Is the Second more desirable; the liberty of taking, when we see best, the goods and chattels of our neighbours? Undoubtedly, thousands in the good city of London (suppose we made the experiment here first) would be above measure rejoiced thereat, would leap as broke from chains. O how convenient would it be to have free access, without any let or hinderance, to the cellars, the pantries, the larders, yea, and the coffers of their rich, overgrown landlords! But perhaps it would not give

altogether so much joy to the lord mayor or aldermen; no, nor even to those stanch friends of liberty, the common councilmen. Not that they regard their own interest at all; but, setting themselves out of the question, they are a little in doubt whether this liberty would be for the good of trade.

14. Is it then the Third kind of liberty we contend for; the liberty of taking our neighbours' wives and daughters? Ye pretty gentlemen, ye *beaux esprits*, will ye not, one and all, give your voices for this natural liberty? Will ye not say, "If we cry out against monopolies of other kinds, shall we tolerate the monopoly of women?" But hold. Are there not some among you too, who have wives, if not daughters of your own? And are you altogether willing to oblige the first comer with them? I say the first comer; for, observe, as you are to give the liberty you take, so you must not pick and choose your men; you know, by nature, all men are on a level. "Liberty! Liberty! No restraint! We are free-born Englishmen; down with the fences! Lay all the inclosures open!" No; it will not do. Even nature recoils. We are not yet *polished* enough for this.

15. Are we not ripe, however, for the Fourth kind of liberty, that of removing a disobedient king? Would Mr. Wilkes, would Mr. Horne, would any free Briton, have any objection to this? provided only, that, as soon as our present monarch is removed, we have a better to put in his place. But who is he? King John? That will not sound well, even in the ears of his greatest admirers. And whoever calmly considers the characters and endowments of those other great men, who may think themselves much fitter for the office than his present majesty, will hardly concur in their opinion; so that a difficulty lies in your way. Whatever claim you may have to this liberty, you must not use it yet, because you cannot tell where to find a better prince.

16. But to speak seriously. These things being set aside, which the bawling mob dignify by that name; what is that liberty, properly so called, which every wise and good man desires? It is either religious or civil. Religious liberty is a liberty to choose our own religion, to worship God according to our own conscience, according to the best light we have. Every man living, as man, has a right to this, as he is a rational creature. The Creator gave him this right when he endowed him with understanding. And every man must judge for himself, because every man must give an account of himself to God. Consequently, this is an indefeasible right; it is inseparable from humanity. And God did never give authority to any man, or number of men, to deprive any child of man thereof, under any colour or pretence whatever. What an amazing thing is it, then, that the governing part of almost every nation under heaven should have taken upon them, in all ages, to rob all under their power of this liberty! yea, should take upon them, at this day, so to do! to force rational creatures into their own religion! Would one think it possible, that the most sensible men in the world should say to their fellow creatures, "Either be of my religion, or I will take away your food, and you and your wife and children shall starve: if that will not convince you, I will fetter your hands and feet, and throw you into a dungeon: and if still you will not see as I see, I will burn you alive?"

17. It would not be altogether so astonishing, if this were the manner of American savages. But what shall we say, if numberless instances of it have occurred, in the politest nations of Europe? Have no instances of the kind been seen in Britain? Have not England and Scotland seen the horrid fires? Have not the flames burning the flesh of heretics shone in London as well as in Paris and Lisbon? Have we forgot the days of good Queen Mary? No; they will be had in everlasting remembrance. And although burning was out of fashion in Queen Elizabeth's days, yet hanging, even for religion, was not. It is true, her successor did not go quite so far. But did even King James allow liberty of conscience? By no means. During his whole reign, what liberty had the Puritans? What liberty had they in the following reign? If they were not persecuted unto death; (although eventually, indeed, many of them were; for they died in their imprisonment;) yet were they not continually harassed by prosecutions in the bishops' courts, or star chamber? by fines upon fines, frequently reducing them to the deepest poverty? and by imprisonment for months, yea, for years, together, till many of them, escaping with the skin of their teeth, left their country and friends, fled to seek their bread in the wilds of America? "However, we may suppose all this was at an end under the merry monarch, King Charles the Second." Was it indeed? Where have they lived who suppose this? To waive a thousand particular instances; what will you say to those two public monuments, the Act of Uniformity, and the Act against Conventicles? In the former it is enacted, to the eternal honour of the king lords, and commons, at that memorable period: "Every parson, vicar, or other minister whatever, who has any benefice within these realms, shall, before the next twenty-fourth of August, openly and publicly declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, or shall, *ipso facto*, [by the act itself,] be deprived of all his benefices! Likewise, if any dean, prebendary, master, fellow, chaplain, or tutor, of any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital, any public professor, or any other person in holy orders, any schoolmaster, or teacher, or tutor in any private family, do not subscribe hereto, he shall be, *ipso facto*, deprived of his place, and shall be utterly disabled from continuing therein."

Property for ever! See how well English property was secured in those golden days!

So, by this glorious Act, thousands of men, guilty of no crime, nothing contrary either to justice, mercy, or truth, were stripped of all they had, of their houses, lands, revenues, and driven to seek, where they could, or beg their bread. For what? Because they did not dare to worship God according to other men's consciences! So they and their families were, at one stroke, turned out of house and home, and reduced to little less than beggary, for no other fault, real or pretended, but because they could not assent and consent to that manner of worship which their worthy governors prescribed!

But this was not all. It was farther enacted by the same merciful lawgivers: "If any person act as a teacher, tutor, or schoolmaster, in any private family, before he has subscribed hereto, he shall suffer three months' imprisonment, without bail or mainprize." Liberty for ever! Here is security for your person, as well as your property.

By virtue of the Act against Conventicles, if any continued to worship God according to their own conscience, they were first robbed of their substance, and, if they persisted, of their liberty; often of their lives also. For this crime, under this "our most religious and gracious king," (what were they who publicly told God he was such?) Englishmen were not only spoiled of their goods, but denied even the use of the free air, yea, and the light of the sun, being thrust by hundreds into dark and loathsome prisons!

18. Were matters much better in the neighbouring kingdom? Nay, they were inexpressibly worse. Unheard-of cruelties were practised there, from soon after the Restoration till the Revolution. (See Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.") What fining, plundering, beating, maiming, imprisoning, with the most shocking circumstances! For a specimen, look at Dunotter Castle; where young and old, of both sexes, (sick or well, it was all one,) were thrust together between bare walls, and that in the heat of summer, without a possibility of either lying or sitting; yea, without any convenience of any kind; till many of them, through hunger, thirst, heat, and stench, were set at liberty by death! Considering this; considering how many others were hunted over their native mountains, and shot whenever they were overtaken, with no more ceremony than beasts; considering the drowning, hanging, cutting off of limbs, and various arts of torturing, which were practised by order of King Charles, and often in the presence of King James, who seemed to enjoy such spectacles; it would be no wonder if the very name of an Englishman was had in abomination from the Tweed to the Orkneys.

19. But is this the case at present with us? Are we abridged of our religious liberty? His late majesty was desired, about thirty years ago, to take a step of this kind. But his answer was worthy of a king, yea, the king of a free people: "I tell you, while I sit on the English throne, no man shall be persecuted for conscience' sake." And it is certain he made his promise good from the beginning of his reign to the end. But perhaps the case is altered now. Does his present majesty tread in his steps? He does: he persecutes no man for conscience' sake. If he does, where is the man? I do not ask, Whom has he committed to the flames, or caused to die by the common hangman? or, Whom has he caused to die many deaths, by hunger and thirst, cold and nakedness? but, Whom has he tortured or thrust into a dungeon, yea, or imprisoned at all, or fined, for worshipping God according to his own conscience, in the Presbyterian or any other way? O, compare King Charles, gracious Charles the Second, with King George, and you will know the value of the liberty you enjoy.

20. In the name of wonder, what religious liberty can you desire, or even conceive, which you have not already? Where is there a nation in Europe, in the habitable world, which enjoys such liberty of conscience as the English? I will be bold to say there is nothing like it in Holland, in Germany, (Protestant or Popish,) in either the Protestant or Popish cantons of Switzerland; no, nor in any country under the sun. Have we not in England full liberty to choose any religion, yea, or no religion at all? to have no more religion than a Hottentot, shall I say? nay, no more than a bull or a swine? Whoever therefore in England stretches

his throat, and bawls for more religious liberty, must be totally void of shame, and can have no excuse but want of understanding.

21. But is not the ground of this vehement outcry, that we are deprived of our civil liberty? What is civil liberty? A liberty to enjoy our lives and fortunes in our own way; to use our property, whatever is legally our own, according to our own choice. And can you deny "that we are robbed of this liberty?" Who are? Certainly I am not. I pray, do not face me down that I am. Do not argue me out of my senses. If the Great Turk, or the King of France, wills that a man should die, with or without cause, die he must. And instances of the kind continually occur; but no such instances occur in England. I am in no more danger of death from King George, than from the Queen of Hungary. And if I study to be quiet and mind my own business, I am in no more danger of losing my liberty than my life. No, nor my property; I mean, by any act of the king. If this is in any degree invaded, it is not by the king, or his parliament, or army, but by the good patriots.

Hark! Is hell or Bedlam broke loose? What roaring is that, loud as the waves of the sea? "It is the patriot mob." What do they want with me? Why do they flock about my house? "Make haste! illuminate your windows in honour of Mr. Wilkes." I cannot in conscience; I think it is encouraging vice. "Then they will all be broken." That is, in plain English, Give them twenty shillings, or they will rob you of five pounds. Here are champions for the laws of the land! for liberty and property! O vile horse-guards!

> That dared, so grim and terrible, to' advance
> Their miscreated fronts athwart the way!

True, they did nothing and said nothing. Yet, in default of the civil powers, who did not concern themselves with the matter, they hindered the mob from finishing their work.

22. Why then, these men, instead of any way abridging it, plainly preserved my liberty and property. And by their benefit, not the care of those to whom it properly belonged, I still enjoy full civil liberty. I am free to live, in every respect, according to my own choice. My life, my person, my property, are safe. I am not murdered, maimed, tortured at any man's pleasure; I am not thrown into prison; I am not manacled; see, I have not one fetter, either on my hands or feet. And are not you as free as I am? Are not you at liberty to enjoy the fruit of your labours? Who hinders you from doing it? Does King George? Does Lord North? Do any of his majesty's officers or soldiers? No, nor any man living. Perhaps some would hinder you, if you acted contrary to law; but this is not liberty, it is licentiousness. Deny the fact who can; am not I free to use my substance according to my own discretion? And do not you enjoy the self-same freedom? You cannot, you dare not, deny it. At this hour I am at full liberty to use my property as I please. And so are you; you do, in fact, use your house, your goods, your land, as is right in your own eyes. Does any one take them from you? No; nor does any one restrain you from the full enjoyment of them. What then is the matter? What is it you are making all this pother about? Why are you thus wringing your hands, and screaming, to the terror of your quiet neighbours, "Destruction! slavery! bondage! Help, countrymen! Our liberty is destroyed! We

are ruined, chained, fettered, undone!" *Fettered!* How? Where are the fetters, but in your own imagination? There are none, either on your hands or mine: neither you nor I can show to any man in his senses, that we have one chain upon us, even so big as a knitting needle.

23. I do not say, that the ministry are without fault; or that they have done all things well. But still I ask, What is the liberty which we want? It is not civil or religious liberty. These we have in such a degree as was never known before, not from the times of William the Conqueror.* But all this is nothing; this will never satisfy the *bellua multorum capitum.* "That many-headed beast," the people, roars for liberty of another kind. Many want Indian liberty, the liberty of cutting throats, or of driving a brace of balls through the head of those ugly-looking fellows, whom they cannot abide the sight of. Many more want the old Highland liberty, the convenient liberty of plundering. Many others there are who want the liberty of war, of borrowing their neighbours' wives or daughters; and not a few, though they do not always avow it, the liberty of murdering their prince.

24. If you are a reasonable man, a man of real honour, and consequently want none of these, I beg to know what would you have? Considering the thing calmly, what liberty can you reasonably desire which you do not already enjoy? What is the matter with you, and with multitudes of the good people, both in England and Ireland, that they are crying and groaning as if they were chained to an oar, or barred up in the dungeons of the Inquisition? The plain melancholy truth is this: there is a general infatuation, which spreads, like an overflowing stream, from one end of the land to the other; and a man must have great wisdom and great strength, or he will be carried away by the torrent. But how can we account for this epidemic madness? for it deserves no better name. We must not dare to give the least intimation, that the devil has any thing to do with it. No! this enlightened age is too wise to believe that there is any devil in being! Satan, avaunt! we have driven thee back into the land of shadows; keep thou among thy own kindred:

With hydras, gorgons, and chimeras dire.

Suppose it then to be a purely natural phenomenon; I ask again, How can we account for it? I apprehend if we could divest ourselves of prejudice, it might be done very easily; and that without concerning ourselves with the hidden springs of action, the motives or intentions of men. Letting these alone, is there not a visible, undeniable cause, which is quite adequate to the effect? The good people of England have, for some years past, been continually fed with poison. Dose after dose has been administered to them, for fear the first, or second, or tenth, should not suffice, of a poison whose natural effect is to drive men out of their senses. "Is the centaur not fabulous?" Neither is Circe's cup. See how, in every county, city, and village, it is now turning quiet, reasonable men, into wild bulls, bears, and tigers! But, to lay metaphor aside, how long have the public papers represented one of the best of princes as if he had been one of the worst, as little better than Caligula, Nero, or Domitian! These were followed by pamphlets

* If the famous Middlesex election was an exception to this, yet observe, one swallow makes no summer.

of the same kind, and aiming at the same point,—to make the king appear odious as well as contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. Letters succeed, wrote in fine language, and with exquisite art, but filled with the gall of bitterness. "Yes, but not against the king; Junius does not strike at him, but at the evil administration." Thin pretence! Does not every one see the blow is aimed at the king through the sides of his ministers? All these are conveyed, week after week, through all London and all the nation. Can any man wonder at the effect of this? What can be more natural? What can be expected, but that they who drink in these papers and letters with all greediness, will be thoroughly embittered and inflamed thereby? will first despise and then abhor the king? What can we expect, but that by the repeated doses of this poison they will be perfectly intoxicated, and only wait for a convenient season to tear in pieces the royal monster, as they think him, and all his adherents?

25. At present there are hinderances in the way, so that they cannot use their teeth as they would. One is, an untoward parliament, who will not look upon the king with the same eyes that they do; but still think he has no more design or desire to enslave the nation, than to burn the city of London. A still greater hinderance is the army; even lions and bears do not choose to encounter them, so that these men of war do really at this time preserve the peace of the nation. What then can be done before the people cools, that this precious opportunity be not lost? What indeed, but to prevail upon the king to dissolve his parliament and disband his army? Nay, let the parliament stay as it is, it will suffice to disband the army. If these red-coats were but out of the way, the mob would soon deal with the parliament. *Probatum est:* [It has been proved:] Nothing is more easy than to keep malignant members from the house. Remember Lord North not long ago;* this was a taste, a specimen, of their activity. What then would they not do if they were masters of the field, if none were left to oppose them? Would not the avenues of both houses be so well guarded, that none but patriots would dare to approach?

26. But (as often as you have heard the contrary affirmed) King George has too much understanding, to throw himself into the hands of those men who have given full proof that they bear him no great goodwill. Nor has he reason to believe that they are much more fond of his office than of his person. They are not vehemently fond of monarchy itself, whoever the monarch be. Therefore neither their good nor ill words will induce him, in haste, to leap into the fire with his eyes open.

27. But can any thing be done to open the eyes, to restore the senses, of an infatuated nation? Not unless the still renewed, still operating cause of that infatuation can be removed. But how is it possible to be removed, unless by restraining the licentiousness of the press? And is not this remedy worse than the disease? Let us weigh this matter a little. There was an ancient law in Scotland, which made leasing-making a capital crime. By leasing-making was meant, telling such wilful lies as tended to breed dissension between the king and his subjects. What pity but there should be such a law enacted in the present

* Rudely insulted by a turbulent mob, as he was going into the house.

session of parliament! By our present laws a man is punishable for publishing even truth to the detriment of his neighbour. This I would not wish. But should he not be punished, who publishes palpable lies? and such lies as manifestly tend to breed dissension between the king and his subjects? Such, with a thousand more, was that bare-faced lie of the king's bursting out into laughter before the city magistrates! Now, does not the publisher of this lie deserve to lose his ears more than a common knight of the post? And if he is liable to no punishment for a crime of so mischievous a nature, what a grievous defect is in our law! And how loud does it call for a remedy!

28. To return to the point whence we set out. You see whence arose this outcry for liberty, and these dismal complaints that we are robbed of our liberty echoing through the land. It is plain to every unprejudiced man, they have not the least foundation. We enjoy at this day throughout these kingdoms such liberty, civil and religious, as no other kingdom or commonwealth in Europe, or in the world, enjoys; and such as our ancestors never enjoyed from the Conquest to the Revolution. Let us be thankful for it to God and the king! Let us not, by our vile unthankfulness, yea, our denial that we enjoy it at all, provoke the King of kings to take it away. By one stroke, by taking to himself that prince whom we know not how to value, he might change the scene, and put an end to our civil as well as religious liberty. Then would be seen who were patriots and who were not; who were real lovers of liberty and their country. The God of love remove that day far from us! Deal not with us according to our deserving; but let us know, at least in this our day, the things which make for our peace!

February 24, 1772.

THOUGHTS
CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF POWER.

1. By power, I here mean supreme power, the power over life and death, and consequently over our liberty and property, and all things of an inferior nature.

2. In many nations this power has in all ages been lodged in a single person. This has been the case in almost the whole eastern world, from the earliest antiquity; as in the celebrated empires of Assyria, of Babylon, of Media, Persia, and many others. And so it remains to this day, from Constantinople to the farthest India. The same form of government obtained very early in very many parts of Afric, and remains in most of them still, as well as in the empires of Morocco and Abyssinia. The first adventurers to America found absolute monarchy established there also; the whole power being lodged in the emperor of Mexico, and the yncas of Peru. Nay, and many of the ancient nations of Europe were governed by single persons; as Spain, France, the Russias, and several other nations are at this day.

3. But in others, the power has been lodged in a few, chiefly the rich and noble. This kind of government, usually styled aristocracy, obtained in Greece and in Rome, after many struggles with the people, during

the later ages of the republic. And this is the government which at present subsists in various parts of Europe. In Venice indeed, as well as in Genoa, the supreme power is nominally lodged in one, namely, the doge; but in fact, he is only a royal shade; it is really lodged in a few of the nobles.

4. Where the people have the supreme power, it is termed a democracy. This seems to have been the ancient form of government in several of the Grecian states. And so it was at Rome for some ages after the expulsion of the kings. From the earliest authentic records, there is reason to believe it was for espousing the cause of the people, and defending their rights against the illegal encroachments of the nobles, that Marcus Coriolanus was driven into banishment, and Manlius Capitolinus, as well as Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, murdered. Perhaps formerly the popular government subsisted in several states. But it is scarce now to be found, being every where swallowed up either in monarchy or aristocracy.

5. But the grand question is, not in whom this power is lodged, but from whom it is ultimately derived. What is the origin of power? What is its primary source? This has been long a subject of debate. And it has been debated with the utmost warmth, by a variety of disputants. But as earnest as they have been on each side of the question, they have seldom come to any good conclusion; but have left the point undecided still, to be a ball of contention to the next generation.

6. But is it impossible, in the nature of things, to throw any light on this obscure subject? Let us make the experiment; let us (without pretending to dictate, but desiring every one to use his own judgment) try to find out some ground whereon to stand, and go as far as we can toward answering the question. And let not any man be angry on the account, suppose we should not exactly agree. Let every one enjoy his own opinion, and give others the same liberty.

7. Now, I cannot but acknowledge, I believe an old book, commonly called the Bible, to be true. Therefore I believe, "there is no power but from God: the powers that be are ordained of God," Rom. xiii, 1. There is no subordinate power in any nation, but what is derived from the supreme power therein. So in England the king, in the United Provinces the states are the fountain of all power. And there is no supreme power, no power of the sword, of life and death, but what is derived from God, the Sovereign of all.

8. But have not the people, in every age and nation, the right of disposing of this power; of investing therewith whom they please, either one or more persons; and that, in what proportion they see good, and upon what conditions? Consequently, if those conditions are not observed, have they not a right to take away the power they gave? And does not this imply, that they are the judges whether those conditions are observed or not? Otherwise, if the receivers were judges of their own cause, this right would fall into nothing.

9. To prove this, that the people in every country are the source of power, it is argued thus: "All men living upon earth are naturally equal; none is above another; and all are naturally free, masters of their own actions. It manifestly follows, no man can have any power over another, unless by his own consent. The power therefore which

the governors in any nation enjoy, must be originally derived from the people, and presupposes an original compact between them and their first governors."

10. This seems to be the opinion which is now generally espoused by men of understanding and education; and that (if I do not mistake) not in England alone, but almost in every civilized nation. And it is usually espoused with the fullest and strongest persuasion, as a truth little less than self evident, as what is clear beyond all possibility of doubt, what commands the assent of all reasonable men. Hence if any man affected to deny it, he would in most companies be rather hooted at than argued with; it being so absurd to oppose what is confirmed by the general suffrage of mankind.

11. But still (suppose it to need no proof) it may need a little explaining; for every one does not understand the term. Some will ask, "Who are the people? Are they every man, woman, and child?" Why not? Is it not allowed, is it not affirmed, is it not our fundamental principle, our incontestable, self-evident axiom, that "all persons living upon earth are naturally equal; that all human creatures are naturally free; masters of their own actions; that none can have any power over others, but by their own consent?" Why then should not every man, woman, and child, have a voice in placing their governors; in fixing the measure of power to be entrusted with them, and the conditions on which it is entrusted? And why should not every one have a voice in displacing them too; seeing it is undeniable, they that gave the power have a right to take it away? Do not quibble or shuffle. Do not evade the question; but come close to the point. I ask, By what argument do you prove that women are not naturally as free as men? And, if they are, why have they not as good a right as we have to choose their own governors? Who can have any power over free, rational creatures, but by their own consent? And are they not free by nature, as well as we? Are they not rational creatures?

12. But suppose we exclude women from using their natural right, by might overcoming right, by main strength, (for it is sure that we are stronger than they; I mean that we have stronger limbs, if we have not stronger reason,) what pretence have we for excluding men like ourselves, yea, thousands, and tens of thousands, barely because they have not lived one-and-twenty years? "Why, they have not wisdom or experience to judge concerning the qualifications necessary for governors." I answer, (1.) Who has? How many of the voters in Great Britain? one in twenty? one in a hundred? If you exclude all who have not this wisdom, you will leave few behind. But (2.) Wisdom and experience are nothing to the purpose. You have put the matter upon another issue. Are they men? That is enough. Are they human creatures? Then they have a right to choose their own governors; an indefeasible right; a right inherent, inseparable from human nature. "But in England, at least, they are excluded by law." But did they consent to the making of that law? If not, by your original supposition, it can have no power over them. I therefore utterly deny that we can consistently with that supposition, debar either women or minors from choosing their own governors.

13. But suppose we exclude these by main force, (which it is certain

we are able to do, since though they have most votes they have least strength,) are all that remain, all men of full age, the people? Are all males, then, that have lived one-and-twenty years allowed to choose their own governors? "Not at all; not in England, unless they are freeholders, unless they have forty shillings a year." Worse and worse. After depriving half the human species of their natural right for want of a beard; after depriving myriads more for want of a stiff beard, for not having lived one-and-twenty years; you rob others (probably some hundred thousands) of their birthright for want of money! Yet not altogether on this account neither; if so, it might be more tolerable. But here is an Englishman who has money enough to buy the estates of fifty freeholders, and yet he must not be numbered among the people because he has not two or three acres of land! How is this? By what right do you exclude a man from being one of the people because he has not forty shillings a year; yea, or not a groat? Is he not a man, whether he be rich or poor? Has he not a soul and a body? Has he not the nature of a man; consequently, all the rights of a man, all that flow from human nature; and, among the rest, that of not being controlled by any but by his own consent?

14. "But he is excluded by law." By what law? by a law of his own making? Did he consent to the making of it? Before this law was passed, was his consent either obtained or asked? If not, what is that law to him? No man, you aver, has any power over another but by his own consent. Of consequence, a law made without his consent is, with regard to him, null and void. You cannot say otherwise without destroying the supposition, that none can be governed but by his own consent.

15. See, now, to what your argument comes. You affirm, all power is derived from the people; and presently excluded one half of the people from having any part or lot in the matter. At another stroke, suppose England to contain eight millions of people, you exclude one or two millions more. At a third, suppose two millions left, you exclude three fourths of these. And the poor pittance that remains, by I know not what figure of speech, you call the people of England!

16. Hitherto we have endeavoured to view this point in the mere light of reason. And even by this means it manifestly appears that this supposition, which is so high in vogue, which is so generally received, nay, which has been palmed upon us with such confidence, as undeniable and self-evident, is not only false, not only contrary to reason, but contradictory to itself; the very men who are most positive that the people are the source of power, being brought into an inextricable difficulty, by that single question, "Who are the people?" reduced to a necessity of either giving up the point, or owning that by the people they mean scarce a tenth part of them.

17. But we need not rest the matter entirely on reasoning; let us appeal to matter of fact. And because we cannot have so clear and certain a prospect of what is at too great a distance, whether of time or place, let us only take a view of what has been in our own country for six or seven hundred years. I ask, then, When and where did the people of England (even suppose by that word, *the people*, you mean only a hundred thousand of them) choose their own governors? Did they

choose, to go no farther, William the Conqueror? Did they choose King Stephen, or King John? As to those who regularly succeeded their fathers, it is plain the people are out of the question. Did they choose Henry the Fourth, Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Seventh? Who will be so hardy as to affirm it? Did the people of England, or but fifty thousand of them, choose Queen Mary, or Queen Elizabeth? To come nearer to our own times, did they choose King James the First? Perhaps you will say, "But if the people did not give King Charles the supreme power, at least they took it away from him. Surely, you will not deny this." Indeed I will; I deny it utterly. The people of England no more took away his power, than they cut off his head. "Yes, the parliament did, and they are the people." No; the parliament did not. The lower house, the house of commons, is not the parliament, any more than it is the nation. Neither were those who then sat, the house of commons; no, nor one quarter of them. But suppose they had been the whole house of commons, yea, or the whole parliament; by what rule of logic will you prove that seven or eight hundred persons are the people of England? "Why, they are the delegates of the people; they are chosen by them." No; not by one half, not by a quarter, not by a tenth part, of them. So that the people, in the only proper sense of the word, were innocent of the whole affair.

18. "But you will allow, the people gave the supreme power to King Charles the Second at the Restoration." I will allow no such thing; unless by *the people* you mean General Monk and fifteen thousand soldiers. "However, you will not deny that the people gave the power to King William at the Revolution." Nay, truly, I must deny this too. I cannot possibly allow it. Although I will not say that William the Third obtained the royal power as William the First did; although he did not claim it by right of conquest, which would have been an odious title; yet certain it is, that he did not receive it by any act or deed of the people. Their consent was neither obtained nor asked; they were never consulted in the matter. It was not therefore the people that gave him the power; no, nor even the parliament. It was the convention, and none else. "Who were the convention?" They were a few hundred lords and gentlemen, who, observing the desperate state of public affairs, met together on that important occasion. So that still we have no single instance in above seven hundred years of the people of England's conveying the supreme power either to one or more persons.

19. Indeed I remember in all history, both ancient and modern, but one instance of supreme power conferred by the people; if we mean thereby, though not all the people, yet a great majority of them. This celebrated instance occurred at Naples, in the middle of the last century; where the people, properly speaking, that is, men, women, and children, claimed and exerted their natural right in favour of Thomas Aniello, (vulgarly called Masanello,) a young fisherman. But will any one say, he was the only governor for these thousand years, who has had a proper right to the supreme power? I believe not; nor, I apprehend, does any one desire that the people should take the same steps in London.

20. So much both for reason and matter of fact. But one single

consideration, if we dwell a little upon it, will bring the question to a short issue. It is allowed, no man can dispose of another's life but by his own consent. I add, No, nor with his consent; for no man has a right to dispose of his own life. The Creator of man has the sole right to take the life which he gave. Now, it is an indisputable truth, *Nihil dat quod non habet*, "none gives what he has not." It plainly follows, that no man can give to another a right which he never had himself; a right which only the Governor of the world has, even the wiser Heathens being judges; but which no man upon the face of the earth either has or can have. No man therefore can give the power of the sword, any such power as implies a right to take away life. Wherever it is, it must descend from God alone, the sole disposer of life and death.

21. The supposition, then, that the people are the origin of power, is every way indefensible. It is absolutely overturned by the very principle on which it is supposed to stand; namely, that a right of choosing his governors belongs to every partaker of human nature. If this be so, then it belongs to every individual of the human species; consequently, not to freeholders alone, but to all men; not to men only, but to women also; nor only to adult men and women, to those who have lived one-and-twenty years, but to those who have lived eighteen or twenty, as well as those who have lived threescore. But none did ever maintain this, nor probably ever will. Therefore this boasted principle falls to the ground, and the whole superstructure with it. So common sense brings us back to the grand truth, "There is no power but of God."

THOUGHTS
ON
THE PRESENT SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS.

Many excellent things have been lately published concerning the present scarcity of provisions; and many causes have been assigned for it, by men of experience and reflection. But may it not be observed, there is something wanting still, in most of those publications? One writer assigns and insists on one cause, another on one or two more. But who assigns all the causes that manifestly concur to produce this melancholy effect? at the same time pointing out, how each particular cause affects the price of each particular sort of provision?

I would willingly offer to candid and benevolent men a few hints on this important subject; proposing a few questions, and subjoining to each what seems to be the plain and direct answer.

I. 1. I ask, First, Why are thousands of people starving, perishing for want, in every part of the nation? The fact I know; I have seen it with my eyes, in every corner of the land. I have known those who could only afford to eat a little coarse food once every other day. I have known one in London (and one that a few years before had all the conveniences of life) picking up from a dunghill stinking sprats, and carrying them home for herself and her children. I have known another gathering the bones which the dogs had left in the streets, and making broth of them, to prolong a wretched life! I have heard a third artlessly

declare, "Indeed I was very faint, and so weak I could hardly walk, until my dog, finding nothing at home, went out, and brought in a good sort of bone, which I took out of his mouth, and made a pure dinner!" Such is the case at this day of multitudes of people, in a land flowing as it were, with milk and honey! abounding with all the necessaries, the conveniences, the superfluities of life!

Now, why is this? Why have all these nothing to eat? Because they have nothing to do. The plain reason why they have no meat is, because they have no work.

2. But why have they no work? Why are so many thousand people, in London, in Bristol, in Norwich, in every county, from one end of England to the other, utterly destitute of employment?

Because the persons that used to employ them cannot afford to do it any longer. Many that employed fifty men, now scarce employ ten; those that employed twenty now employ one, or none at all. They cannot, as they have no vent for their goods; food being so dear, that the generality of people are hardly able to buy any thing else.

3. But why is food so dear? To come to particulars: Why does bread corn bear so high a price? To set aside partial causes, (which indeed, all put together, are little more than the fly upon the chariot wheel,) the grand cause is, because such immense quantities of corn are continually consumed by distilling. Indeed, an eminent distiller near London, hearing this, warmly replied, "Nay, my partner and I generally distil but a thousand quarters a week." Perhaps so. And suppose five-and-twenty distillers, in and near the town, consume each only the same quantity: here are five-and-twenty thousand quarters a week, that is, above twelve hundred and fifty thousand a year, consumed in and about London! Add the distillers throughout England, and have we not reason to believe, that (not a thirtieth or a twentieth part only, but) little less than half the wheat produced in the kingdom is every year consumed, not by so harmless a way as throwing it into the sea, but by converting it into deadly poison; poison that naturally destroys not only the strength and life, but also the morals, of our countrymen?

It may be objected, "This cannot be. We know how much corn is distilled by the duty that is paid. And hereby it appears, that scarce three hundred thousand quarters a year are distilled throughout the kingdom." Do we know certainly, how much corn is distilled by the duty that is paid? Is it indisputable, that the full duty is paid for all the corn that is distilled? not to insist upon the multitude of private stills, which pay no duty at all. I have myself heard the servant of an eminent distiller occasionally aver, that for every gallon he distilled which paid duty, he distilled six which paid none. Yea, I have heard distillers themselves affirm, "We must do this, or we cannot live." It plainly follows, we cannot judge, from the duty that is paid, of the quantity of corn that is distilled.

"However, what is paid brings in a large revenue to the king." Is this an equivalent for the lives of his subjects? Would his majesty sell a hundred thousand of his subjects yearly to Algiers for four hundred thousand pounds? Surely no. Will he then sell them for that sum, to be butchered by their own countrymen? "But otherwise the swine for the navy cannot be fed." Not unless they are fed with human flesh!

Not unless they are fatted with human blood! O, tell it not in Constantinople, that the English raise the royal revenue by selling the flesh and blood of their countrymen!

4. But why are oats so dear? Because there are four times as many horses kept (to speak within compass) for coaches and chaises in particular, as were a few years ago. Unless, therefore, four times the oats grew now that grew then, they cannot be at the same price. If only twice as much is produced, (which, perhaps, is near the truth,) the price will naturally be double to what it was.

And as the dearness of grain of one kind will always raise the price of another, so whatever causes the dearness of wheat and oats must raise the price of barley too. To account, therefore, for the dearness of this, we need only remember what has been observed above; although some particular causes may concur in producing the same effect.

5. Why are beef and mutton so dear? Because many considerable farmers, particularly in the northern counties, who used to breed large numbers of sheep, or horned cattle, and very frequently both, now breed none at all: they no longer trouble themselves with either sheep, or cows, or oxen; as they can turn their land to far better account by breeding horses alone. Such is the demand, not only for coach and chaise horses, which are bought and destroyed in incredible numbers, but much more for bred horses, which are yearly exported by hundreds, yea, thousands, to France.

6. But why are pork, poultry, and eggs so dear? Because of the monopolizing of farms; perhaps as mischievous a monopoly as was ever introduced into these kingdoms. The land which was some years ago divided between ten or twenty little farmers, and enabled them comfortably to provide for their families, is now generally engrossed by one great farmer. One farms an estate of a thousand a year, which formerly maintained ten or twenty. Every one of these little farmers kept a few swine, with some quantity of poultry; and, having little money, was glad to send his bacon, or pork, or fowls and eggs to market continually. Hence the markets were plentifully served; and plenty created cheapness. But at present, the great, the gentlemen farmers are above attending to these little things. They breed no poultry or swine, unless for their own use; consequently they send none to market. Hence it is not strange if two or three of these, living near a market town, occasion such a scarcity of these things, by preventing the former supply, that the price of them is double or treble to what it was before. Hence, (to instance in a small article,) in the same town wherein, within my memory, eggs were sold six or eight a penny, they are now sold six or eight a groat.

Another cause (the most terrible one of all, and the most destructive both of personal and social happiness) why not only beef, mutton, and pork, but all kinds of victuals, are so dear, is luxury. What can stand against this? Will it not waste and destroy all that nature and art can produce? If a person of quality will boil down three dozen of neats' tongues, to make two or three quarts of soup, (and so proportionably in other things,) what wonder that provisions fail? Only look into the kitchens of the great, the nobility and gentry, almost without exception; (considering withal, that "the toe of the peasant treads upon the heel of

the courtier;") and when you have observed the amazing waste which is made there, you will no longer wonder at the scarcity, and consequently dearness, of the things which they use so much art to destroy.

7. But why is land so dear? Because on all these accounts, gentlemen cannot live as they have been accustomed to do without increasing their income; which most of them cannot do, but by raising their rents. And then the farmer, paying a higher rent for the land, must have a higher price for the produce of it. This again tends to raise the price of land; and so the wheel runs round.

8. But why is it, that not only provisions and land, but well nigh every thing else, is so dear? Because of the enormous taxes, which are laid on almost every thing that can be named. Not only abundant taxes are raised from earth, and fire, and water; but in England, the ingenious statesmen have found a way to lay a tax upon the very light! Yet one element remains: And surely some man of honour will find a way to tax this also. For how long shall the saucy air strike a gentleman on the face, nay, a lord, without paying for it?

9. But why are the taxes so high? Because of the national debt. They must be so while this continues. I have heard that the national expense, seventy years ago, was, in time of peace, three millions a year. And now the bare interest of the public debt amounts yearly to above four millions! to raise which, with the other stated expenses of government, those taxes are absolutely necessary.

To sum up the whole: Thousands of people throughout the land are perishing for want of food. This is owing to various causes; but above all, to distilling, taxes, and luxury.

Here is the evil, and the undeniable causes of it. But where is the remedy?

Perhaps it exceeds all the wisdom of man to tell: But it may not be amiss to offer a few hints on the subject.

II. 1. What remedy is there for this sore evil,—many thousand poor people are starving? Find them work, and you will find them meat. They will then earn and eat their own bread.

2. But how can the masters give them work without ruining themselves? Procure vent for what is wrought, and the masters will give them as much work as they can do. And this would be done by sinking the price of provisions; for then people would have money to buy other things too.

3. But how can the price of wheat and barley be reduced? By prohibiting for ever, by making a full end of that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue,—distilling. Perhaps this alone might go a great way toward answering the whole design. It is not improbable, it would speedily sink the price of corn, at least one part in three. If any thing more were required, might not all starch be made of rice, and the importation of this, as well as of corn, be encouraged?

4. How can the price of oats be reduced? By reducing the number of horses. And may not this be effectually done, (without affecting the ploughman, the waggoner, or any of those who keep horses for common work,) (1.) By laying a tax of ten pounds on every horse exported to France, for which (notwithstanding an artful paragraph in a late public paper) there is as great a demand as ever? (2.) By laying an addi-

tional tax on gentlemen's carriages? Not so much on every wheel, (barefaced, shameless partiality!) but five pounds yearly upon every horse. And would not these two taxes alone supply near as much as is now paid for leave to poison his majesty's liege subjects?

5. How can the price of beef and mutton be reduced? By increasing the breed of sheep and horned cattle. And this would soon be increased seven-fold, if the price of horses was reduced; which it surely would be, half in half, by the method above mentioned.

6. How can the price of pork and poultry be reduced? Whether it ever will, is another question. But it can be done, (1.) By letting no farms of above a hundred pounds a year: (2.) By repressing luxury; whether by laws, by example, or by both. I had almost said by the grace of God; but to mention this has been long out of fashion.

7. How may the price of land be reduced? By all the methods above named, as each tends to lessen the expense of house-keeping: But especially the last; by restraining luxury, which is the grand and general source of want.

8. How may the taxes be reduced? (1.) By discharging half the national debt, and so saving, by this single means, above two millions a year. (2.) By abolishing all useless pensions, as fast as those who now enjoy them die: Especially those ridiculous ones given to some hundreds of idle men, as governors of forts or castles; which forts have answered no end for above these hundred years, unless to shelter jackdaws and crows. Might not good part of a million more be saved in this very article?

But will this ever be done? I fear not: At least, we have no reason to hope for it shortly; for what good can we expect (suppose the Scriptures are true) for such a nation as this, where there is no fear of God, where there is such a deep, avowed, thorough contempt of all religion, as I never saw, never heard or read of, in any other nation, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan? It seems as if God must shortly arise and maintain his own cause. But, if so, let us fall into the hands of God, and not into the hands of men.

Lewisham, January 20, 1773.

THOUGHTS UPON SLAVERY.

[Published in the year 1774.]

I. 1. By slavery, I mean domestic slavery, or that of a servant to a master. A late ingenious writer well observes, "The variety of forms in which slavery appears, makes it almost impossible to convey a just notion of it, by way of definition. There are, however, certain properties which have accompanied slavery in most places, whereby it is easily distinguished from that mild, domestic service which obtains in our country." (See Mr. Hargrave's Plea for Somerset the Negro.)

2. Slavery imports an obligation of perpetual service, an obligation which only the consent of the master can dissolve. Neither in some countries can the master himself dissolve it, without the consent of

judges appointed by the law. It generally gives the master an arbitrary power of any correction, not affecting life or limb. Sometimes even these are exposed to his will, or protected only by a fine, or some slight punishment, too inconsiderable to restrain a master of a harsh temper. It creates an incapacity of acquiring any thing, except for the master's benefit. It allows the master to alienate the slave, in the same manner as his cows and horses. Lastly, it descends in its full extent from parent to child, even to the last generation.

3. The beginning of this may be dated from the remotest period of which we have an account in history. It commenced in the barbarous state of society, and in process of time spread into all nations. It prevailed particularly among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and the ancient Germans; and was transmitted by them to the various kingdoms and states which arose out of the Roman empire. But after Christianity prevailed, it gradually fell into decline in almost all parts of Europe. This great change began in Spain, about the end of the eighth century; and was become general in most other kingdoms of Europe, before the middle of the fourteenth.

4. From this time slavery was nearly extinct till the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the discovery of America, and of the western and eastern coasts of Africa, gave occasion to the revival of it. It took its rise from the Portuguese, who, to supply the Spaniards with men to cultivate their new possessions in America, procured negroes from Africa, whom they sold for slaves to the American Spaniards. This began in the year 1508, when they imported the first negroes into Hispaniola. In 1540, Charles the Fifth, then king of Spain, determined to put an end to negro slavery; giving positive orders that all the negro slaves in the Spanish dominions should be set free. And this was accordingly done by Lagasca, whom he sent and empowered to free them all, on condition of continuing to labour for their masters. But soon after Lagasca returned to Spain, slavery returned and flourished as before. Afterward, other nations, as they acquired possessions in America, followed the examples of the Spaniards; and slavery has taken deep root in most of our American colonies.

II. Such is the nature of slavery; such the beginning of negro slavery in America. But some may desire to know what kind of country it is from which the negroes are brought; what sort of men, of what temper and behaviour are they in their own country; and in what manner they are generally procured, carried to, and treated in, America.

1. And, First, what kind of country is that from whence they are brought? Is it so remarkably horrid, dreary, and barren, that it is a kindness to deliver them out of it? I believe many have apprehended so; but it is an entire mistake, if we may give credit to those who have lived many years therein, and could have no motive to misrepresent it.

2. That part of Africa whence the negroes are brought, commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the coast, in the whole, between three and four thousand miles. From the river Senegal, seventeen degrees north of the line, to Cape Sierra Leone, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs eastward about fifteen hundred miles, including the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, with the large kingdom of Benin. From thence it runs

southward, about twelve hundred miles, and contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.

3. Concerning the first, the Senegal Coast, Monsieur Brue, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, "The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and well-improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle; and the villages, which lie thick, show the country is well peopled." And again: "I was surprised to see the land so well cultivated: scarce a spot lay unimproved; the low lands, divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice; the higher grounds were planted with Indian corn, and peas of different sorts. Their beef is excellent; poultry plenty, and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life."

4. As to the Grain and Ivory Coast, we learn from eye witnesses, that the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation; fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees loaden with fruit.

5. The Gold Coast and Slave Coast, all who have seen it agree, is exceeding fruitful and pleasant, producing vast quantities of rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm wine and oil, and fish in great abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The very same account is given us of the soil and produce of the kingdoms of Benin, Congo, and Angola. From all which it appears, that Guinea, in general, is far from a horrid, dreary, barren country,—is one of the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant, countries in the known world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy; and so it is to strangers, but perfectly healthy to the native inhabitants.

6. Such is the country from which the negroes are brought. We come next to inquire what sort of men they are, of what temper and behaviour, not in our plantations, but in their native country. And here likewise the surest way is to take our account from eye and ear witnesses. Now, those who have lived in the Senegal country observe, it is inhabited by three nations, the Jalofs, Fulis, and Mandingos. The king of the Jalofs has under him several ministers, who assist in the exercise of justice. The chief justice goes in circuit through all his dominions, to hear complaints and determine controversies; and the viceroy goes with him, to inspect the behaviour of the alkadi, or governor, of each village. The Fulis are governed by their chief men, who rule with much moderation. Few of them will drink any thing stronger than water, being strict Mohammedans. The government is easy, because the people are of a quiet and good disposition, and so well instructed in what is right, that a man who wrongs another is the abomination of all. They desire no more land than they use, which they cultivate with great care and industry: if any of them are known to be made slaves by the white men, they all join to redeem them. They not only support all that are old, or blind, or lame among themselves, but have frequently supplied the necessities of the Mandingos, when they were distressed by famine.

7. "The Mandingos," says Monsieur Brue, "are rigid Mohammedans, drinking neither wine nor brandy. They are industrious and laborious, keeping their ground well cultivated, and breeding a good

stock of cattle. Every town has a governor, and he appoints the labour of the people. The men work the ground designed for corn; the women and girls, the rice ground. He afterward divides the corn and rice among them; and decides all quarrels, if any arise. All the Mohammedan negroes constantly go to public prayers thrice a day; there being a priest in every village, who regularly calls them together; and it is surprising to see the modesty, attention, and reverence which they observe during their worship. These three nations practise several trades; they have smiths, saddlers, potters, and weavers; and they are very ingenious at their several occupations. Their smiths not only make all the instruments of iron which they have occasion to use, but likewise work many things neatly in gold and silver. It is chiefly the women and children who weave fine cotton cloth, which they dye blue and black."

8. It was of these parts of Guinea that Monsieur Allanson, correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, from 1749 to 1753, gives the following account, both as to the country and people:—"Which way soever I turned my eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature: an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by a charming landscape; the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the ease and quietness of the negroes, reclined under the shade of the spreading foliage, with the simplicity of their dress and manners: the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state. They are, generally speaking, very good-natured, sociable, and obliging. I was not a little pleased with my very first reception; and it fully convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable abatement made in the accounts we have of the savage character of the Africans." He adds: "It is amazing that an illiterate people should reason so pertinently concerning the heavenly bodies. There is no doubt, but that, with proper instruments, they would become excellent astronomers."

9. The inhabitants of the Grain and Ivory Coast are represented by those that deal with them, as sensible, courteous, and the fairest traders on the coasts of Guinea. They rarely drink to excess; if any do, they are severely punished by the king's order. They are seldom troubled with war: if a difference happen between two nations, they commonly end the dispute amicably.

The inhabitants of the Gold and Slave Coast likewise, when they are not artfully incensed against each other, live in great union and friendship, being generally well tempered, civil, tractable, and ready to help any that need it. In particular, the natives of the kingdom of Whidah are civil, kind, and obliging to strangers; and they are the most gentleman-like of all the negroes, abounding in good manners toward each other. The inferiors pay the utmost respect to their superiors; so wives to their husbands, children to their parents. And they are remarkably industrious; all are constantly employed,—the men in agriculture, the women in spinning and weaving cotton.

10. The Gold and Slave Coasts are divided into several districts, some governed by kings, others by the principal men, who take care each of their own town or village, and prevent or appease tumults. They punish murder and adultery severely; very frequently with death.

Theft and robbery are punished by a fine proportionable to the goods that were taken. All the natives of this coast, though Heathens, believe there is one God, the Author of them and all things. They appear likewise to have a confused apprehension of a future state. And, accordingly, every town and village has a place of public worship. It is remarkable that they have no beggars among them; such is the care of the chief men, in every city and village, to provide some easy labour even for the old and weak. Some are employed in blowing the smiths' bellows; others in pressing palm oil; others in grinding of colours. If they are too weak even for this, they sell provisions in the market.

11. The natives of the kingdom of Benin are a reasonable and good-natured people. They are sincere and inoffensive, and do no injustice either to one another or to strangers. They are eminently civil and courteous: if you make them a present, they endeavour to repay it double; and if they are trusted till the ship returns the next year, they are sure honestly to pay the whole debt. Theft is punished among them, although not with the same severity as murder. If a man and woman of any quality are taken in adultery, they are certain to be put to death, and their bodies thrown on a dunghill, and left a prey to wild beasts. They are punctually just and honest in their dealings; and are also very charitable, the king and the great lords taking care to employ all that are capable of any work. And those that are utterly helpless they keep for God's sake; so that here also are no beggars. The inhabitants of Congo and Angola are generally a quiet people. They discover a good understanding, and behave in a friendly manner to strangers, being of a mild temper and an affable carriage. Upon the whole, therefore, the negroes who inhabit the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the southern bounds of Angola, are so far from being the stupid, senseless, brutish, lazy barbarians, the fierce, cruel, perfidious savages they have been described, that, on the contrary, they are represented, by them who have no motive to flatter them, as remarkably sensible, considering the few advantages they have for improving their understanding; as industrious to the highest degree, perhaps more so than any other natives of so warm a climate; as fair, just, and honest in all their dealings, unless where white men have taught them to be otherwise; and as far more mild, friendly, and kind to strangers, than any of our forefathers were. *Our forefathers!* Where shall we find at this day, among the fair-faced natives of Europe, a nation generally practising the justice, mercy, and truth, which are found among these poor Africans? Suppose the preceding accounts are true, (which I see no reason or pretence to doubt of,) and we may leave England and France, to seek genuine honesty in Benin, Congo, or Angola.

III. We have now seen what kind of country it is from which the negroes are brought; and what sort of men (even white men being the judges) they were in their own country. Inquire we, Thirdly, In what manner are they generally procured, carried to, and treated in, America?

1. First. In what manner are they procured? Part of them by fraud. Captains of ships, from time to time, have invited negroes to come on board, and then carried them away. But far more have been procured by force. The Christians, landing upon their coasts, seized as many

as they found, men, women, and children, and transported them to America. It was about 1551 that the English began trading to Guinea; at first, for gold and elephants' teeth, but soon after, for men. In 1556, Sir John Hawkins sailed with two ships to Cape Verd, where he sent eighty men on shore to catch negroes. But the natives flying, they fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, "to burn their towns and take the inhabitants." But they met with such resistance, that they had seven men killed, and took but ten negroes. So they went still farther down, till, having taken enough, they proceeded to the West Indies and sold them.

2. It was some time before the Europeans found a more compendious way of procuring African slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners. Till then they seldom had any wars; but were in general quiet and peaceable. But the white men first taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Nay, by this means, even their kings are induced to sell their own subjects. So Mr. Moore, factor of the African Company in 1730, informs us: "When the king of Barsalli wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English governor at James's Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours' towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects." So Monsieur Brue says, "I wrote to the king," (not the same,) "if he had a sufficient number of slaves, I would treat with him. He seized three hundred of his own people, and sent word he was ready to deliver them for the goods." He adds: "Some of the natives are always ready" (when well paid) "to surprise and carry off their own countrymen. They come at night without noise, and if they find any lone cottage, surround it and carry off all the people." Barbot, another French factor, says, "Many of the slaves sold by the negroes are prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make into their enemies' territories. Others are stolen. Abundance of little blacks, of both sexes, are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the road, or in the woods, or else in the corn fields, at the time of year when their parents keep them there all day to scare away the devouring birds." That their own parents sell them is utterly false: whites, not blacks, are without natural affection!

3. To set the manner wherein negroes are procured in a yet stronger light, it will suffice to give an extract of "Two Voyages to Guinea" on this account. The first is taken verbatim from the original manuscript of the surgeon's journal:—

"Sestro, Dec. 29, 1724.—No trade to-day, though many traders came on board. They informed us, that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days; in hopes of which we stay.

"The 30th.—No trade yet; but our traders came on board to-day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns; so that to-morrow we expect slaves off.

"The 31st.—Fair weather; but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning. But we hear many of the Sestro men are killed by the inland negroes; so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful.

"The 2d of January.—Last night we saw a prodigious fire break cu about eleven o'clock, and this morning see the town of Sestro burned down to the ground." (It contained some hundred houses.) "So that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here. Therefore about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, to proceed lower down."

4. The second extract, taken from the journal of a surgeon, who went from New-York on the same trade, is as follows: "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king, that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The king promised to furnish him; and, in order to it, set out, designing to surprise some town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after, the king sent him word, he had not yet met with the desired success; having attempted to break up two towns, but having been twice repulsed; but that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted, till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought which lasted three days. And the engagement was so bloody, that four thousand five hundred men were slain upon the spot." Such is the manner wherein the negroes are procured! Thus the Christians preach the Gospel to the Heathens!

5. Thus they are procured. But in what numbers and in what manner are they carried to America? Mr. Anderson, in his History of Trade and Commerce, observes: "England supplies her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to about a hundred thousand every year;" that is, so many are taken on board our ships; but at least ten thousand of them die in the voyage; about a fourth part more die at the different islands, in what is called the seasoning. So that at an average, in the passage and seasoning together, thirty thousand die; that is, properly, are murdered. O earth, O sea, cover not thou their blood!

6. When they are brought down to the shore in order to be sold, our surgeons thoroughly examine them, and that quite naked, women and men, without any distinction; those that are approved are set on one side. In the mean time, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which they are marked on the breast. Before they are put into the ships, their masters strip them of all they have on their backs: so that they come on board stark naked, women as well as men. It is common for several hundred of them to be put on board one vessel, where they are stowed together in as little room as it is possible for them to be crowded. It is easy to suppose what a condition they must soon be in, between heat, thirst, and stench of various kinds. So that it is no wonder, so many should die in the passage; but rather, that any survive it.

7. When the vessels arrive at their destined port, the negroes are again exposed naked to the eyes of all that flock together, and the examination of their purchasers. Then they are separated to the plantations of their several masters, to see each other no more. Here you may see mothers hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breasts with tears, and daughters clinging to their parents, till the whipper soon obliges them to part. And what can be more wretched than the condition they then enter upon? Banished from their country, from their friends and relations for ever, from every comfort of life, they are reduced to a state scarce any way preferable to that of beasts of burden. In

general, a few roots, not of the nicest kind, usually yams or potatoes, are their food; and two rags, that neither screen them from the heat of the day, nor the cold of the night, their covering. Their sleep is very short, their labour continual, and frequently above their strength; so that death sets many of them at liberty before they have lived out half their days. The time they work in the West Indies, is from day-break to noon, and from two o'clock till dark; during which time they are attended by overseers, who, if they think them dilatory, or think any thing not so well done as it should be, whip them most unmercifully, so that you may see their bodies long after wealed and scarred usually from the shoulders to the waist. And before they are suffered to go to their quarters, they have commonly something to do, as collecting herbage for the horses, or gathering fuel for the boilers; so that it is often past twelve before they can get home. Hence if their food is not prepared, they are sometimes called to labour again, before they can satisfy their hunger. And no excuse will avail. If they are not in the field immediately they must expect to feel the lash. Did the Creator intend that the noblest creatures in the visible world should live such a life as this?

Are these thy glorious work, Parent of good?

8. As to the punishments inflicted on them, says Sir Hans Sloane, "they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot: after they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them; some drop melted wax upon their skin; others cut off their ears, and constrain them to broil and eat them. For rebellion," (that is, asserting their native liberty, which they have as much right to as to the air they breathe,) "they fasten them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire, by degrees, to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually upward to the head."

9. But will not the laws made in the plantations prevent or redress all cruelty and oppression? We will take but a few of those laws for a specimen, and then let any man judge:—

In order to rivet the chain of slavery, the law of Virginia ordains: "That no slave shall be set free upon any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council; and that where any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the churchwardens of the parish, wherein such negro shall reside for the space of one month, are hereby authorized and required to take up and sell the said negro by public outcry."

10. Will not these lawgivers take effectual care to prevent cruelty and oppression?

The law of Jamaica ordains: "Every slave that shall run away, and continue absent from his master twelve months, shall be deemed rebellious." And by another law, fifty pounds are allowed to those who kill or bring in alive a rebellious slave. So their law treats these poor men with as little ceremony and consideration, as if they were merely brute beasts! But the innocent blood which is shed in consequence of such a detestable law, must call for vengeance on the murderous abettors and actors of such deliberate wickedness.

11. But the law of Barbadoes exceeds even this: "If any negro under punishment, by his master, or his order, for running away, or any

other crime or misdemeanor, shall suffer in life or member, no person whatsoever shall be liable to any fine therefore. But if any man, of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro of his own," (now, observe the severe punishment!) "he shall pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling! and not be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same!"

Nearly allied to this is that law of Virginia: "After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person whatsoever to kill and destroy such slaves, by such ways and means as he shall think fit."

We have seen already some of the ways and means which have been thought fit on such occasions; and many more might be mentioned. One gentleman, when I was abroad, thought fit to roast his slave alive! But if the most natural act of "running away" from intolerable tyranny, deserves such relentless severity, what punishment have these lawmakers to expect hereafter, on account of their own enormous offences?

IV. 1. This is the plain, unaggravated matter of fact. Such is the manner wherein our African slaves are procured; such the manner wherein they are removed from their native land, and wherein they are treated in our plantations. I would now inquire, whether these things can be defended, on the principles of even Heathen honesty; whether they can be reconciled (setting the Bible out of the question) with any degree of either justice or mercy.

2. The grand plea is, "They are authorized by law." But can law, human law, change the nature of things? Can it turn darkness into light, or evil into good? By no means. Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong still. There must still remain an essential difference between justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. So that I still ask, Who can reconcile this treatment of the negroes, first and last, with either mercy or justice?

Where is the justice of inflicting the severest evils on those that have done us no wrong? of depriving those that never injured us in word or deed, of every comfort of life? of tearing them from their native country, and depriving them of liberty itself, to which an Angolan has the same natural right as an Englishman, and on which he sets as high a value? Yea, where is the justice of taking away the lives of innocent, inoffensive men; murdering thousands of them in their own land, by the hands of their own countrymen; many thousands, year after year, on shipboard, and then casting them like dung into the sea; and tens of thousands in that cruel slavery to which they are so unjustly reduced?

3. But waiving, for the present, all other considerations, I strike at the root of this complicated villany, I absolutely deny all slave holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice.

I cannot place this in a clearer light than that great ornament of his profession, Judge Blackstone, has already done. Part of his words are as follows:—

"The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations: (1.) Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally,—that, by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his

enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation: therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

"It is said, Secondly, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded?

"We are told, Thirdly, that men may be born slaves, by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to justice as to mercy.

4. That slave holding is utterly inconsistent with mercy, is almost too plain to need a proof. Indeed, it is said, "that these negroes being prisoners of war, our captains and factors buy them, merely to save them from being put to death. And is not this mercy?" I answer, (1.) Did Sir John Hawkins, and many others, seize upon men, women, and children, who were at peace in their own fields or houses, merely to save them from death? (2.) Was it to save them from death, that they knocked out the brains of those they could not bring away? (3.) Who occasioned and fomented those wars, wherein these poor creatures were taken prisoners? Who excited them by money, by drink, by every possible means, to fall upon one another? Was it not themselves? They know in their own conscience it was, if they have any conscience left. But, (4.) To bring the matter to a short issue, can they say before God, that they ever took a single voyage, or bought a single negro, from this motive? They cannot; they well know, to get money, not to save lives, was the whole and sole spring of their motions.

5. But if this manner of procuring and treating negroes is not consistent either with mercy or justice, yet there is a plea for it which every man of business will acknowledge to be quite sufficient. Fifty years ago, one meeting an eminent statesman in the lobby of the house of commons, said, "You have been long talking about justice and equity. Pray which is this bill; equity or justice?" He answered very short and plain, "D—n justice; it is necessity." Here also the slave holder fixes his foot; here he rests the strength of his cause. "If it is not quite right, yet it must be so; there is an absolute necessity for it. It is necessary we should procure slaves; and when we have procured them, it is necessary to use them with severity, considering their stupidity, stubbornness, and wickedness."

I answer, you stumble at the threshold; I deny that villany is ever necessary. It is impossible that it should ever be necessary for any

reasonable creature to violate all the laws of justice, mercy, and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. It can never be necessary for a rational being to sink himself below a brute. A man can be under no necessity of degrading himself into a wolf. The absurdity of the supposition is so glaring, that one would wonder any one can help seeing it.

6. This in general. But to be more particular, I ask, First, What is necessary? and, Secondly, To what end? It may be answered, "The whole method now used by the original purchasers of negroes is necessary to the furnishing our colonies yearly with a hundred thousand slaves." I grant, this is necessary to that end. But how is that end necessary? How will you prove it necessary that one hundred, that one, of those slaves should be procured? "Why, it is necessary to my gaining a hundred thousand pounds." Perhaps so: but how is this necessary? It is very possible you might be both a better and a happier man, if you had not a quarter of it. I deny that your gaining one thousand is necessary either to your present or eternal happiness. "But, however, you must allow, these slaves are necessary for the cultivation of our islands; inasmuch as white men are not able to labour in hot climates." I answer, First, It were better that all those islands should remain uncultivated for ever; yea, it were more desirable that they were altogether sunk in the depth of the sea, than that they should be cultivated at so high a price as the violation of justice, mercy, and truth. But, Secondly, The supposition on which you ground your argument is false. For white men, even Englishmen, are well able to labour in hot climates; provided they are temperate both in meat and drink, and that they inure themselves to it by degrees. I speak no more than I know by experience. It appears from the thermometer, that the summer heat in Georgia is frequently equal to that in Barbadoes, yea, to that under the line. And yet I and my family (eight in number) did employ all our spare time there, in felling of trees and clearing of ground, as hard labour as any negro need be employed in. The German family, likewise, forty in number, were employed in all manner of labour. And this was so far from impairing our health, that we all continued perfectly well, while the idle ones round about us were swept away as with a pestilence. It is not true, therefore, that white men are not able to labour, even in hot climates, full as well as black. But if they were not, it would be better that none should labour there, that the work should be left undone, than that myriads of innocent men should be murdered, and myriads more dragged into the basest slavery.

7. "But the furnishing us with slaves is necessary for the trade, and wealth, and glory of our nation." Here are several mistakes. For, First, wealth is not necessary to the glory of any nation; but wisdom, virtue, justice, mercy, generosity, public spirit, love of our country. These are necessary to the real glory of a nation; but abundance of wealth is not. Men of understanding allow that the glory of England was full as high in Queen Elizabeth's time as it is now; although our riches and trade were then as much smaller, as our virtue was greater. But, Secondly, it is not clear that we should have either less money or trade, (only less of that detestable trade of man-stealing,) if there was not a negro in all our islands, or in all English America. It is demon

strable, white men, inured to it by degrees, can work as well as them; and they would do it, were negroes out of the way, and proper encouragement given them. However, Thirdly, I come back to the same point: Better no trade, than trade procured by villany. It is far better to have no wealth, than to gain wealth at the expense of virtue. Better is honest poverty, than all the riches bought by the tears, and sweat, and blood, of our fellow creatures.

8. "However this be, it is necessary, when we have slaves, to use them with severity." What, to whip them for every petty offence, till they are all in gore blood? to take that opportunity of rubbing pepper and salt into their raw flesh? to drop burning sealing wax upon their skin? to castrate them? to cut off half their foot with an axe? to hang them on gibbets, that they may die by inches, with heat, and hunger, and thirst? to pin them down to the ground, and then burn them by degrees, from the feet to the head? to roast them alive? When did a Turk or a Heathen find it necessary to use a fellow creature thus?

I pray, to what end is this usage necessary? "Why, to prevent their running away; and to keep them constantly to their labour, that they may not idle away their time: So miserably stupid is this race of men, yea, so stubborn, and so wicked." Allowing them to be as stupid as you say, to whom is that stupidity owing? Without question, it lies altogether at the door of their inhuman masters; who give them no means, no opportunity, of improving their understanding; and, indeed, leave them no motive, either from hope or fear, to attempt any such thing. They were no way remarkable for stupidity while they remained in their own country: The inhabitants of Africa, where they have equal motives and equal means of improvement, are not inferior to the inhabitants of Europe; to some of them they are greatly superior. Impartially survey, in their own country, the natives of Benin, and the natives of Lapland; compare (setting prejudice aside) the Samoeids and the Angolans; and on which side does the advantage lie, in point of understanding? Certainly the African is in no respect inferior to the European. Their stupidity, therefore, in our plantations is not natural; otherwise than it is the natural effect of their condition. Consequently, it is not their fault, but yours: You must answer for it, before God and man.

9. "But their stupidity is not the only reason of our treating them with severity. For it is hard to say, which is the greatest, this, or their stubbornness and wickedness." It may be so: But do not these, as well as the other, lie at your door? Are not stubbornness, cunning, pilfering, and divers other vices, the natural, necessary fruits of slavery? Is not this an observation which has been made in every age and nation? And what means have you used to remove this stubbornness? Have you tried what mildness and gentleness would do? I knew one that did; that had prudence and patience to make the experiment; Mr. Hugh Bryan, who then lived on the borders of South Carolina. And what was the effect? Why, that all his negroes (and he had no small number of them) loved and reverenced him as a father, and cheerfully obeyed him out of love. Yea, they were more afraid of a frown from him, than of many blows from an overseer. And what pains have you taken, what method have you used, to reclaim them from their wickedness? Have you carefully taught them, that there is a God, a wise,

powerful, merciful Being, the Creator and Governor of heaven and earth? that he has appointed a day wherein he will judge the world, will take an account of all our thoughts, words, and actions? that in that day he will reward every child of man according to his works? that then the righteous shall inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world; and the wicked shall be cast into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels? If you have not done this, if you have taken no pains or thought about the matter, can you wonder at their wickedness? What wonder, if they should cut your throat? And if they did, whom could you thank for it but yourself? You first acted the villain in making them slaves, whether you stole them or bought them. You kept them stupid and wicked, by cutting them off from all opportunities of improving either in knowledge or virtue: And now you assign their want of wisdom and goodness as the reason for using them worse than brute beasts!

V. 1. It remains only to make a little application of the preceding observations. But to whom should that application be made? That may bear a question. Should we address ourselves to the public at large? What effect can this have? It may inflame the world against the guilty, but is not likely to remove that guilt. Should we appeal to the English nation in general? This also is striking wide; and is never likely to procure any redress for the sore evil we complain of. As little would it in all probability avail, to apply to the parliament. So many things, which seem of greater importance, lie before them, that they are not likely to attend to this. I therefore add a few words to those who are more immediately concerned, whether captains, merchants, or planters.

2. And, First, to the captains employed in this trade. Most of you know the country of Guinea; several parts of it, at least, between the river Senegal and the kingdom of Angola. Perhaps, now, by your means part of it is become a dreary, uncultivated wilderness, the inhabitants being all murdered or carried away, so that there are none left to till the ground. But you well know how populous, how fruitful, how pleasant it was a few years ago. You know, the people were not stupid, not wanting in sense, considering the few means of improvement they enjoyed. Neither did you find them savage, fierce, cruel, treacherous, or unkind to strangers. On the contrary, they were, in most parts, a sensible and ingenious people. They were kind and friendly, courteous and obliging, and remarkably fair and just in their dealings. Such are the men whom you hire their own countrymen to tear away from this lovely country; part by stealth, part by force, part made captives in those wars which you raise or foment on purpose. You have seen them torn away,—children from their parents, parents from their children; husbands from their wives, wives from their beloved husbands, brethren and sisters from each other. You have dragged them who had never done you any wrong, perhaps in chains, from their native shore. You have forced them into your ships like a herd of swine,—them who had souls immortal as your own; only some of them leaped into the sea, and resolutely stayed under water, till they could suffer no more from you. You have stowed them together as close as ever they could lie, without any regard either to decency or convenience. And when many

of them had been poisoned by foul air, or had sunk under various hardships, you have seen their remains delivered to the deep, till the sea should give up his dead. You have carried the survivors into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life; such slavery as is not found among the Turks at Algiers, no, nor among the Heathens in America.

3. May I speak plainly to you? I must. Love constrains me: love to you, as well as to those you are concerned with.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is he a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution; a state wherein the just God will reward every man according to his works. Then what reward will he render to you? O think betimes! before you drop into eternity! Think now, "He shall have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy."

Are you a man? Then you should have a human heart. But have you indeed? What is your heart made of? Is there no such principle as compassion there? Do you never feel another's pain? Have you no sympathy, no sense of human wo, no pity for the miserable? When you saw the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts, or the bleeding sides and tortured limbs of your fellow creatures, was you a stone, or a brute? Did you look upon them with the eyes of a tiger? When you squeezed the agonizing creatures down in the ship, or when you threw their poor mangled remains into the sea, had you no relenting? Did not one tear drop from your eye, one sigh escape from your breast? Do you feel no relenting now? If you do not, you must go on, till the measure of your iniquities is full. Then will the great God deal with you as you have dealt with them, and require all their blood at your hands. And at "that day it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for you!" But if your heart does relent, though in a small degree, know it is a call from the God of love. And "to-day, if you will hear his voice, harden not your heart." To-day resolve, God being your helper, to escape for your life. Regard not money! All that a man hath will he give for his life! Whatever you lose, lose not your soul: nothing can countervail that loss. Immediately quit the horrid trade: at all events, be an honest man.

4. This equally concerns every merchant who is engaged in the slave trade. It is you that induce the African villain to sell his countrymen; and in order thereto, to steal, rob, murder men, women, and children without number, by enabling the English villain to pay him for so doing, whom you overpay for his execrable labour. It is your money that is the spring of all, that empowers him to go on: so that whatever he or the African does in this matter is all your act and deed. And is your conscience quite reconciled to this? Does it never reproach you at all? Has gold entirely blinded your eyes, and stupified your heart? Can you see, can you feel, no harm therein? Is it doing as you would be done to? Make the case your own. "Master," said a slave at Liverpool to the merchant that owned him, "what, if some of my countrymen were to come here, and take away my mistress, and Master Tommy, and Master Billy, and carry them into our country, and make them slaves, how would you like it?" His answer was worthy of a man: "I will never buy a slave more while I live." O let his resolution be yours!

Have nc more any part in this detestable business. Instantly leave it to those unfeeling wretches, who

Laugh at human nature and compassion!

Be you a man, not a wolf, a devourer of the human species! Be merciful, that you may obtain mercy!

5. And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slave holders, of whatever rank and degree; seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers. Indeed you say, "I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by." Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief. and are not a jot honester than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villany (of fraud, robbery, and murder) than was ever practised either by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African butchers. You therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) "crieth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear!

6. Perhaps you will say, "I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father." So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside. It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air; and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.

If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed law of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all com-

pulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you.

7. O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast mingled of one blood all the nations upon earth; have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise, and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the ground like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up before thee; let it enter into thy ears! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins! Thou Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed!

The servile progeny of Ham
  Seize as the purchase of thy blood!
Let all the Heathens know thy name:
  From idols to the living God
The dark Americans convert,
And shine in every Pagan heart!

A CALM ADDRESS
TO OUR AMERICAN COLONIES.

Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella,
Neu patriæ validas in viscera vertite vires.—VIRGIL.

[Nay, O sons, familiarize not to your minds such wars, nor turn your country's valiant strength upon her own bowels.]

[PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1775.]

TO THE READER.

I WAS of a different judgment on this head, till I read a tract, entitled, "Taxation no Tyranny." But as soon as I received more light myself, I judged it my duty to impart it to others. I therefore extracted the chief arguments from that treatise, and added an application to those whom it most concerns. I was well aware of the treatment this would bring upon myself; but let it be, so I may in any degree serve my king and country.

A late tract, wrote in answer to this, is wrote in just such a spirit as I expected. It is strewed over with such flowers as these: "Contemptible sophistry! Fallacious to the last degree! Childish quirks! Pitiful sophisms!" with strong assertions, repeated over and over, and with florid quotations. But all the arguments which are produced therein, may be contained in a nut shell.

The writer* asserts twenty times, "He that is taxed without his own consent, that is, without being represented, is a slave." I answer, No; I have

* Or writers. For I am informed by a correspondent in Bristol, that this letter was wrote by two Anabaptist ministers, assisted by a gentleman and a tradesman of the Church of England.

no representative in parliament; but I am taxed; yet I am no slave. Yea, nine in ten throughout England have no representative, no vote; yet they are no slaves; they enjoy both civil and religious liberty to the utmost extent.

He replies, "But they may have votes if they will; they may purchase freeholds." What! Can every man in England purchase a freehold? No, not one in a hundred. But, be that as it may, they have no vote now; yet they are no slaves, they are the freest men in the whole world.

"Who then is a slave?" Look into America, and you may easily see. See that negro, fainting under the load, bleeding under the lash! He is a slave. And is there "no difference" between him and his master? Yes; the one is screaming, "Murder! Slavery!" the other silently bleeds and dies!

"But wherein then consists the difference between liberty and slavery?" Herein: You and I, and the English in general, go where we will, and enjoy the fruit of our labours: this is liberty. The negro does not: this is slavery.

Is not then all this outcry about liberty and slavery mere rant, and playing upon words?

This is a specimen of this writer's arguments. Let us just touch upon his quotations:—

"All the inhabitants of England," says the fanciful Montesquïeu, as one terms him, "have a right of voting at the election of a representative, except such as are so mean, as to be deemed to have no will of their own!" Nay, if all have a right to vote that have a will of their own, certainly this right belongs to every man, woman, and child in England.

One quotation more: "Judge Blackstone says, 'In a free state, every man who is supposed to be a free agent ought to be in some measure his own governor.' Therefore, one branch, at least, of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people." But who are the whole body of the people? According to him, every free agent. Then the argument proves too much. For are not women free agents? Yea, and poor as well as rich men. According to this argument, there is no free state under the sun.

The book which this writer says I so strongly recommend, I never yet saw with my eyes. And the words which he says I spoke, never came out of my lips. But I really believe, he was told so.

I now speak according to the light I have. But if any one will give me more light, I will be thankful

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Brethren and Countrymen,—1. The grand question which is now debated, (and with warmth enough on both sides,) is this, Has the English parliament a right to tax the American colonies?

In order to determine this, let us consider the nature of our colonies. An English colony is, a number of persons to whom the king grants a charter, permitting them to settle in some far country as a corporation, enjoying such powers as the charter grants, to be administered in such a manner as the charter prescribes. As a corporation they make laws for themselves; but as a corporation subsisting by a grant from higher authority, to the control of that authority they still continue subject.

Considering this, nothing can be more plain, than that the supreme power in England has a legal right of laying any tax upon them for any end beneficial to the whole empire.

2. But you object, "It is the privilege of a freeman and an Englishman to be taxed only by his own consent. And this consent is given for every man by his representatives in parliament. But we have no representatives in parliament. Therefore we ought not to be taxed thereby."

I answer, This argument proves too much. If the parliament cannot tax you because you have no representation therein, for the same reason

it can make no laws to bind you. If a freeman cannot be taxed without his own consent, neither can he be punished without it; for whatever holds with regard to taxation, holds with regard to all other laws. Therefore he who denies the English parliament the power of taxation, denies it the right of making any laws at all. But this power over the colonies you have never disputed; you have always admitted statutes for the punishment of offences, and for the preventing or redressing of inconveniences; and the reception of any law draws after it, by a chain which cannot be broken, the necessity of admitting taxation.

3. But I object to the very foundation of your plea: That "every freeman is governed by laws to which he has consented:" as confidently as it has been asserted, it is absolutely false. In wide-extended dominions, a very small part of the people are concerned in making laws. This, as all public business, must be done by delegation; the delegates are chosen by a select number. And those that are not electors, who are far the greater part, stand by, idle and helpless spectators.

The case of electors is little better. When they are near equally divided, in the choice of their delegates to represent them in the parliament or national assembly, almost half of them must be governed, not only without, but even against, their own consent.

And how has any man consented to those laws which were made before he was born? Our consent to these, nay, and to the laws now made even in England, is purely passive. And in every place, as all men are born the subjects of some state or other, so they are born, passively, as it were, consenting to the laws of that state. Any other than this kind of consent, the condition of civil life does not allow.

4. But you say, you "are entitled to life, liberty, and property by nature; and that you have never ceded to any sovereign power the right to dispose of these without your consent."

While you speak as the naked sons of nature, this is certainly true. But you presently declare, "Our ancestors, at the time they settled these colonies, were entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects within the realm of England." This likewise is true; but when this is granted, the boast of original rights is at an end. You are no longer in a state of nature, but sink down into colonists, governed by a charter. If your ancestors were subjects, they acknowledged a sovereign; if they had a right to English privileges, they were accountable to English laws, and had ceded to the king and parliament the power of disposing, without their consent, of both their lives, liberties, and properties. And did the parliament cede to them a dispensation from the obedience which they owe as natural subjects? or any degree of independence, not enjoyed by other Englishmen?

5. "They did not" indeed, as you observe, "by emigration forfeit any of those privileges; but they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to all such as their circumstances enable them to enjoy."

That they who form a colony by a lawful charter, forfeit no privilege thereby, is certain. But what they do not forfeit by any judicial sentence, they may lose by natural effects. When a man voluntarily comes into America, he may lose what he had when in Europe. Perhaps he had a right to vote for a knight or burgess; by crossing the sea he did not forfeit this right. But it is plain, he has made the exercise of it no

longer possible. He has reduced himself from a voter to one of the innumerable multitude that have no votes.

6. But you say, "As the colonies are not represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free power of legislation. For they inherit all the right which their ancestors had of enjoying all the privileges of Englishmen."

They do inherit all the privileges which their ancestors had; but they can inherit no more. Their ancestors left a country where the representatives of the people were elected by men particularly qualified, and where those who wanted that qualification were bound by the decisions of men whom they had not deputed. You are the descendants of men who either had no votes, or resigned them by emigration. You have therefore exactly what your ancestors left you; not a vote in making laws, nor in choosing legislators; but the happiness of being protected by laws, and the duty of obeying them.

What your ancestors did not bring with them, neither they nor their descendants have acquired. They have not, by abandoning their right in one legislature, acquired a right to constitute another; any more than the multitudes in England who have no vote, have a right to erect a parliament for themselves.

7. However, the "colonies have a right to all the privileges granted them by royal charters, or secured to them by provincial laws."

The first clause is allowed: They have certainly a right to all the privileges granted them by royal charters; provided those privileges be consistent with the British constitution. But as to the second there is a doubt: provincial laws may grant privileges to individuals of the province; but surely no province can confer provincial privileges on itself! They have a right to all which the king has given them; but not to all which they have given themselves.

A corporation can no more assume to itself privileges which it had not before, than a man can, by his own act and deed, assume titles or dignities. The legislature of a colony may be compared to the vestry of a large parish, which may lay a cess on its inhabitants, but still regulated by the law, and which, whatever be its internal expenses, is still liable to taxes laid by superior authority.

8. But whereas I formerly allowed, "If there is, in the charter of any colony, a clause exempting them from taxes for ever, then they have a right to be so exempted;" I allowed too much. For to say, that the king can grant an exemption from the power of parliament, is saying in other words, that one branch of the legislature can grant away the power of the others. This is so far from being true, that if there is, in the charter of any colony, a clause exempting them from taxes for ever, yet, unless it were confirmed by an act of the whole legislature, that clause is void in itself. The king (to use the phrase of the law) was "deceived in his grant," as having given that which he had no right to bestow.

Of all these charters, then, it may be said, either they do contain such a clause, or they do not. If they do not, the plea of charter-exemption drops. If they do, although the charter itself stands good, yet that clause of it is null and void, as being contrary to the principles of the British constitution.

9 Give me leave to add a few words on this head: The following

acts show clearly, that, from the Restoration, the colonies were considered as part of the realm of England, in point of taxation, as well as every thing else :—

25th Charles II, chap. 7, expressly relates to the colonies, and lays several specific duties on commodities exported from the plantations.

9th Anne, chap. 10, orders a revenue to be raised in America from the post office.

9th Anne, chap. 27, lays a duty on several goods imported into America.

3d George II, chap 28, lays a duty on all rice exported from Carolina to the south of Cape Finisterre.

8th George II, chap. 19, extends the same to Georgia.

6th George II, chap. 13, lays several duties on rum, sugar, and molasses, imported into North America.

10. All that impartially consider what has been observed, must readily allow that the English parliament has an undoubted right to tax all the English colonies.

But whence then is all this hurry and tumult? Why is America all in an uproar? If you can yet give yourselves time to think, you will see the plain case is this :—

A few years ago you were assaulted by enemies, whom you were not well able to resist. You represented this to your mother country, and desired her assistance. You was largely assisted, and by that means wholly delivered from all your enemies.

After a time, your mother country, desiring to be reimbursed for some part of the large expense she had been at, laid a small tax (which she had always a right to do) on one of her colonies.

But how is it possible that the taking this reasonable and legal step should have set all America in a flame?

I will tell you my opinion freely; and perhaps you will not think it improbable. I speak the more freely, because I am unbiassed; I have nothing to hope or fear from either side. I gain nothing either by the government or by the Americans, and probably never shall. And I have no prejudice to any man in America: I love you as my brethren and countrymen.

11. My opinion is this: We have a few men in England who are determined enemies to monarchy. Whether they hate his present majesty on any other ground than because he is a king I know not. But they cordially hate his office, and have for some years been undermining it with all diligence, in hopes of erecting their grand idol, their dear commonwealth, upon its ruins. I believe they have let very few into their design; (although many forward it, without knowing any thing of the matter;) but they are steadily pursuing it, as by various other means, so in particular by inflammatory papers, which are industriously and continually dispersed throughout the town and country; by this method they have already wrought thousands of the people even to the pitch of madness. By the same, only varied according to your circumstances, they have likewise inflamed America. I make no doubt but these very men are the original cause of the present breach between England and her colonies. And they are still pouring oil into the flame, studiously incensing each against the other, and opposing, under a variety of pretences, all

measures of accommodation. So that, although the Americans in general love the English, and the English in general love the Americans, (all, I mean, that are not yet cheated and exasperated by these artful men,) yet the rupture is growing wider every day, and none can tell where it will end.

These good men hope it will end in the total defection of North America from England. If this were effected, they trust the English in general would be so irreconcilably disgusted, that they should be able, with or without foreign assistance, entirely to overturn the government; especially while the main of both the English and Irish forces are at so convenient a distance.

12. But, my brethren, would this be any advantage to you? Can you hope for a more desirable form of government, either in England or America, than that which you now enjoy? After all the vehement cry for liberty, what more liberty can you have? What more religious liberty can you desire, than that which you enjoy already? May not every one among you worship God according to his own conscience? What civil liberty can you desire, which you are not already possessed of? Do not you sit, without restraint, "every man under his own vine?" Do you not, every one, high or low, enjoy the fruit of your labour? This is real, rational liberty, such as is enjoyed by Englishmen alone; and not by any other people in the habitable world. Would the being independent of England make you more free? Far, very far from it. It would hardly be possible for you to steer clear, between anarchy and tyranny. But suppose, after numberless dangers and mischiefs, you should settle into one or more republics, would a republican government give you more liberty, either religious or civil? By no means. No governments under heaven are so despotic as the republican; no subjects are governed in so arbitrary a manner as those of a commonwealth. If any one doubt of this, let him look at the subjects of Venice, of Genoa, or even of Holland. Should any man talk or write of the Dutch government, as every cobbler does of the English, he would be laid in irons before he knew where he was. And then, wo be to him! Republics show no mercy.

13. "But if we submit to one tax, more will follow." Perhaps so, and perhaps not. But if they did; if you were taxed (which is quite improbable) equal with Ireland or Scotland, still, were you to prevent this, by renouncing connection with England, the remedy would be worse than the disease. For O! what convulsions must poor America feel, before any other government was settled? Innumerable mischiefs must ensue, before any general form could be established. And the grand mischief would ensue when it was established; when you had received a yoke which you could not shake off.

14. Brethren, open your eyes! Come to yourselves! Be no longer the dupes of designing men! I do not mean any of your countrymen in America; I doubt whether any of these are in the secret. The designing men, the Ahithophels, are in England; those who have laid their scheme so deep, and covered it so well, that thousands, who are ripening it, suspect nothing at all of the matter. These well-meaning men, sincerely believing that they are serving their country, exclaim against grievances, which either never existed, or are aggravated above

measure; and thereby inflame the people more and more, to the wish of those who are behind the scene. But be not you duped any longer; do not ruin yourselves for them that owe you no good-will, that now employ you only for their own purposes, and in the end will give you no thanks. They love neither England nor America, but play one against the other, in subserviency to their grand design of overturning the English government. Be warned in time; stand and consider, before it is too late; before you have entailed confusion and misery on your latest posterity. Have pity upon your mother country! Have pity upon your own! Have pity upon yourselves, upon your children, and upon all that are near and dear to you! Let us not bite and devour one another, lest we be consumed one of another! O let us follow after peace! Let us put away our sins; the real ground of all our calamities; which never will or can be thoroughly removed, till we fear God and honour the king!

A SERMON preached by Dr. Smith, in Philadelphia, has been lately reprinted in England. It has been much admired, but proceeds all along upon wrong suppositions. These are confuted in the preceding tract; yet I would just touch upon them again.

Dr. Smith supposes, 1. They have a right of granting their own money; that is, of being exempt from taxation by the supreme power. If they "contend for" this, they contend for neither more nor less than independency. Why then do they talk of their "rightful sovereign?" They acknowledge no sovereign at all.

That they contend for "the cause of liberty," is another mistaken supposition. What liberty do you want, either civil or religious? You had the very same liberty we have in England. I say you *had;* but you have now thrown away the substance, and retain only the shadow. You have no liberty, civil or religious, now, but what the congress pleases to allow.

But you justly suppose, "We are by a plain original contract entitled to a community of privileges, with our brethren that reside in England, in every civil and religious respect." (p. 19.) Most true. And till you appointed your new sovereigns, you enjoyed all those privileges. Indeed you had no vote for members of parliament; neither have I, because I have no freehold in England. Yet the being taxed by the parliament is no infringement either of my civil or religious liberty. And why have you no representatives in parliament? Did you ever desire them?

But you say again, "No power on earth has a right to grant our property without our consent." (p. 22.)

Then you have no sovereign; for every sovereign under heaven has a right to tax his subjects; that is, "to grant their property, with or without their consent." Our sovereign (that is, in connection with the lords and commons) has a right to tax me, and all other Englishmen, whether we have votes for parliament-men or no.

Vainly, therefore, do you complain of "unconstitutional exactions, violated rites and mutilated charters." (p. 24.) Nothing is exacted but according to the original constitution both of England and her colonies. Your rights are no more violated than mine, when we are both taxed by the supreme power; and your charters are no more mutilated by this, than is the charter of the city of London.

Vainly do you complain of being "made slaves." Am I or two millions of Englishmen made slaves because we are taxed without our own consent?

You may still "rejoice in the common rights of freemen." I rejoice in all the rights of my ancestors. And every right which I enjoy is common to Englishmen and Americans.

But shall we "surrender any part of the privileges which we enjoy by the express terms of our colonization;" that is, of our charter? By no means; and none requires it of you. None desires to withhold any thing that is granted by the express terms of your charters. But remember! one of your first charters, that of Massachusetts Bay, says. in express terms, you are exempt from paying taxes to the king for seven years; plainly implying, that after those seven years you are to pay them like other subjects. And remember your last charter, that of Pennsylvania, says, in express terms, you are liable to taxation; yea, it objects against being taxed by the king, unless in connection with the lords and commons.

But "a people will resume," you say, "the power which they never surrendered, except"—No need of any exception. They never surrendered it at all; they could not surrender it; for they never had it. I pray, did the people, unless you mean the Norman army, give William the Conqueror his power? And to which of his successors did the people of England (six or seven millions) give the sovereign power? This is mere political cant; words without meaning. I know but one instance in all history wherein the people gave the sovereign power to any one that was to Massaniello of Naples. And I desire any man living to produce another instance in the history of all nations.

Ten times over, in different words, you "profess yourselves to be contending for liberty." But it is a vain, empty profession; unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country. And this undoubtedly it is, which the confederated colonies are now contending for.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON LIBERTY.

OCCASIONED BY A LATE TRACT.

[PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1776.]*

1. IT was with great expectation that I read Dr. Price's "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and

[* The date of this tract of Mr. Wesley's shows that it was written at a time of great national excitement. This must be its apology. As a political production, it cannot fail to meet the strong and decided disapprobation of Americans; and we insert it here, with a few others alike foreign from our own views, solely to fulfil our promise of a *complete* edition of his works. Indeed, Mr. W. himself, after the successful termination of the great struggle in which America had made the last dire appeal to arms for the assertion of her rights, frankly, in effect, confessed his error, and acknowledged that it was by the interposition and providence of God himself, that our independence was achieved.—See his letter "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America;" dated in September, 1784.]

the Justice and Policy of the War with America;" and I was not disappointed.* As the author is a person of uncommon abilities, so he has exerted them to the uttermost in the tract before us, which is certainly a masterpiece of its kind. He has said all that can be said upon the subject, and has digested it in the most accurate manner; and candour requires us to believe that he has wrote with an upright intention, with a real design to subserve the interest of mankind in general, as well as the subjects of the British empire. But as the Doctor is a friend to liberty, so he can "think and let think." He does not desire that we should implicitly submit to the judgment, either of him or any other fallible man; and will not therefore be displeased at a few farther observations on the same subject. That subject is,

2. The liberty which is now claimed by the confederate colonies in America. In order to understand this much controverted question, I would set aside every thing not essential to it. I do not therefore now inquire, whether this or that measure be consistent with good policy; or, whether it is likely to be attended with good or ill success: I only want to know, is their claim right or wrong? Is it just or unjust?

3. What is it they claim? You answer, "Liberty." Nay, is it not independency? You reply: "That is all one; they do claim it, and they have a right to it."

To independency? That is the very question. To liberty they have an undoubted right; and they enjoy that right. (I mean, they did, till the late unhappy commotions.) They enjoyed their liberty in as full a manner as I do, or any reasonable man can desire.

"What kind of liberty do they enjoy?" Here you puzzle the cause, by talking of physical and moral liberty. What you speak of both is exactly true, and beautifully expressed: but both physical and moral liberty are beside the present question; and the introducing them can answer no other end than to bewilder and confuse the reader. Therefore, to beg the reader "to keep these in his view," is only begging him to look off the point in hand. You desire, him in order to understand this,

[* The favourable light in which Dr. Price's writings brought him before the American public, will appear from the following extract from the 'Diplomatic Correspondence,' edited by Mr. Jared Sparks:—

"DR. PRICE TO B. FRANKLIN.

LONDON, January 18th, 1779.

Doctor Price returns his best thanks to the honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, for conveying to him the resolution of Congress of the 6th of October last,* by which he is invited to become a member of the United States, and to give his assistance in regulating their finances. It is not possible for him to express the sense he has of the honour which this resolution does him, and the satisfaction with which he reflects on the favourable opinion of him which has occasioned it. But he knows himself not to be sufficiently qualified for giving such assistance; and he is so connected in this country, and also advancing so fast in the evening of life, that he cannot think of a removal. He requests the favour of the honourable commissioners to transmit this reply to Congress, with assurances that Dr. Price feels the warmest gratitude for the notice taken of him, and that he looks to the American States, as *now* the hope, and likely *soon* to become the refuge of mankind."

* "*In Congress, October 6th*, 1778.—'*Resolved*, That the Honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, or any of them, be directed forthwith to apply to Dr. Price, and inform him that it is the desire of Congress to consider him a citizen of the United States; and to receive his assistance in regulating their finances. That if he shall think it expedient to remove with his family to America, and afford such assistance, a generous provision shall be made for requiting his services.'"]

to attend to something else! "Nay, I beg him to look straight forward; to mind this one thing; to fix his eye on that liberty, and that only, which is concerned in the present question: and all the liberty to which this question relates, is either religious or civil liberty."

4. "Religious liberty is, a liberty to choose our own religion; to worship God according to our own conscience. Every man living, as a man, has a right to this, as he is a rational creature. The Creator gave him this right when he endowed him with understanding; and every man must judge for himself, because every man must give an account of himself to God. Consequently this is an unalienable right; it is inseparable from humanity; and God did never give authority to any man, or number of men, to deprive any child of man thereof, under any colour or pretence whatever." (See a tract, entitled, "Thoughts upon Liberty.")

Now, who can deny that the colonies enjoy this liberty to the fulness of their wishes?

5. Civil liberty, is a liberty to dispose of our lives, persons, and fortunes, according to our own choice, and the laws of our country.

I add, *according to the laws of our country:* for, although, if we violate these, we are liable to fines, imprisonment, or death; yet if, in other cases we enjoy our life, liberty, and goods, undisturbed, we are free, to all reasonable intents and purposes.

Now, all this liberty the confederate colonies did enjoy, till part of them enslaved the rest of their countrymen; and all the loyal colonies do enjoy it at the present hour. None takes away their lives, or freedom, or goods; they enjoy them all quiet and undisturbed.

"But the king and parliament can take them all away." But they do not; and, till it is done, they are freemen. The supreme power of my country can take away either my religious or civil liberty; but, till they do, I am free in both respects: I am free now, whatever I may be by and by. Will any man face me down, I have no money now, because it may be taken from me to-morrow?

6. But the truth is, what they claim is not liberty; it is independency. They claim to be independent of England; no longer to own the English supremacy.

A while ago, they vehemently denied this; for matters were not then ripe: and I was severely censured for supposing they intended any such thing. But now the mask is thrown off: they frankly avow it; and Englishmen applaud them for so doing!

Nay, you will prove, that not only the colonies, but all mankind, have a right to it; yea, that independency is of the very essence of liberty; and that all who are not independent are slaves.

Nay, if all who are not independent are slaves, then there is no free nation in Europe; then all in every nation are slaves, except the supreme powers. All in France, for instance, except the king; all in Holland, except the senate; yea, and these too; king and senate both are slaves, if (as you say) they are dependent upon the people. So, if the people depend on their governors, and their governors on them, they are all slaves together.

Mere play with words. This is not what all the world means by liberty and slavery; therefore, to say, "If the parliament taxes you without your consent, you are a slave," is mere quibbling. Whoever

talks thus, should say honestly, "Reader, I give you warning, I affix a new sense, not the common one, to these words, *liberty* and *slavery*." Take the words in this sense, and you may prove there are slaves enough in England, as well as America; but if we take them in the old, common sense, both the Americans and we are free men.

7. But you say, "The parliament has already deprived them of one great branch of liberty, by enacting, that, in the cases there specified, they shall be tried in England."

I answer, How grievously did they abuse that liberty before it was taken away! Let any fair man consider the case: how often have we heard of their quiet and peaceable submission to pay the duties by law established! And what a merit has been made of this by all their advocates! But it was a merit that never belonged to them; for the duties were not paid. All this time they did not, in fact, pay one half, no, not a quarter, of those duties. They continually defrauded the king of the far greater part of them, without shame or fear. Indeed, what should they fear? They did not deign to do it privately, like their fellows in England; no, they acted openly in the face of the sun. Ship loads of tea, for instance, were brought into Boston harbour, and landed at noon-day, without paying any duty at all. Who should hinder it? If a custom-house officer hindered, was it not at the peril of his life? And if, at any time, a seizure was made, and the cause came to be tried by a Boston jury, what would follow? It was no more than, "Ask your fellow, whether you are a thief."

8. Permit me to mention one eminent instance: the famous Mr. John Hancock, some time since, brought into Boston a ship load of smuggled tea, at noon-day. Just then came in the ships from London, laden with the same commodity, which, by the removal of the former tax, they were now enabled to sell cheaper than him. What could he now do *pro patria?* [for his country?] as Mr. Evans says; in plain English, not to lose by his cargo? All Europe knows what was done: "Some persons in disguise," Dr. Price tells us, "buried the English tea in the sea." It was not so commonly known who employed them, or paid them for their labour: to be sure, good Mr. Hancock knew no more of it than the child unborn!

9. Now, I desire to know of any reasonable man, what could the English government do? No officer could seize the smuggled goods; or, if he did, no jury would condemn the smuggler. There was therefore no possibility that the king should have his right, without taking some such step as was taken. There was not any alternative, but either to give up the customs altogether, (as the evil was increasing more and more,) or to try the offenders here; so that still they had as much liberty as their notorious offences allowed.

With what justice, then, can this be urged as a violation of their liberty? "O!" cries the man in yon stone doublet, "Bondage! slavery! Help, Englishmen! I am deprived of my liberty!" Certainly you are; but first you deprived the man of his purse.

"What! Do you compare Mr. H. to a felon?" I do, in this respect: I compare every smuggler to a felon; a private smuggler to a sneaking felon, a pick-pocket; a noon-day smuggler, to a bold felon, a robber on the highway. And if a person of this undeniable character is made

president of a congress, I leave every man of sense to determine what is to be expected from them.

10. To return: as the colonies are free, with regard to their persons, so they are with regard to their goods. It is no objection that they pay out of them a tax, to which they did not previously consent. I am free; I use my money as I please, although I pay taxes out of it, which were fixed by law before I was born, and, consequently, without my consent; and indeed those taxes are so moderate, that neither they nor I have reason to complain.

"But if the parliament tax you moderately now, it is possible they may, hereafter, tax you immoderately." It is possible, but not probable; they never have done it yet: when they do, then complain.

We are not talking of what may be, but what is; and it cannot be denied, they are free (which is the present question) in all the three particulars which Judge Blackstone includes in civil liberty.

11. But liberty will not content either them or you. You now openly plead for independency, and aver that the colonies ought to be independent on England, to assert their own supremacy, (1.) Because they are half as many as the English. (2.) Because in a century they will be twice as many.

The argument runs thus: if the Americans are half as many as the English, then they have a right to be independent. But they are half as many; therefore, they have a right to be independent.

I deny the consequence in the first proposition: number does not prove a right to independency. I deny the second proposition too: they are not half as many; even though you swell the number of the Americans as much as you diminish the number of the English.

I have been surprised lately, to observe many taking so much pains to extenuate the numbers of the inhabitants of England. For what end is this done? Is it to make us more respectable to our neighbours? or merely to weaken the hands of the king and ministry? I say the king and the ministry; for I lay no stress on their pompous professions of love and loyalty to the king: just such professions did their predecessors make to King Charles, till they brought him to the block.

12. "But are they not half as many? Do not the confederated provinces contain three millions of souls?" I believe not. I believe they contain about two millions. But, allowing they did, I make no doubt but the English (beside three millions of Scots and Irish) are ten millions at this day.

"How can that be, when there are only six hundred thousand in London?" Believe it who can, I cannot believe there are so few as fifteen hundred thousand in London and its environs, allowing only two miles every way from the walls of the city.

"But we know there were no more than six hundred thousand, when the computation was made in the late reign; allowing that there were, at an average, five in each house." They who make this allowance, probably fix their computation at their own fireside. They do not walk through every part of the town, up to the garrets, and down to the cellars. I do; and by what I have seen with my own eyes, frequently fifteen, eighteen, or twenty in one house, I cannot believe there are fewer, at an average, than ten under one roof; and the same I believe of Bristol,

Birmingham, Sheffield, and most other trading towns. Besides, how many thousand houses have been added to London within these thirty or forty years?

13. "But the people of England are continually decreasing." So it has been confidently affirmed; but it is a total mistake. I know the contrary, having an opportunity of seeing ten times more of England, every year, than most men in the nation. All our manufacturing towns, as Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, increase daily. So do very many villages all over the kingdom, even in the mountains of Derbyshire. And, in the meantime, exceeding few, either towns or villages, decrease.

And it is no wonder the people should increase, considering the amazing increase of trade which has been lately, not in London only, but much more in Bristol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, and indeed all parts of the kingdom, which I have had the opportunity of observing. There was a considerable decay of trade before; but the tide is turned, and it now pours in abundantly. So greatly were our American friends mistaken, who hoped, by shutting up their ports, to ruin most of the manufacturers in England, and so starve us into compliance with their demands.

"However, in a century, the Americans will be twice as many as the English." That admits of a doubt; but when they are, then let them avail themselves of it.

14. "Nay, not only the Americans, but all men, have a right to be self-governed and independent." You mean, they had a right thereto, before any civil societies were formed. But when was that time, when no civil societies were formed? I doubt hardly since the flood; and, wherever such societies exist, no man is independent. Whoever is born in any civilized country, is, so long as he continues therein, whether he chooses it or no, subject to the laws and to the supreme governors of that country. Whoever is born in England, France, or Holland, is subject to their respective governors; and "must needs be subject to the power, as to the ordinance of God, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake." He has no right at all to be independent, or governed only by himself; but is in duty bound to be governed by the powers that be, according to the laws of the country. And he that is thus governed, not by himself, but the laws, is, in the general sense of mankind, a free man; not that there ever existed any original compact between them and those governors. But the want of this does not make him a slave, nor is any impeachment to his liberty; and yet this free man is, by virtue of those laws, liable to be deprived, in some cases, of his goods; in others, of his personal freedom, or even of his life. And all this time he enjoys such a measure of liberty, as the condition of civilized nations allows; but no independency: that chimera is not found; no, not in the wilds of Africa or America.

Although, therefore, these subtle metaphysical pleas for universal independency appear beautiful in speculation, yet it never was, neither can be, reduced to practice. It is in vain to attempt it:

Sensus moresque repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et æqui.

[Common sense and morals oppose it, and utility itself, the source almost of what is just and right.]

15. Let us, however, give a fair hearing to these pleas, as they are urged by this masterly writer; and it may be worth while to trace the matter to the foundation, surveying it part by part:—

"Any will, distinct from that of the majority of a community, which claims a power of making laws for it, produces servitude. This lays the line between liberty and slavery." (p. 5.)

I must beg leave to stop you on the threshold. All this I totally deny; and require solid, rational proof of these assertions; for they are by no means self-evident.

"From what has been said, it is obvious, that all civil government, as far as it is free, is the creature of the people. It originates with them; it is conducted by their direction. In every free state, every man is his own legislator; all taxes are free gifts; all laws are established by common consent. If laws are not made by common consent, a government by them is slavery." (p. 7.)

Here is a group of strong assertions. But how are they supported? "O! they are inferred from what has been said." But what has been said, has as yet nothing to support it. If then, these assertions stand at all, they stand by themselves. Let us try if they can. "All civil government, as far as it is free, is a creature of the people." It is, if we allow your definition of freedom; that is, if we allow you to beg the question.

16. But before we can move a step farther, I must beg you to define another of your terms. This is the more necessary, as it occurs again and again; and indeed the whole question turns upon it. What do you mean by *the people?* "All the members of a state?" So you express it, page 8, "All the individuals that compose it?" So you speak in the next page. Will you rather say with Judge Blackstone, "Every free agent?" or with Montesquieu, "Every one that has a will of his own?" Fix upon which of these definitions you please, and then we may proceed.

If my argument has an odd appearance, yet let none think I am in jest. I am in great earnest. So I have need to be; for I am pleading the cause of my king and country; yea, of every country under heaven, where there is any regular government. I am pleading against those principles that naturally tend to anarchy and confusion; that directly tend to unhinge all government, and overturn it from the foundation. But they are principles which are incumbered with such difficulties as the wisest man living cannot remove.

17. This premised, I ask, Who are the people that have a right to make and unmake their governors? Are they "all the members of a state?" So you affirmed but now. Are they "all the individuals that compose it?" So you said quickly after. Will you rather say, "The people are every free agent?" or, "Every one that has a will of his own?" Take which you will of these four definitions, and it necessarily includes all men, women, and children. Now, stand to your word. Have all men, women, and children, in a state, a right to make and unmake their governors? They are all free agents, except infants; and even these have a will of their own. They all are "members of the state;" they are, all and every one, "the individuals that compose it." And had ever the people, as above defined by yourself, a right to make and unmake their governors?

18. Setting Mr. Evans's witticisms aside, I seriously desire him, or

Doctor Price, or any zealous assertor of the king-making right of our sovereign lords the people, to point out a single instance of their exerting this right in any age or nation. I except only the case of Thomas Aniello, (vulgarly called Massanello,) in the last century. Do not tell me, "There are many;" but point them out. I aver, I know of none. And I believe it will puzzle any one living to name a second instance, either in ancient or modern history.

19. And by what right, (setting the Scriptures aside, on which you do not choose to rest the point,) by what right do you exclude women, any more than men, from choosing their own governors? Are they not free agents, as well as men? I ask a serious question, and demand a serious answer. Have they not "a will of their own?" Are they not "members of the state?" Are they not part of "the individuals that compose it?" With what consistency, then, can any who assert the people, in the above sense, to be the origin of power, deny them the right of choosing their governors, and "giving their suffrages by their representatives?"

"But do you desire or advise that they should do this?" Nay, I am out of the question. I do not ascribe these rights to the people; therefore, the difficulty affects not me; but, do you get over it how you can, without giving up your principle.

20. I ask a second question: By what right do you exclude men who have not lived one-and-twenty years from that "unalienable privilege of human nature," choosing their own governors? Is not a man a free agent, though he has lived only twenty years, and ten or eleven months? Can you deny, that men from eighteen to twenty-one are "members of the state?" Can any one doubt, whether they are a part of "the individuals that compose it?" Why then are not these permitted to "choose their governors, and to give their suffrages by their representatives?" Let any who say these rights are inseparable from the people, get over this difficulty if they can; not by breaking an insipid jest on the occasion, but by giving a plain, sober, rational answer.

If it be said, "O, women and striplings have not wisdom enough to choose their own governors;" I answer, Whether they have or no, both the one and the other have all the rights which are "inseparable from human nature." Either, therefore, this right is not inseparable from human nature, or both women and striplings are partakers of it.

21. I ask a third question: By what authority do you exclude a vast majority of adults from choosing their own governors, and giving their votes by their representatives, merely because they have not such an income; because they have not forty shillings a year? What, if they have not? Have they not the rights which, you say, belong to man as man? And are they not included in the people? Have they not a will of their own? Are they not free agents? Who then can, with either justice or equity, debar them from the exercise of their natural rights?

"O, but the laws of the land debar them from it." Did they make those laws themselves? Did they consent to them, either in person or by their representatives, before they were enacted? "No; they were enacted by their forefathers long before they were born." Then, what are they to them? You have assured us, that if men may give away their own liberty, they cannot give away the liberty of others, of their

children or descendants. Nay, you have told us, that no man has a right to give away his own liberty; that it is unalienable from the nature of every child of man. Never, therefore, patronize those iniquitous laws. No; if you are a lover of liberty, an enemy to slavery and oppression, exhort them to shake off this servile yoke.

22. To set this whole matter in another light, I beg leave to repeat the sum of a small tract lately published. (Thoughts on the Origin of Power.) Have not the people, in every age and nation, the right to dispose of the supreme power; of investing therewith whom they please, and upon what conditions they see good? Consequently, if those conditions are not observed, they have a right to take it away. To prove this, it is argued, "All men living are naturally equal; none is above another; and all are naturally free masters of their own actions; therefore, no man can have any power over another, but by his own consent; therefore, the power which any governors enjoy, must be originally derived from the people, and presupposes an original compact between them and their first governors."

23. But, who are the people? Are they every man, woman, and child? Why not? Is it not one fundamental principle, that, "all persons living are naturally equal; that all human creatures are naturally free; masters of their own actions; that none can have any power over them, but by their own consent?" Why, then, should not every man, woman, and child, have a voice in placing their governors, in fixing the measure of their power, and the conditions on which it is intrusted? And why should not every one have a voice in displacing them too? Surely they that gave the power have a right to take it away. By what argument do you prove, that women are not naturally as free as men? And if they are, why have they not as good a right to choose their governors? Who can have any power over free, rational creatures, but by their own consent? And are they not free by nature as well as we? Are they not rational creatures?

24. But suppose we exclude women from using their natural right, by might overcoming right, what pretence have we for excluding men like ourselves, barely because they have not lived one-and-twenty years? "Why, they have not wisdom or experience to judge of the qualifications necessary for governors." I answer, (1.) Who has? how many of the voters in Great Britain? one in twenty? one in a hundred? If you exclude all who have not this wisdom, you will leave few behind. But, (2.) Wisdom and experience are nothing to the purpose. You have put the matter upon another issue. Are they men? That is enough. Are they human creatures? Then they have a right to choose their own governors; an indefeasible right; a right inherent, inseparable from human nature. "But in England they are excluded by law." Did they consent to the making of that law? If not, by your original supposition, it can have no power over them. I therefore utterly deny that we can, consistently with that supposition, exclude either women or minors from choosing their own governors.

25. But, suppose we exclude these by main force; are all that remain, all men of full age, the people? Are all males, then, that have lived one-and-twenty years, allowed to choose their own governors? Not in England, unless they are freeholders, and have forty shillings a year.

Worse and worse! After depriving half the human species of their natural right for want of a beard; after having deprived myriads more for want of a stiff beard, for not having lived one-and-twenty years; you rob others, many hundred thousands, of their birthright for want of money! Yet not altogether on this account neither; if so, it might be more tolerable. But here is an Englishman who has money enough to buy the estates of fifty freeholders, and yet he must not be numbered among the people, because he has not two or three acres of land! How is this? By what right do you exclude a man from being one of the people, because he has not forty shillings a year; yea, or not a groat? Is he not a man, whether he be rich or poor? Has he not a soul and a body? Has he not the nature of a man; consequently, all the rights of a man, all that flow from human nature; and, among the rest, that of not being controlled by any but by his own consent?

"But he that has not a freehold is excluded by law." By a law of his own making? Did he consent to the making of it? If he did not, what is that law to him? No man, you aver, has any power over another, but by his own consent: of consequence, a law made without his consent is, with regard to him, null and void. You cannot say otherwise, without destroying the supposition, that "none can be governed but by his own consent."

26. See now to what your argument comes. You affirm, all power is derived from the people; and presently exclude one half of the people from having any part or lot in the matter. At another stroke, suppose England to contain eight millions of people, you exclude one or two millions more. At a third, suppose two millions left, you exclude three-fourths of these; and the poor pittance that remains, by I know not what figure of speech, you call the people of England!

27. Hitherto we have endeavoured to view this point in the mere light of reason; and, even by this, it appears that this supposition, which has been palmed upon us as undeniable, is not only false, not only contrary to reason, but contradictory to itself; the very men who are most positive that the people are the source of power, being brought into an inextricable difficulty, by that single question, "Who are the people?" reduced to a necessity of either giving up the point, or owning that by *the people*, they mean scarce a tenth part of them.

28. But we need not rest the matter entirely on reasoning. Let us appeal to matter of fact; and, because we cannot have so clear a prospect of what is at a distance, let us only take a view of what has been in our own country. I ask, then, When did the people of England (suppose you mean by that word only half a million of them) choose their own governors? Did they choose (to go no farther) William the Conqueror? Did they choose King Stephen or King John? As to those who regularly succeeded their fathers, the people are out of the question. Did they choose Henry the Fourth, Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Seventh? Who will be so hardy as to affirm it? Did the people of England, or but fifty thousand of them, choose Queen Mary, or Queen Elizabeth, or King James the First? Perhaps you will say, "If the people did not give King Charles the supreme power, at least they took it away." No; the people of England no more took away his power, than they cut off his head "Yes; the parliament did, and

they are the people." No; the parliament did not: the house of commons is not the parliament, any more than it is the nation. Neither were those who then sat, the house of commons; no, nor one quarter of them. But, suppose they had been the whole house of commons, yea, or the whole parliament, by what rule of logic will you prove that seven or eight hundred persons are the people of England? "Why, they are the delegates of the people; they are chosen by them." No, not by one half, not by a quarter, not by a tenth part, of them: so that the people, in the only proper sense of the word, were innocent of the whole affair.

29. "But you will allow, the people gave the supreme power to King Charles the Second at the Restoration." I will allow no such thing, unless, by the people, you mean General Monk and ten thousand soldiers. "However, you will not deny that the people gave the power to King William at the Revolution." I will; the convention were not the people, neither elected by them: so that still we have not a single instance, in above seven hundred years, of the people of England's conveying the supreme power either to one or more persons.

30. So much both for reason and matter of fact. But one single consideration will bring the question to a short issue. It is allowed, no man can dispose of another's life, but by his own consent: I add, No, nor with his consent; for no man has a right to dispose of his own life: the Creator of man has the sole right to take the life which he gave. Now, it is an indisputable truth, *Nihil dat quod non habet*,—"None gives what he has not." It follows, that no man can give to another a right which he never had himself; a right which only the Governor of the world has, even the wiser Heathens being judges; but which no man upon the face of the earth either has or can have. No man, therefore, can give the power of the sword, any such power as gives a right to take away life: wherever it is, it must descend from God alone, the sole disposer of life and death.

31. The supposition, then, that the people are the origin of power, or that "all government is the creature of the people," though Mr. Locke himself should attempt to defend it, is utterly indefensible. It is absolutely overturned by the very principle on which it is supposed to stand, namely, that "a right of choosing his governors belongs to every partaker of human nature." If this be so, then it belongs to every individual of the human species; consequently, not to freeholders alone, but to all men; not to men only, but to women also; not only to adult men and women, to those who have lived one-and-twenty years, but to those that have lived eighteen or twenty, as well as those who have lived threescore. But none did ever maintain this, nor probably ever will; therefore, this boasted principle falls to the ground, and the whole superstructure with it. So common sense brings us back to the grand truth, "There is no power but of God."

32. I may now venture to "pronounce, that the principles on which you have argued, are incompatible with practice," even the universal practice of mankind, as well as with sound reason; and it is no wonder "that they are not approved by our governors," considering their natural tendency, which is, to unhinge all government, and to plunge every nation into total anarchy.

This, in truth, is the tendency of the whole book; a few passages of which I shall now recite, begging leave to make a few remarks upon them. But I must ask the reader's pardon, if I frequently say the same thing more than once; for, otherwise, I could not follow the author.

33. "All the members of a state" (which necessarily include all the men, women, and children) "may intrust the powers of legislation with any number of delegates, subject to such restrictions as they think necessary." (p. 8.) This is "incompatible with practice:" it never was done from the beginning of the world; it never can; it is flatly impossible in the nature of the thing. "And thus, all the individuals that compose a great state partake of the powers of legislation and government." *All the individuals!* Mere Quixotism! Where does that state exist? Not under the canopy of heaven. "In this case, a state is still free," (but this case has no being,) "if the representatives are chosen by the unbiassed voices of the majority." Hold! this is quite another case; you now shuffle in a new term: the *majority* we were not talking of, but *all the members* of a state. The majority are not *all the individuals* that compose it; and pray, how came the minority to be deprived of those rights, which you say are "unalienable from human nature?"—"But we disguise slavery, keeping up the form of liberty, when the reality is lost." It is not lost; I now enjoy all the real liberty I can desire, civil as well as religious. The liberty you talk of was never found; it never existed yet. But what does all this lead to, but to stir up all the inhabitants of Great Britain against the government?

34. To inflame them still more, you go on: "Liberty is more or less complete, according as the people have more or less share in the government." This is altogether contrary to matter of fact: The greater share the people have in the government, the less liberty, either civil or religious, does the nation in general enjoy. Accordingly, there is most liberty of all, civil and religious, under a limited monarchy; there is usually less under an aristocracy, and least of all under a democracy. What sentences then are these: "To be guided by one's own will, is freedom; to be guided by the will of another, is slavery?" (p. 11.) This is the very quintessence of republicanism; but it is a little too barefaced: for, if this is true, how free are all the devils in hell, seeing they are all guided by their own will! And what slaves are all the angels in heaven, since they are all guided by the will of another! See another stroke: "The people have power to model government as they please." (p. 12.) What an admirable lesson, to confirm the people in their loyalty to the government! Yet again: "Government is a trust, and all its powers a delegation." (p. 15.) It is a trust, but not from the people: "There is no power but of God." It is a delegation, namely, from God; for "rulers are God's ministers," or delegates.

35. How irreconcilable with this are your principles! Concerning our governors in England, you teach, "A parliament forfeits its authority by accepting bribes." If it does, I doubt all the parliaments in this century, having accepted them more or less, have thereby forfeited their authority, and, consequently, were no parliaments at all: It follows, that the acts which they enacted were no laws; and what a floodgate

would this open! You teach farther: "If parliaments contradict their trust," (of which the people are to judge,) "they dissolve themselves." And certainly a parliament dissolved is no parliament at all. And seeing "a state that submits to such a breach is enslaved," what should the people do? Knock them on the head, to be sure. And who can doubt, but they have an unalienable power so to do, seeing "government was instituted for the people's sake, and theirs is the only real omnipotence?" (p. 16.)

36. And, lest your meaning should not yet be plain enough, you conclude this article thus: "These reflections should be constantly present to every mind in this country. There is nothing that requires to be more watched than power; there is nothing that ought to be opposed with a more determined resolution than its encroachments. The people of this kingdom were once warmed with such sentiments as these." Exactly such, in the glorious days of Watt the Tyler, and of Oliver Cromwell. "Often have they fought and bled in the cause of liberty; but that time seems to be going." Glory be to God, it is not going, but gone. O may it never return! "The fair inheritance of liberty, left us by our ancestors, we are not unwilling to resign." We are totally unwilling to resign either our civil or religious liberty; and both of these we enjoy in a far greater measure than ever our ancestors did. Nay, they did not enjoy either one or the other, from the time of William the Conqueror till the Revolution. "Should any events arise," (and you give very broad intimations that they have arisen already,) "which should render the same opposition necessary that took place in the time of King Charles the First,"—the same opposition which made the land a field of blood, set every man's sword against his brother, overturned the whole constitution, and cut off, first, the flower of the nation, and then the king himself,—"I am afraid all that is valuable to us would be lost: The terror of the standing army would deaden all zeal," for these noble exploits, "and produce a general servitude." (p. 18.)

37. What a natural tendency has all this, to instil into the good people of England the most determined rancour and bitterness against their governors, against the king and parliament! And what a natural tendency has all that follows to instil the same both into the English and the Americans! On these passages also, I shall beg leave to subjoin a few short observations:—

"A country that is subject to the legislature of another country, in which it has no voice, and over which it has no control, is in slavery." This is palpably false. Take one instance out of many: Pennsylvania was subject (till now) to the legislature of England, in which it had no voice, and over which it had no control; yet it never was in slavery; it never wanted either civil or religious liberty; nay, perhaps it was more free in both respects than any other country in the universe. "In a country thus subjugated to another," (a very improper, as well as invidious word,) "there is little or nothing to check rapacity." If you mean the rapacity of the English government, the insinuation is cruelly false; it never existed; no such rapacity was ever exercised. "And the most flagrant injustice and cruelty may be practised without remorse or pity." (p. 20.) This is purely calculated to inflame; for no such injustice or cruelty was ever practised, nor was ever likely to be, either in this or any other

province of America. That which follows is a curious sentiment indeed; I know not that ever I met with it before: "The government of one country over another" (suppose of England over North America, or over the West Indian islands) "cannot be supported but by a military force. This is a state of oppression no country could submit to, an hour, without an armed force to compel them." (p. 23.) Was ever any thing more palpably false! The English government, both in the islands and North America, is the government of one country over another; but it has needed no armed force to support it for above these hundred years: And this government which you would persuade them is oppressive, all the colonies did not only submit to, but rejoice in, without any armed force to compel them. They knew, and felt they were not oppressed; but enjoyed all the liberty, civil and religious, which they could desire.

38. We come now to more matter entirely new: "No country can lawfully surrender their liberty, by giving up the power of legislating for themselves, to any extraneous jurisdiction; such a cession, being inconsistent with the unalienable rights of human nature, would either not bind at all, or bind only the individuals that made it." (p. 25.) This is a home thrust. If this be so, all the English claim either to Ireland, Scotland, or America, falls at once. But can we admit this without any proof? Ought assertions to pass for arguments? If they will, here are more of the same kind: "No one generation can give up this for another." That is, the English settlers in America could not "give up their power of legislating for themselves." True, they could not give up what they never had. But they never had, either before or after they left England, any such power of making laws for themselves as exempted them from the king and parliament; they never pretended to any such power till now; they never advanced any such claim; nay, when this was laid to their charge, they vehemently denied it, as an absolute slander. But you go farther still: "When this power" (of independency) "is lost, the people have always a right to resume it." Comfortable doctrine indeed! perfectly well calculated for the support of civil government!

39. To the same good end, you observe: "Without an equal representation of all that are governed, government becomes complete tyranny." (p. 27.) Now you had told us before, "There is not such an equal representation in England:" It follows, "The English government is complete tyranny!" We have, however, the comfort to know that it never was any better since the parliament subsisted. For who can say that there ever was an equal representation since the conquest? We know farther, that we have only neighbour's fare; for we cannot find there is any nation in Europe, no, nor in the habitable world, where the government is not as complete tyranny as our own; we find none wherein there is "an equal representation of all that are governed." But will any man affirm, in cool blood, that the English government is "complete tyranny?" We have certainly enjoyed more complete liberty since the Revolution, than England ever enjoyed before; and the English government, unequal as the representation is, has been admired by all impartial foreigners.

40. "But the sword is now to determine our rights: Detested be the

measures which have brought us to this." (p. 33.) I once thought those measures had been originally concerted in our own kingdom; but I am now persuaded they were not. I allow that the Americans were strongly exhorted by letters from England, "never to yield or lay down their arms till they had their own terms, which the government would be constrained to give them in a short time:" But those measures were concerted long before this; long before either the tea act or the stamp act existed; only they were not digested into form,—that was reserved for the good congress. Forty years ago, when my brother was in Boston, it was the general language there, "we must shake off the yoke; we never shall be a free people till we shake off the English yoke." These, you see, were even then for "trying the question," just as you are now; "not by charters," but by what you call, "the general principles of liberty." And the late acts of parliament were not the cause of what they have since done, but barely the occasion they laid hold on.

41. But "a late act declares that this kingdom has power to make statutes to bind the colonies in all cases whatever! Dreadful power indeed! I defy any one to express slavery in stronger terms." (p. 34.) *In all cases whatever!* What is there peculiar in this? Certainly, in all cases, or in none. And has not every supreme governor this power? This the English parliament always had, and always exercised, from the first settlement of the American colonies. But it was not explicitly declared, because it was never controverted. The dreadfulness of it was never thought of for above a hundred years; nor is it easy to discern where that dreadfulness lies. Wherein does it consist? The parliament has power to make statutes, which bind Englishmen likewise, in all cases whatever. And what then? Why, you say, "I defy any one to express slavery in stronger terms." I think I can "express slavery in stronger terms." Let the world judge between us. Slavery is a state wherein neither a man's goods, nor liberty, nor life, are at his own disposal. Such is the state of a thousand, of ten thousand, negroes in the American colonies. And are their masters in the same state with them? in just the same slavery with the negroes? Have they no more disposal of their own goods, or liberty, or lives? Does any one beat or imprison them at pleasure; or take away their wives, or children, or lives; or sell them like cows or horses? This is slavery; and will you face us down that the Americans are in such slavery as this? You answer, Yes, with regard to their goods; for the English parliament "leaves them nothing that they can call their own." (p. 35.) Amazing! Have they not houses, and lands, and money, and goods of every kind, which they call their own? And did they not enjoy, a few years since, complete liberty, both civil and religious, instead of being bound to hard labour, smarting under the lash, groaning in a dungeon, perhaps murdered, or stabbed, or roasted alive, at their masters' pleasure?

42. But, "did not their charters promise them all the enjoyment of all the rights of Englishmen?" (p. 40.) They did; and they have accordingly enjoyed all the rights of Englishmen from the beginning. "And allow them to tax themselves?" Never so as to exempt them from being taxed by parliament. It is evident from the acts of parliament now in being, that this was never granted, and never claimed till now: On the contrary, the English government has ever claimed the

right of taxing them, even in virtue of those very charters. But you ask, "can there be an Englishman who would not sooner lose his heart's blood, than yield to such claims?" (p. 47.) A decent question for a subject of England to ask! Just of a piece with your assertions, that "our constitution is almost lost;" that the claims of the crown have "stabbed our liberty;" and that "a free government loses its nature. the moment it becomes liable to be commanded by any superior power." (p. 49.) *From the moment it becomes liable!* This is not the case with the colonies; they do not become liable to be commanded by the king and parliament; they always were so, from their first institution.

43. "The fundamental principle of our government is, the right of the people to grant their own money." No; if you understand the word people, according to your own definition, for all the individuals that compose the state, this is not the fundamental principle of our government, nor any principle of it at all. It is not the principle even of the government of Holland, nor of any government in Europe. "It was an attempt to encroach upon this right in a trifling instance, that produced the civil war in the reign of King Charles the First." O no! it was the actual encroaching, not on this right only, but on the religious as well as civil rights of the subject; and that, not in one trifling instance only, but in a thousand instances of the highest importance. "Therefore, this is a war undertaken, not only against our own constitution, but on purpose to destroy other similar constitutions in America, and to substitute in their room a military force." (p. 50.) Is it possible that a man of sense should believe this? Did the king and parliament undertake this war, on purpose to overturn a castle in the air, to destroy a constitution that never existed? Or is this said purely *ad movendam invidiam*, "to inflame the minds of the people?" I would rather impute it to the power of prejudice; as also the following wonderful sentence: "How horrid, to sheathe our swords in the bowels of our brethren, for no other end than to make them acknowledge our supremacy!" Yes, for this end,—to make them lay down their arms, which they have taken up against their lawful sovereign; to make them restore what they have illegally and violently taken from their fellow subjects; to make them repair the cruel wrongs they have done them. as far as the nature of the thing will admit, and to make them allow to all that civil and religious liberty whereof they have at present deprived them. These are the ends for which our government has very unwillingly undertaken this war, after having tried all the methods they could devise to secure them without violence.

44. Having considered the justice, you come now to consider the policy of this war. "In the last reigns, the colonies, foregoing every advantage which they might derive from trading with foreign nations, consented to send only to us, whatever it was for our interest to receive from them; and to receive only from us, whatever it was for our interest to send them." (p. 67.) They *consented to do this!* No; they only pretended to do it; it was a mere copy of their countenance. They never did, in fact, abstain from trading with other nations, Holland and France in particular. They never did, at least for forty years past, conform to the act of navigation. They did not send only to us what we wanted, or receive only from us what they wanted. What! did they

not "allow us to regulate their trade in any manner which we thought best?" (p. 68.) No such thing. They only allowed us to make laws to regulate their trade. But they observed them as they thought best; sometimes a little, sometimes not at all. "They fought our battles with us." Certainly we fought theirs: And we have sad reason to remember it; for had Canada remained in the hands of the French, they would have been quiet subjects still.

45. "But what calamities must follow" from this impolitic war! See "the empire dismembered." (p. 73.) If it be, that is not the consequence of the war, but rather the cause of it. "The blood of thousands shed" (it is not yet; perhaps it never may) "in an unrighteous quarrel." Doubtless unrighteous on their part, who revolt from their lawful sovereign; and therefore whatever blood is shed will lie at their door. "Our strength exhausted." No, not yet; as they that try may find to their cost. "Our merchants breaking." But far more before the war than since. "Our manufacturers starving." I pray, where? I cannot find them: Not in London, in Bristol, in Birmingham, in Manchester, in Liverpool, Leeds, or Sheffield; nor any where else, that I know; and I am well acquainted with most of the manufacturing towns in England. "The funds tottering." Then the stocks must sink very low: But that is not the case. "And the miseries of a public bankruptcy impending." Just as they have done these hundred years. Fifty years ago I used to be much alarmed at things of this kind. When I heard a doleful prophecy of ruin impending on the nation, I really imagined something would follow. Nay, nothing in the world: These predictions are mere *brutum fulmen;* thunder without lightning.

46. Now for a little more of this fine painting! But, remember! it is not drawn from the life. "A nation once the protector of liberty in distant countries, endeavouring to reduce its own brethren to servitude." Say, to lay down the arms which they have taken up against their king and country. "Insisting upon such a supremacy over them as would leave them nothing they could call their own." (p. 89.) Yes; the supremacy insisted on would leave them all the liberty, civil and religious, which they have had from their first settlement. You next compare them to the brave Corsicans, taking arms against the Genoese. But the Corsicans were not colonies from Genoa: Therefore, there is nothing similar in the case. Neither in that you next quote, the case of Holland. You say, Yes: "The United Provinces of Holland were once subject to the Spaniards; but, being provoked by the violation of their charters, they were driven to that resistance which we and all the world have ever since admired." (p. 90.) *Provoked by the violation of their charters!* yea, by the total subversion both of their religious and civil liberties; the taking away their goods, imprisoning their persons, and shedding their blood like water, without the least colour of right, yea, without the very form of law; insomuch that the Spanish governor, the Duke of Alva, made his open boast, that "in five years he had caused upwards of eighteen thousand persons to fall by the hands of the common hangman." I pray, what has this to do with America? Add to this, that the Hollanders were not colonies from Spain, but an independent people, who had the same right to govern Spain, as the Spaniards to govern Holland.

47. As another parallel case, you bring the war of the Romans with the allied states of Italy. But neither is this case parallel at all; for those states were not colonies of Rome, (although some colonies were scattered up and down among them,) but original, independent states, before Rome itself had a being. Were it then true that "every Briton must approve the conduct of those allies," (p. 91,) it would not follow, that they must approve the conduct of the Americans; or that "we ought to declare our applause, and say, We admire your spirit; it is the spirit that has more than once saved us." We cannot applaud the spirit of those who usurp an illegal authority over their countrymen; who rob them of their substance, who outrage their persons, who leave them neither civil nor religious liberty; and who, to crown all, take up arms against their king and mother country, and prohibit all intercourse with them.

48. See an argument of a different kind: "The laws and religion of France were established in Canada, on purpose to bring up thence an army of French Papists." (p. 94.) What proof have you, what tittle or shadow of proof, for this strange assertion, that the laws and religion which they had before in Canada were established on purpose to bring an army thence? It is manifest to every impartial man, that this was done for a nobler purpose. Every nation, you allow, has a natural liberty to enjoy their own laws, and their own religions: so have the French in Canada; and we have no right to deprive them of this liberty. Our parliament never desired, never intended, to deprive them of this; (so far were they from any intention of depriving their own countrymen of it!) and on purpose to deliver them from any apprehension of so grievous an evil, they generously and nobly gave them a legal security, that it should not be taken from them. And is this (one of the best things our parliament ever did) improved into an accusation against them? "But our laws and religion are better than theirs." Unquestionably they are; but this gives us no right to impose the one or the other, even on a conquered nation. What if we had conquered France, ought we not still to have allowed them their own laws and religion? Yea, if the Russians had conquered Constantinople, or the whole Ottoman empire, ought they not to have allowed to all they conquered, both their own religion and their own laws? nay, and to have given them, not a precarious toleration, but a legal security for both?

49. "But the wild Indians, and their own slaves, have been instigated to attack them." I doubt the fact. What proof is there of this, either with regard to the Indians or the negroes? "And attempts have been made to gain the assistance of a large body of Russians." Another hearty assertion, which many will swallow, without ever asking for proof: in truth, had any such attempts been made, they would not have proved ineffectual. Very small pay will induce a body of Russians to go wherever they hope for good plunder. It might just as well have been said, "Attempts were made to procure a large body of Tartars."

50. Now for a little more encouragement to your good friends and allies in America: "The utmost force we can employ does not exceed thirty thousand men to conquer half a million of determined men, fighting for that sacred blessing of liberty, without which man is a beast, and government a curse." (p. 95.) I am not sure that our utmost force is

either thirty, or forty, or fifty, thousand men. But are you sure, that "half a million, at least, are determined to fight" against them? Yes: For "a quarter of the inhabitants of every country are fighting men; and the colonies consist of two millions." Here are several points which are not quite clear. I doubt, (1.) Whether those colonies contain two millions. I doubt, (2.) Whether a quarter of the inhabitants of any country are fighting men: we usually reckon a sixth part. I doubt, (3.) Whether a quarter of the American fighting men are determined to fight in so bad a cause; to fight, not for liberty which they have long enjoyed, but for independency. Will you affirm, that "without this, man is a beast, and government a curse?" Then show me where man is not a beast, and where government is not a curse.

51. But you give them more encouragement still: "In the Netherlands, a few states thus circumstanced withstood the whole force of the Spanish monarchy; and, at last, emancipated themselves from its tyranny." (*Ib.*) *Thus circumstanced!* No; they were in wholly different circumstances; they were cruelly and wantonly oppressed; they were robbed both of civil and religious liberty; they were slaughtered all the day long; and, during the contest, which was really for liberty, they were assisted by the German princes, by England, and by France itself. But "what can thirty thousand men do, when they are to be fed from hence?" (p. 96.) Do you think they will stand with their finger in their eye? If they cannot find food at land, (which would be strange,) the seas and rivers are open. "Their maritime towns they are resolved to burn themselves." They will think twice, before they execute that resolution. "As to their trade, the loss of it will do them unspeakable good." Will it indeed? Then let them acknowledge their benefactors. "They rejoice particularly in the last restraining act: this will furnish them with a reason for confiscating the estates of all the friends of our government among them." (p. 97.) *A reason!* All the friends of our government are infinitely obliged to you for suggesting this to them, who are full ready to improve any hint of the kind; and it will be no wonder if they soon use these enemies of their country as the Irish did the Protestants in 1641.

52. "One consideration more. From one end of America to the other, they are fasting and praying: but what are we doing? Ridiculing them as fanatics, and scoffing at religion." This certainly is the case with many; but God forbid it should be the case with all! There are thousands in England (I believe full as many, if not many more than in America) who are daily wrestling with God in prayer for a blessing upon their king and country; and many join fasting therewith; which, if it were publicly enjoined, would be no scandal to our nation. Are they "animated by piety?" So are we; although "not unto us be the praise." "But can we declare, in the face of the sun, that we are not aggressors in this war?" We can. "And that we mean not, by it, to acquire dominion or empire, or to gratify resentment?" (p. 99:) I humbly believe, both the king and his ministers can declare this before God: "But solely to gain reparation for injury," from men who have already plundered very many of his majesty's loyal subjects, and killed no small number of them.

53. You now proceed to answer objections; and mention, as the

First, "Are they not our subjects?" You answer: "They are not your subjects; they are your fellow subjects." Are they indeed? Do you affirm this? Then you give up the whole question; then their independency, which you have so vehemently maintained, falls to the ground at once.

A Second objection, you say, is this: "But we are taxed; why should not they?" You answer: "You are taxed by yourselves; they insist on the same privilege." I reply, They are now taxed by themselves, in the very same sense that nine tenths of us are. We have not only no vote in the parliament, but none in electing the members: yet Mr. Evans says, "We are virtually represented:" and if we are, so are the Americans. You add: "They help you to pay your taxes, by giving you a monopoly of their trade." They consented, as you observed before, to do this; but they have not done it for many years: they have, in fact, traded to Holland, to France, to Spain, and every where they could. And how have they helped us, by purchasing our manufactures? Take one instance out of a thousand: They have taken large quantities of our earthenware, for which they regularly required three years' credit. These they sold to the Spaniards, at a very advanced price, and for ready money only. And did they not hereby help themselves, at least, as much as they helped us? And what have we lost by losing their custom? We have gained forty, fifty, or sixty per cent. The Spaniards now come directly to Bristol; and pay down ready money, pieces of eight, for all the earthenware that can possibly be procured.

54. A Third objection, you say, is this: "They will not obey the parliament and the laws." You answer: "Say, They will not obey your parliament and your laws; because they have no voice in your parliament, no share in making your laws." (p. 100.) So, now the mask quite falls off again. A page or two ago, you said, "They are your fellow subjects." Now, you frankly declare, they owe no subjection to our government, and attempt to prove it! To that proof I reply: Millions in England have no more voice in the parliament than they; yet that does not exempt them from subjection to the government and the laws. But "they may have a voice in it if they will." No; they cannot, any more than the Americans. "Then they so far want liberty." I answer, (1.) Whether they do or no, they must needs be subject; and that not only for wrath, for fear of punishment, but for conscience' sake. (2.) They do not want liberty; they have all the liberty they can desire, civil as well as religious. "Nay, I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law to which I do not consent." If you have not, look at that man chained to the oar: he is a slave; he cannot at all dispose of his own person. Look at that negro sweating beneath his load: he is a slave; he has neither goods nor liberty left. Look at that wretch in the Inquisition: then you will have a far other notion of slavery.

55. You next advance a wonderful argument to convince us that all the Americans are slaves: "All your freehold land is represented; but not a foot of theirs; 'nay,' says an eminent man, there is not a blade of grass in England but is represented.'" This much-admired and frequently-quoted assertion is altogether new! I really thought, not the grass, or corn, or trees, but the men of England, were represented

in parliament. I cannot comprehend, that parliament men represent the grass, any more than the stones or clay of the kingdom. *No blade of grass but is represented!* Pretty words! But what do they mean? Here is Mr. Burke; pray, what does he represent? "Why, the city of Bristol." What, the buildings so called; or the ground whereon they stand? Nay, the inhabitants of it: the ground, the houses, the stones, the grass, are not represented. Who till now ever entertained so wild a thought? But let them stand together, the independency of our colonies, and the representation of every blade of grass!

56. You conclude: "Peace may be obtained upon the easy, the constitutional, and therefore the indispensable, terms of an exemption from parliamentary taxation, and an admission of the sacredness of their charters." (p. 107.)

Are not you betraying your cause? You have been all along pleading, in the most explicit manner, for their exemption, not only from parliamentary taxation, but legislation also. And, if your arguments prove any thing, they certainly prove this, that the colonies have an unalienable right, not only to tax, but to make laws for themselves; so that the allowing them the former is nothing, unless we allow the latter also; that is, in plain terms, unless we allow them to be independent on the English government.

As to your other term of peace, there is unquestionably such a thing as the forfeiting of a charter: whether the colonies have forfeited theirs or not, I leave others to determine. Whether they have or have not, there can be no reason for making the least doubt but, upon their laying down their arms, the government will still permit them to enjoy both their civil and religious liberty in as ample a manner as ever their ancestors did, and as the English do at this day.

57. I add a few words more: Two or three years ago, by means of incendiary papers, spread throughout the nation, the minds of the people were inflamed to an amazing degree; but the greater part of the flame is now gone out. The natural tendency, or rather the avowed design, of this pamphlet, is, to kindle it again; if it be possible, to blow up into a flame the sparks that yet remain; to make the minds of his majesty's subjects, both at home and abroad, evil-affected toward his government; discontented in the midst of plenty, out of humour with God and man; to persuade them, in spite of all sense and reason, that they are absolute slaves, while they are actually possessed of the greatest civil and religious liberty that the condition of human life allows.

Let all who are real lovers of their country use every lawful means to put out, or, at least, prevent the increase of, that flame which, otherwise, may consume our people and nation. Let us earnestly exhort all our countrymen to improve the innumerable blessings they enjoy; in particular, that invaluable blessing of liberty, civil as well as religious, which we now enjoy in a far more ample measure than any of our forefathers did. Let us labour to improve our religious liberty, by practising pure religion and undefiled; by worshipping God in spirit and in truth; and taking his "word for a lantern to our feet, and a light in all our paths." Let us improve our civil liberty, the full freedom we enjoy, both as to our lives, goods, and persons, by devoting all we have, and all we are, to his honourable service. Then may we hope that he will

continue to us all these blessings, with the crown of all, a thankful heart Then shall we say, in all the changing scenes of life,—

"Father, how wide thy glories shine,
Lord of the universe and mine!
Thy goodness watches o'er the whole,
As all the world were but one soul;
Yet counts my every sacred hair,
As I remain'd thy single care!"

Methodist
Historical Society
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Conference

A SEASONABLE ADDRESS

TO THE

MORE SERIOUS PART OF THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

RESPECTING

THE UNHAPPY CONTEST BETWEEN US AND OUR AMERICAN BRETHREN:

WITH AN OCCASIONAL WORD INTERSPERSED TO THOSE OF A DIFFERENT COMPLEXION.

BY A LOVER OF PEACE.

[PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1776.]

He beheld the city, and wept over it.—Luke xix, 41.
Let your moderation be known unto all men.—Philip. iv, 5.

MEN AND BRETHREN,—Unhappy, very unhappy for us, we are a kingdom divided against itself; and, without a miracle, fall we must! What a fall will there then be, when such "distress is upon the land, and wrath upon the people!" And is this a little thing, brethren? Is it what any of us either desire or promote? God forbid! A kingdom divided against itself is an evil, of all others, the most dreadful; inasmuch as an innumerable train of evils necessarily follow; no inconsiderable part of which are the sword, fire, plunder, and famine. This our forefathers unhappily felt, and to our inexpressible sorrow we may feel.

And is this an unlikely thing? Is it altogether improbable? Surely no! But that small cloud which arose some few years since, has, to discerning minds, been gathering blackness, and spreading itself well nigh over the whole land. And is it any marvel if, by and by, it should burst upon us, as it has done upon America? Let him that has wisdom understand this.

Then who that has any understanding, any bowels of mercy and compassion, would not do the utmost, that either human or divine prudence can suggest, to prevent it? For who knows, when the sword is once drawn, where it may stop? Who can command it to be put up into its scabbard and it will obey him? Such power is not in man; it is only in Him

Who rides upon the stormy sky, and calms the roaring seas.

Again: If the sword should be drawn, upon whom may it light? This we know not. But supposing it should be on yourself, or a beloved wife, an aged parent, a tender child, a dear relative, what recompense can be

found for such a loss? What, O! what would the whole world then be, if it might be gained? Alas! what a poor trifle! But, suppose you escape with your life, and the lives of those that are near and dear to you, there is yet another dreadful evil to fear, and which has been the case; plunder, lawless plunder, may deprive you of your little all. Now, who can insure another? Who can exempt himself in the time of general distress, from such an evil? Alas! brethren, "we must let this alone for ever. We are of yesterday, and know nothing" of to-morrow.

What then must we do to save (not to destroy) our kingdom, and to save (not to destroy) our American brethren? *Do*, my brethren! Why what would we do, if either our own or our neighbour's house were on fire? We should bring, if in our senses, no combustible matter to increase the flame, but water and a helping hand to extinguish it. This we should certainly do, and our labour would not be in vain. Now, apply this to America and Great Britain. The former is like a house on fire; the devouring flames of an unnatural civil war are already kindled, and some hundreds of lives have fallen a prey to its insatiable violence. And how long before this may be our case here, God only knows!

Stop here then, my brethren, and survey the desolation. Behold the weeping and disconsolate widow refusing to be comforted! Her beloved husband is fallen! is fallen! and is no more! See the affectionate parent hanging down his head like the bulrush! Hear the broken language of his heart! "My son! my son! would God I had died in thy place! O my son! my son!" This is far from the flight of imagination, or the colouring of fancy. It is the real and actual condition of many amongst that unhappy people, and a part only of their manifold distress. In a word, they and we appear to be a people infatuated like the Jews of old, and ripening for destruction; and no marvel if, while we are biting and devouring one another, some stronger beasts of prey step in and divide the spoil! Here stop then, and drop a tear for the slain of our people, through the fire of contention that is kindled amongst them! And if on your recovery from the horrors of so terrible a conflagration, you should begin to inquire into its cause, a spectator begs leave to inform you, that it was occasioned through the unhappy contention of brethren, (which, as Solomon observes, "only cometh of pride,") and begs your kind assistance to extinguish the flames, lest they and their whole substance should be consumed together! The great danger of which, as well as the cause of this unparalleled and fatal strife, I would beg leave to present to your view in a piece of fine painting, done by an abler master: "See! Here are some thousands of our brave countrymen gathered together on this plain; they are followed by the most tender and feeling emotions of wives, children, and an innumerable multitude of their thoughtful, humane, and sympathizing countrymen. Then turn your eyes and behold a superior number at a little distance, of their brethren, 'flesh of their flesh, and bone of their bone,' who only a few years since emigrated to the dreary wilds of America. These also are followed with the most tender feelings of wives, children, and countrymen. See, they advance toward each other, well prepared with every instrument of death! But what are they going to do? To shoot

each other through the head or heart; to stab and butcher each other, and hasten (it is to be feared) one another into the everlasting burnings. Why so? What harm have they done to one another? Why, none at all. Most of them are entire strangers to each other. But a matter is in dispute relative to the mode of taxation. So these countrymen, children of the same parents, are to murder each other with all possible haste, to prove who is in the right. Now, what an argument is this! What a method of proof! What an amazing way of deciding controversies! But so it is; and O what horrors attend on it! At what a price is the decision made! By the blood and wounds of thousands; the burning cities, ravaging and laying waste the country." Now, who that seriously considers this awful contest, can help lamenting the astonishing want of wisdom in our brethren to decide the matter without bloodshed? What, are there no wise men amongst us? none that are able to judge between brethren? But brother goeth to war against brother; and that in the very sight of the Heathen. Surely this is a sore evil amongst us. O how are the mighty fallen! How is wisdom perished from the wise! What a flood of folly and madness has broke in upon us!

But do you farther ask me, Who was first in the transgression? Who began the dreadful strife? I must beg your pardon for not touching this subject now. Excuse my saying any thing of the second cause, as I mean only to inquire into the first. I fear doing harm, and this is far from my design. Another great reason for my avoiding any reflections of this sort, on this delicate subject, is, that it has been already done by some of the most able hands, and to very little purpose. Argument seems lost in clamour, in confusion of passion and party rage; and the Satanic dust of prejudice seems to have put out the eyes of our understanding. But thus much I might venture to say,—the case is rendered very complicated, and must in general remain unintelligible, unless to those who thoroughly understand the constitution of each party, and then have wisdom enough to weigh it in an unprejudiced balance.

To be plain, the present melancholy dispute either is, or is not, founded in a constitutional right on the one part, and a constitutional opposition on the other. So far is certain. Therefore, till the entire nature of both constitutions is well and fully understood, it is utterly impossible to decide thereon. I speak as to the matter of the dispute only; the manner of it is another point. Now, how many understand, or ever properly consider, either the one or the other? I fear but few. How deplorable then is it, that almost every one is sufficient for it, and accordingly passes sentence. An outcry is raised. The Americans should or should not be taxed; and many have drawn their swords, and are well-nigh ready to cut their antagonists' throats! But this is not our wisdom; it is far from it. It is indeed fighting uncertainly, and scattering firebrands, arrows, and death. But go no farther. Stop here, and calmly reflect on the above argument. Settle it in your heart, that unless you properly understand the merits of the cause, you talk at random; you argue uncertainly, and worse than to no purpose.

But if any man has this wisdom, and this well-poised balance, let him stand forth in defence of his country, and be assured his labour will not be in vain.

Here we must lament, that, instead of its being a matter of great and general concern, it is more a party affair; and to our shame may it be said, that such a spirit has so unhappily influenced almost all sorts of people, that some are breathing out slaughter against one party, and some against another. Now, while this is the case, is it any marvel that we should perish together? While we are contending who set the building on fire, and looking with rage and vengeance on the suspected party, instead of bringing the assuaging water of heartfelt grief and pious concern, with the helping hand of wisdom, moderation, and love, it is more than certain the flames will spread and endanger the whole building.

If these things, therefore, are so, let us cease contending with each other. Let us avoid unkind and bitter reflection on one another; seeing it can do no real service to the cause we would defend, but, in all probability, much harm. Let us bring no combustible matter of this sort to increase the fire. But as the flames are actually spreading, and may soon reach from them to us, let us do our utmost to extinguish them. Ye salt of the earth, exert the seasoning, preserving quality which you are favoured with. Bring your contentious brethren in your loving arms of faith and prayer, and lay them at your Father's feet, praying him "to forgive them, as they know not what they do." Look upward for help, to Him "who doeth whatsoever pleases him in the armies of heaven, and among the sons of men;" knowing it is He alone that "can quench the violence of fire, still the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people." Much, brethren, depends on you, though "the world account your life madness, and your end to be without honour;" for you are the true "salt of the earth;" you alone preserve it from general putrefaction; and you, under God, are the great means of saving a divided kingdom, "a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers;" and had not the Lord "left you as a small remnant," we should long since "have been as Sodom and Gomorrah!"

But do not you, for your Master's sake, lose your favour in that unhallowed fire of contention, which the people who know not God are now burning in. The old serpent may herein deceive us, as he has too often done already. As an angel of light he is most likely to succeed, and, under the specious show of doing our country service, betray us, in treating our opponents, into a spirit and temper not from above. And how many may unhappily be influenced and led away with our error, God only knows! But this seems to be the design of the adversary of God and man; and if he can set the Christian world together by the ears, he has gained his point. But again, brethren, we may be deceived respecting the cause itself. Our veneration and respect for the cause we would espouse may betray us into a maze of error, imprudence, false zeal, and bitterness of temper; which must prove highly injurious to the public good. What has been, you know, may be again. And as the great Governor of the world has often permitted, particularly upon his own people, a judicial blindness, hardness of heart, and an amazing infatuation, which terminated in their ruin; so it is not improbable but the great and spreading defection and intemperate zeal on the one hand, and the determined purpose of maintaining the authority and dignity of government by fire and sword on the other, is more judicial than we are

aware of. And that this is the case, I fear, is more than probable. It has been so in this kingdom, as well as the kingdom of Israel in the matter of David and his son Absalom; and it will be so while iniquity beareth rule. If this be so, take heed what you do. Do nothing hastily or rashly. But, rather, before you touch this awfully delicate subject, and enter the lists, examine and weigh well the thoughts of your heart, and the springs of motion. And with David pray, "Search me, O God, and prove the ground of my heart," &c. Beg to be directed. If you cannot act from a full persuasion that this is required at your hands, and if you cannot see the Divine cloud go before you, desist in time. "Let the dead bury their dead;" but let not those who are designed to save the earth destroy it. Let not Christians engage in the controversy in the spirit and temper of the world, and bite and devour one another, lest they should be consumed with the world. But rather let them wish, with an eminent Prophet, (an admirable way of showing our love to our country, and doing it the most effectual service!) "O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" and with Christ himself, the Inspirer of the Prophets, "when he beheld the" rebellious "city, weep over it!"

But, it may be you are of a different complexion. You "fear not the Lord, neither regard the operation of his hands." Your case, I fear, is too similar to his, who of old said, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey him?" But he is, though you know him not, the God of your life, your health, your strength, and all your mercies. It is "through him you live, move, and have your being;" and is therefore altogether worthy of all you have and all you are. "Acquaint yourself with him, and be at peace; and thereby good shall come unto thee." Till this is the case, it is morally impossible that you should be a true patriot, a real lover of your country. You may indeed assume the sounding title; but it is an empty name. You may in word mightily contend for your country's good; but, while you are a slave to sin, you are an enemy to God, and your country too. But let the time past suffice. Be henceforth, not only in word, but in deed and in truth, a patriot. Put away the accursed thing, the evil that is found in you; so shall you love your country as your own soul, and prevent the fearful end of born.

That we may do this, and that it may please infinite Wisdom to succeed our attempts, I would beg leave to pass from the Second to the First cause. Here I would fix my foot, as on a sure and solid foundation that will stand for ever. The Holy Scriptures give us ample accounts of the fall and rise of the greatest monarchies. It is simply this: they rose by virtue; but they fell by vice. "Righteousness" alone "exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." And this ever will be the case, till the end of all things. So much in general is certain; but wherein we have well nigh filled up "the measure of our iniquity," and may therefore expect their fate, is another point. But it is certain that iniquity of every kind, and amongst all ranks and orders of men, has and does abound; and as we are punished with the sword, it is not improbable but one principal sin of our nation is, the blood that we have shed in Asia, Africa, and America. Here I would beg your serious attention while I observe, that however extensively pursued, and of long continu-

ance, the African trade may be, it is nevertheless iniquitous from first to last. It is the price of blood! It is a trade of blood, and has stained our land with blood! And is the East India trade a jot better? I fear not. They seem very nearly allied. For though here is no leading into captivity, as in the former; yet the refined iniquity practised there, of fomenting war amongst the natives, and seizing the chief of the plunder, has been as conspicuous to the serious and attentive. What millions have fallen by these means, as well as by artificial famine! O earth, cover not thou their blood! It will speak to heaven and to the inhabitants of the earth to the latest posterity. O ye governors of this great nation, would to God that ye had seen this, and timely done your utmost to separate those tares from the wheat of fair and honest trade! What peace therefore can we expect, while these evils continue? "There can be no peace, saith the Lord." While "the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground," "what hast thou to do with peace?" "Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" Yes, my brethren, we have much reason to fear and tremble, as upon the brink of fate.

But there is (if aught can be worse) a sorer evil, namely, an astonishing contempt and neglect of truly sacred things; especially the solemn worship of Almighty God: and herein our nobility and gentry almost universally distinguish themselves. This is indeed a sore evil; one of the grossest affronts that can be offered to the great Governor of the world. And I am bold to say, that as he hath spoken to this nation as he hath not to any other nation upon earth of late years, and that in an uncommon way and manner, but as in general we have stopped our ears, and utterly despised his call; the day will come when the candlestick will be removed, and the kingdom of God given to another people that will attend the call, and bring forth fruit. And when the Divine glory, in this respect, begins to depart, the natural glory will soon follow. Probably that day is not far off, unless we repent.

We seem indeed to have been at our meridian height of power, greatness, &c; (not of holiness unto the Lord;) and it is to be feared that the glory has begun to depart, which, like the sun when he begins to decline, will continue its declension, finally disappear, and leave us in total darkness, unless a Divine interposition prevent. For we seem judicially given up to pursue those measures that will effectually accomplish it. Now, as what God hath joined together (especially such powerful people as we and the Americans now are) for the mutual support, comfort, and defence of each other, should not be put asunder by any means whatsoever, as it would undoubtedly frustrate his gracious design in this well compacted body; so, if one powerful member should rise up against the whole body, or the whole body against one such member, and disunite from it; this schism must, in the nature of things, occasion such a weakness and deformity in the whole body, as is only to be known by an unhappy experience. The disunion of the ten tribes is a melancholy proof of it. And as Judah vexed Ephraim, and Ephraim Judah, so will it be with us. The counsel therefore to separate cannot be from God. It has no foundation in the nature and fitness of things beneficial, either to them or us, and must, in the end, prove like the counsel of Ahithophel.

Ye friends of America, turn your eyes therefore, for a moment, from those you suspect to be the only authors of the present evil, and think seriously of a more secret but certain cause, namely, the universality and enormity of every species of wickedness that is found in our land; and then marvel not that the great Governor of the world hath withheld that restraint which he is ever wont to hold amongst the governors of a wise and good people. For we may be assured of this, that, were those in authority under the temptation of despotism and oppression, (and would to God, it never was the case!) if we as a people, by our transgressions, had not to a great and certain degree provoked the eyes of his glory, "I," saith the Lord, "would put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips."

Ye friends of government also, draw near, and turn your eyes from those you suspect to be the only authors of the present evil; look in this glass, and see the ugly monster, universal sin, that subtle, unsuspected serpent that has inflamed our blood, and brought on the malignant fever of contention on our body. Here gaze till its loathsome and hideous deformity makes you loathe her. Then you will not marvel, that when the Divine restraint is withheld, we are capable of any thing; even that which is the most likely to end in our present and eternal ruin! And should not ye, O ye Americans, ye unhappy sufferers by this dreadful fire, look into the same glass, and not marvel at a Divine permission of your afflictions; but in a becoming spirit and disposition ask, "Wherefore dost thou contend with me? Why hidest thou thy face, and holdest me for thine enemy? Why hast thou set me as a mark against thee?" Surely then will the Lord be jealous for his land, and pity his people!

But is our universal impiety the first and principal cause of our misery and wretchedness in general, and of the present distress in particular? Then let no individual attempt to clear himself from the dreadful charge of being accessary to it. Let no one presume to look on himself as unconcerned and innocent. Let no one "wipe his mouth and say, What harm have I done?" but rather let him know that his sin in particular has added to the general account, and not a little contributed to the fierceness of the divine contention. I say "divine contention;" and such doubtless it is, though in general we conceive it merely human. But the latter is the effect only of the former, and should never be forgotten. It demands our first and most serious attention, being the first and principal means of restoring the wished for peace, and greatly desired reconciliation. For this is no other than to make God himself our friend; and, "if he be for us, who can be against us?" Let us do this therefore without delay. Let every one remember his own sin, and not his neighbour's.

Let us follow the example of the Ninevites. Let us "break off our sins by repentance." Let us "observe such a fast as God hath chosen." (And, O, what need of a national fast at this juncture!) "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare" (not destroy) "thy people, O Lord;" and "give not thine heritage to reproach, that the Heathen should rule over them, and say, Where is their God? Then will the Lord by jealous for his land, and pity his people." But should this spirit of universal humiliation fail, and consequently the Divine favour upon our land, let not the

seed of Abraham faint, neither let them be dismayed. Their humiliation and intercession shall be remembered. It cannot be forgotten; and, if Sodom is not spared for their sake, they themselves shall nevertheless be spared, "as a man spareth his own son that serveth him: God will make a difference between him that serveth him, and him that serveth him not."

> Strong is his arm, and shall fulfil
> His great decree and sovereign will.

"Fear not," therefore, ye "little flock," if the overflowing scourge should come. But "enter ye into the rock, and hide ye for a little moment in the dust, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain!"

A CALM ADDRESS

TO THE INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND.

[Printed in the year 1777.]

Friends and Countrymen,—1. About a year and a half ago, being exceedingly pained at what I saw or heard continually, I wrote a little tract entitled, "A Calm Address to our American Colonies;" but the ports being just then shut up by the Americans, I could not send it abroad as I designed. However, it was not lost; within a few months, fifty, or perhaps a hundred thousand copies, in newspapers and otherwise, were dispersed throughout Great Britain and Ireland. The effect exceeded my most sanguine hopes. The eyes of many people were opened; they saw things in a quite different light. They perceived, and that with the utmost clearness, how they had been hoodwinked before. They found, they had been led unawares into all the wilds of political enthusiasm, as far distant from truth and common sense, as from the real love of their country.

2. I am encouraged hereby to address myself once more, not indeed to my countrymen afar off, but to you who remain in your native land, who are inhabitants of Old England. I have no private views in doing this. I attend no great man's table. I have nothing to ask, either of the king, or any of his ministers. You may easily believe this; for if I had sought wealth or preferment half a century ago, I should hardly think it worth while to seek it now, when I have one foot in the grave. But I have a view to contribute all that in me lies to the public welfare and tranquillity. A flame was studiously kindled some time since, which threatened to involve the whole nation. By the blessing of God, it is greatly checked; it does not spread, or blaze as formerly. But it is not quite put out. I wish to quench the remains of that evil fire.

3. My view is, as far as is possible, to lessen, if not remove, the misunderstandings under which many honest, well-meaning men are labouring to this day; misunderstandings, which have caused much

animosity, nay, much bitterness and rancour in their minds, against those who equally "strive to have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man." I would fain have all these duly sensible of the blessings which they enjoy; that they may be thankful to the Giver of every blessing, and may love one another as he has loved us.

4. Surely every man of candour and humanity must wish well to such an attempt; in the prosecution of which I will first endeavour to set down, in as plain and artless a manner as I can, according to the best light I have, the real state of those affairs which have occasioned these misunderstandings; and then add two or three short reflections, which I conceive naturally deducible therefrom.

5. And, First, I will set down, in as plain and artless a manner as I can, according to the best light I have, the real state of those affairs which have occasioned these misunderstandings. I have perhaps had some means of information which many others have not had. Over and above those accounts which have been published, I have had abundance of letters from persons in America, on whose judgment, veracity, and impartiality I could safely depend; especially from the provinces of New-York, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. I have likewise had the opportunity of conversing freely and largely with many that came from those provinces, and of comparing together the accounts of those who were attached to one or the other party. And I shall endeavour to deliver the plain facts, without speculations concerning them.

6. In the year 1737, my brother took ship, in order to return from Georgia to England. But a violent storm drove him up to New England; and he was for some time detained at Boston. Even then he was surprised to hear the most serious people, and men of consequence, almost continually crying out, "We must be independent; we shall never be well, till we shake off the English yoke." This sounded exceeding strange to him; as he could not form any imagination, that they could be happier under any government, than the mild one which they then enjoyed.

A gentleman, who spent some time at Boston in the year 1739, informed me that he had frequently heard the very same conversation there; although at that time the people only spake what they had long and eagerly desired; but, it seems, without any formed design, or having concerted any measures upon the head.

7. Almost from their settlement in the country, but more especially from this time, the people of this, as well as the other provinces, multiplied exceedingly. This was the natural effect of the unparalleled lenity of the government they were under, and the perfect liberty they enjoyed, civil as well as religious. Through the same causes, from the smallness of their taxes, and the large bounties continually received from their mother country, (which also protected them from all their enemies,) their wealth increased as fast as their numbers. And, together with their number and their wealth, the spirit of independency increased also. At the same time, it could not be but their shipping would increase in the same proportion with their trade, which was now extended not only through America, and not only through Great Britain and Ireland, but also (notwithstanding the act of navigation) through almost every part of Europe.

8. Much more wealth was accumulated in the numerous seaport towns, by defrauding his majesty of his customs. This was continually done, not only by stealth, but frequently with a high hand. Whole ship loads of uncustomed goods were imported, particularly at Boston, and that at noon-day. And it is notorious, that one of the greatest dealers in this kind was the celebrated Mr. Hancock. It is true, this now and then met with some check from his majesty's officers; but it was so little, it scarce deserves the naming. However, little as it was, they bore it not without huge indignation, and strong marks of resentment. And, whenever a matter of this kind came before an American jury, (which could not but frequently be the case,) it was easy to foresee the event. The officer was sure to have his labour for his pains; for they were too good patriots to condemn their countrymen! By this means the customs of North America, which ought to have brought in so considerable a sum as would have gone far toward defraying the expense of the government, were reduced to a very small pittance.

9. In consideration of this, the English government a few years ago thought it equitable to lay a small duty upon the stamps in America, in order, if not to bear themselves harmless, yet to lessen their burden. Immediately a cry arose, as if all America was just going to be swallowed up. It was echoed across the Atlantic ocean, from America to England. The patriots (so they styled themselves) in England eagerly joined the cry, and spared no labour and no expense to propagate it throughout the nation. Do you suppose they did this out of stark love and kindness to the poor, ruined Americans? No such matter. They understood the case too well; they knew they cried before they were hurt. But they laid hold on this as a fair occasion to throw an aspersion on those that were in power, being very willing, and supposing themselves very worthy, to supply their place. However, the ministry finding the clamour increasing, and the storm spreading on both sides the ocean, were persuaded to give way to the torrent. They did so; and the stamp act was repealed.

10. The American leaders now apprehending that they had a sufficient number of fast friends in England, began to entertain higher designs; the New England men in particular. They had no longer any thing to fear from Canada, which the English had conquered for them. And they had nothing to fear from England, when they judged their allies were growing stronger and stronger. They therefore paved the way for the execution of their favourite scheme; first, by diligently cultivating the republican notions which they had received from their forefathers; and then by speaking and writing in the most contemptuous and reproachful manner of the English government.

11. Soon after, it being thought reasonable, that every part of the British empire should furnish its share of the general expense, the English parliament laid a small duty on the tea imported into America. Again a violent outcry arose, and was studiously propagated through all the provinces. It was no less diligently spread throughout England. And as they judged the time was now come to advance a little farther, the leading men, both at home and abroad, began more and more confidently to assert, "that the English had no right to tax the American colonies." The asserters of this new position in England strongly

exhorted those in America to withstand what they were pleased to call this "illegal, unconstitutional oppression." Thus encouraged, the Bostonians, under the auspices of Mr. Hancock, (whose interest was particularly at stake,) scorning to do any thing secretly, paraded the town at noon day with colours flying, and bravely threw the English tea into the sea. This was the first plain overt act of rebellion, not of a few, but of the town of Boston. Reparation of the wrong was demanded; but it was not obtained. Till it should be obtained, the parliament ordered Boston harbour to be shut up.

12. But things were not yet ripe for an open rupture: therefore the Americans still gave the government good words. They professed their loyalty, their great regard for the king, and their desire of obeying all his legal commands. But all this time they were using all possible art and diligence to blacken, first the ministry, after a time the parliament too, and then the king himself. Of this I had a clear and particular account from a friend in Pennsylvania, who then observed a storm rising in the north, and moving on toward the southern colonies. And it moved on apace. A new supreme power, called a Congress, appeared. It openly assumed the reins of government, exercised all the rights of sovereignty, burst all the bands, and totally disclaimed the authority both of king and parliament.

13. But still the Americans talked of allegiance, and said they desired nothing but the liberty of Englishmen. Many in England cordially believed them; I myself for one. And many more (though they saw deeper; perhaps were in the secret) affected to believe them, defended them with all their might, and pleaded their cause, in public and private, as honest, upright men, who only withstood oppression, and desired nothing but what was their legal right.

14. While we were warmly debating these things in England, the Americans, believing matters were now in a proper forwardness, wholly threw off the mask, openly took up arms, seized upon his majesty's stores and ships, and avowed themselves to be sovereign states, independent on Britain or any other. And herein they were still vehemently encouraged by their numerous friends in England. Some of these (and they were persons of no mean account) wrote them letters, (which were carefully sent by the congress through all the provinces,) nearly in these words: "Make no concessions; give up nothing. Stand your ground. Be resolute, and, you may depend upon it, in less than a year and a half, there will be such commotions in England, that the government will be glad to be reconciled to you upon your own terms."

15. One might have imagined, for some time, that this was a true prophecy. Many warm men at home laboured to embarrass the government in all its measures. They spoke all manner of evil of the ministry. They made the keenest reflections on the parliament; and, when they had whetted themselves and one another, they spared not the king himself. Meanwhile, they were so wonderfully tender of the Americans, that they would not in any wise term them rebels, though they were in open arms against their lawful sovereign. And all this time, whatsoever was undertaken against them went on heavily. The king's troops were either detained in the harbours, or stopped in their passage by contrary winds. Some of the transports, and abundance of other ships, fell into

the hands of the Americans. Their privateers swarmed on every side, both in the American and European seas. They were plentifully furnished with provisions, from the resources they had within themselves and with all sorts of arms and ammunition, by our good allies, the Dutch and French. In the mean while, the few English troops that were in America were closely shut up in Boston, by a numerous army holding them in on every side, and gaping to swallow them up. And these within the town were in want of all things, while those without abounded with all things. This they gloried in, as a manifest proof that God was on their side. As they now were confident of success, the talk of liberty was over: Independency was the word; this was avowed without any disguise or reserve. And, indeed, liberty was come to an end; it had no longer any being in the confederate colonies. If any one dared to speak a little in favour of the king, or in disfavour of the congress, he was soon taught to know his lords and masters, whose little finger was heavier than the loins of kings.

16. At length the king published a proclamation for a general fast in England, that we might "humble ourselves before God, and implore his blessing and assistance." Some of the patrons of independency mocked at this, and endeavoured to turn it into ridicule. A company of them met at an inn in Bristol on the fast-day, and had a plentiful entertainment. Others stormed and raved at this hypocrisy, as they were pleased to term it. However, there is all reason to believe that God was well pleased with it. We now openly acknowledged him, and he openly acknowledged us. From this very time, the tide turned. The king's forces (which many said was impossible) made good their landing at the place proposed, and that without any loss at all. They took possession of Long Island, and with next to no opposition. They took the island and city of New-York, with all its boasted fortifications. They drove the rebels out of their almost inaccessible posts, though defended by strong intrenchments. They took Fort Washington and Fort Lee, which a handful of men might have defended against a numerous army. At all these places they took warlike stores in abundance, beside some thousands of prisoners. They took possession of Rhode-Island, and every where drove the rebels before them like a flock of sheep.

17. Where are now the two or three hundred thousand men, that we were told would pour down upon us? But what, if they did? What would a million do, if they ran away as soon as the English appeared? Whatever they do, they will not fight. I believe they cannot; for the hand of God is upon them. But they can rob, and plunder, and destroy, and turn a well-peopled and fruitful land into a wilderness. They can burn houses, and drive men, women, and children into the wild woods, in the depths of winter. Yea, they can burn whole towns, without any regard for the sick or aged, that necessarily perished in the flame. But did not God regard them? Did not their dying cries enter into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth?

18. Such is the present state of affairs in America. Let us now take a view of the whole: Twelve provinces, upon various pretences, (all which have been confuted over and over,) have declared themselves independent states, openly renounced their allegiance to their lawful

sovereign, taken up arms against him, and prosecuted the war in an unheard-of manner. At first prosperity seemed to attend them in all their undertakings. But since we sought help from God, there has been a manifest blast upon them. Their armies are scattered; their forts and strong holds lost; their provinces taken one after another. Meantime, are they humbled? No; they roar like a wild bull in a net. They tear up the ground with fierceness and rage; repentance is hid from their eyes. They revenge themselves—upon women and children; they burn—all behind them! O American virtue! Are these the men who are proposed as a pattern to all Europe?

19. Brethren! Countrymen! What are the reflections that now naturally arise in your breasts? Do you not immediately observe, that after this huge outcry for liberty, which has echoed through America, there is not the very shadow of liberty left in the confederate provinces? There is no liberty of the press. A man may more safely print against the Church in Italy or Spain, than publish a tittle against the congress in New-England or Pennsylvania. There is no religious liberty. What minister is permitted to follow his own conscience in the execution of his office? to put man in mind to be "subject to principalities and powers?" to "fear God and honour the king?" Who is suffered (whatever his conscience may dictate) to "pray for the king, and all that are in authority?" There is no civil liberty. No man hath any security, either for his goods, or for his person; but is daily liable to have his goods spoiled or taken away, without either law or form of law, and to suffer the most cruel outrage as to his person, such as many would account worse than death. And there is no legal method wherein he can obtain redress for whatever loss or outrage he has sustained.

20. Do not you observe, wherever these bawlers for liberty govern, there is the vilest slavery? No man there can say that his goods are his own. They are absolutely at the disposal of the mob, or the congress. No man can say that his tongue is his own. If he say a word for the king, what will follow? No man can say that his body is his own. He may be imprisoned whenever our lords the congress please. They are as absolute as the emperor of Morocco: their will is the sole law. No man can say his life is his own. Those who have the disposal of his substance, who have the disposal of his liberty, have the disposal of his life also. And of this they have given recent proofs. It is true, they do not themselves cut throats; they do not soil their own fingers; but their friends the mob are always ready. Thus is real liberty, in all its branches, given up for that poor shadow, independency! a phantom which does not, in fact, exist in any civilized nation under heaven! It never did, and never will, being wholly inconsistent with the very idea of government. And to what a condition are these poor colonies brought, by quitting the substance for the shadow! "Do you ask," says a gentleman who writes from Philadelphia, "what is the present state of these provinces? You may see it upon Ezekiel's roll; such is the condition of this country: 'It is written within and without, lamentation, and mourning, and wo.'"

21. And do not you observe, on the other hand, the perfect liberty which we enjoy? Not, indeed, derived from our forefathers, as some writers idly talk. No; our forefathers never enjoyed it, either before or

after William the Conqueror, and least of all in the time of the Long Parliament, or under Oliver Cromwell. They had then little more liberty, civil or religious, than is now enjoyed in the confederate provinces. Never talk of the liberty of our forefathers: English liberty commenced at the Revolution. And how entire is it at this day! Every man says what he will, writes what he will, prints what he will. Every man worships God, if he worships him at all, as he is persuaded in his own mind. Every man enjoys his own property; nor can the king himself take a shilling of it, but according to law. Every man enjoys the freedom of his person, unless the law of the land authorize his confinement. Above all, every man's life is secured, as well from the king, as from his fellow subjects. So that it is impossible to conceive a fuller liberty than we enjoy, both as to religion, life, body, and goods.

22. Do not you see then the abundant cause we have to be thankful to God, who having "made the whole nation of men, determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," in that he hath cast our lot in a fair ground, under the mildest government upon earth? Are not we of all men without sense, if, instead of thankfulness, we give way to murmuring and discontent, and finding fault with we know not what? In all reason, we should be perpetually praising God for this as well as for a thousand other benefits, and endeavouring to make him a suitable return, by devoting our lives to his service.

23. And as long as we fear God, shall we not "honour the king?" looking upon him with a love mixed with reverence? Should we not remember him before God in prayer, that his throne may be established in righteousness? that he, and all which are in authority under him, may duly administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and the maintenance of true religion and virtue? And is it not our part carefully to abstain from speaking evil of the ruler of our people; and to study to "lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty?"

Hitherto I have addressed myself to my countrymen in general. But I would add a word to you in particular, who bear a religious character; whether you are members of the Established Church, or Dissenters of any denomination.

One might reasonably expect, that all of you would be cheerfully "subject to the higher powers;" seeing you are agreed, "there is no power," whether supreme or subordinate, "but of God." Nay, one would expect that you would be continually reminding all you had any intercourse with, that they "must needs be subject, not" only "for wrath, but" also "for conscience' sake." How is it, then, that any of you espouse the cause of those that are in open rebellion against their lawful sovereign? that, if you do not plead expressly for them, you at least extenuate their crime; perhaps even scruple to call them rebels, and speak of them with tenderness, rather than resentment? How is it that any of you who fear God "are not afraid to speak evil of dignities?" to "speak evil of the ruler of your people," as well as of those that are put in authority under him? Do you believe that "Michael the archangel durst not bring a railing accusation against Satan?" And dare you bring or retail a hundred railing accusations against your lawful governors? Now, at least, humble yourselves before God, and act more suitably to your character. Wherever you are, far from countenancing,

repress the base clamours of the vulgar; remembering those awful words: "If any man among you seemeth to be religious," (rather, be ever so religious,) "and bridleth not his tongue, that man's religion is vain."

Are not you who dissent from the Established Church, in whatever kind or degree, particularly concerned to observe this "for wrath" as well as "for conscience' sake?" Do you imagine, there are no High Churchmen left? Did they all die with Dr. Sacheverel? Alas, how little do you know of mankind! Were the present restraint taken off, you would see them swarming on every side, and gnashing upon you with their teeth. There would hardly need a nod from that sacred person whom you revile, or at least lightly esteem. Were he to stand neuter in what a condition would you be within one twelve months! If other Bonners and Gardiners did not arise, other Lauds and Sheldons would, who would either rule over you with a rod of iron, or drive you out of the land. Know the blessings you enjoy. Let common sense restrain you, if neither religion nor gratitude can. "Beware of the wrath of a patient man." Dare not again to open your lips against your sovereign: lest he fall upon you? No; but lest he cease to defend you. Then farewell to the liberty you now enjoy.

Permit me to add a few more words to you, a small part of whom dissent from, but the far greater part remain in, the Church; you, who are vulgarly called Methodists. Do any of you blaspheme God or the king? None of you, I trust, who are in connection with me. I would no more continue in fellowship with those who continued in such a practice, than with whoremongers, or Sabbath breakers, or thieves, or drunkards, or common swearers. But there are not a few who go under that name, though they have no connection with us; yea, though they cordially hate us as dreadful heretics, for believing that "God willeth all men to be saved;" who hate the king and all his ministers only less than they do an Arminian; and who speak all manner of evil of them in private, if not in public too. (But many of them are of a better mind.) But suffer me to ask, Is this well done? Is it gratitude? Is it prudence? In the name of wonder, what could his majesty have done for you which he has not done? What would you have? Can you tell? What can you desire more than you have already? Have you not full liberty of conscience in every respect, without any shadow of restraint? In what other nation under the sun is such religious liberty to be found? Have you not full liberty, with regard to your life, to your person, and to your goods? In what other country upon earth is such civil liberty to be found? If you are not thankful to God and the king for these blessings, you are utterly unworthy of them. Is it prudence to speak in so bitter and contemptuous a manner of such governors as God has given you? What, if by the bitterness of your spirit, the acrimony of your language, and the inflammatory libels which you spread abroad, you could carry your point, unhinge the present government, and set up another in its stead! what would you gain thereby? Would another government allow you more liberty than you now enjoy? Could they give you a more unbounded liberty of conscience? It is impossible! Would they give you a larger measure of civil liberty? They could not if they would. And certainly they would not give you the liberty of railing at

your governors, and stirring up your fellow subjects against them. If you did this, you would not only lose your goods, but probably your life also. On the other hand, what if the present government should continue in spite of all your disloyal practices! have you any assurance, have you any reason to believe, that our governors will always be so patient? Nay, undoubtedly, when things of greater moment are settled, they will find a time for you. Your present behaviour will then be remembered; perhaps not altogether to your advantage. It is not the ignorance but the wisdom of your governors which occasions their present silence. And if you go on thus, be assured, sooner or later, you will meet with your reward. There is no need that the king should do any thing: He needs only not to restrain; that is enough: There are those on every side who are now ready to swallow you up. You will then wish you had been wise in time, when your wisdom comes too late; when the King of kings "laughs at your calamity and mocks while your fear cometh."

A SERIOUS ADDRESS

TO

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO THE STATE OF THE NATION.

[Printed in the year 1778.]

Friends and Countrymen,—I would fain lay a few plain considerations before you, before all men of candour and common sense, who are not so totally swallowed up of prejudice as to be incapable of hearing reason. I beg you to weigh the matter calmly; not to be overborne by noisy or wordy men, but to use your own senses, your own eyes and ears, and your own understanding. Do not run away (as many do) with part of a story; but hear the whole, and then judge. Have patience to lay all circumstances together, and then you may form a just judgment.

A solemn inquiry was lately made concerning the state of the nation. If such an inquiry were properly made, so that the real state of the nation might be clearly and distinctly shown, it might be attended with excellent consequences. It might enable the legislative power to redress or prevent numerous evils. And it might lead those who conduct public affairs to take the most effectual measures for promoting the solid and lasting welfare of all their fellow subjects.

On the other hand, if such an inquiry were improperly made, and consequently the state of the nation misrepresented,—if it were represented as far worse than it really is,—exceeding bad consequences might follow. It would naturally tend to disturb, to frighten, to discourage the people. It would tend to depress and sour their spirits, to embitter them against others, and to make them disaffected to his majesty, and all that act under him. It would make them utterly unthankful to God,

for all the blessings that surround them; the ready way to weaken our hands, and strengthen the hands of our common enemies.

Should not then an inquiry of so important a nature be made with the greatest accuracy? And in order to this, should not the question be stated with all possible exactness? But in a late inquiry, I cannot find that the question was stated at all. The inquirers jumped into the middle of it at once, in defiance of all logic and common sense. "The state of the nation" is a very vague and indeterminate expression; so indeterminate, that, if the meaning of the phrase be not fixed before the inquiry concerning it is begun, men of eloquence may make vehement speeches, of two or three hours long, while neither the speakers nor the hearers know what they are talking about. And speeches of this kind tend to inflame, not to inform, our honest countrymen. They are calculated, not to bring light, but fire; to raise the nation into a flame.

But to come to the point: you are desirous to inquire concerning the state of the nation. But what is it you would know concerning it? "Certainly, whether it be prosperous or not?" In what respects? It may be prosperous in one respect, and not so in another. Tell us coolly and distinctly, what is the question? And what is it you would prove?

It is this: "Is not the nation ruined?" *Ruined!* What can you mean? The great men of another nation asked the king, "Knowest thou not that Egypt is destroyed?" How was it destroyed? Why, all the cattle of Egypt were killed by the murrain. And not only all the flax and corn, all the wheat and barley were consumed, but the locusts had devoured every herb and leaf, and left no green thing in the land.

Countrymen, judge! Is England thus destroyed? Are all our cattle killed? Have you no oxen, or cows, or sheep, or swine?—no horses, mules, asses left? Whatever be the case elsewhere, are not a few of them left alive in London? Is all your corn destroyed? Look round upon the fields; is there no green thing left? See with your own eyes. You do see, that there is as fair a prospect, as has been for many years. I can testify, that for more than half a century, there has not been greater plenty, either of cattle or vegetables of every kind, than there is at this day. England therefore is not destroyed. "But is it not in the high road to destruction? What is its present state? good or bad? increasing or decreasing?"

Increasing or decreasing, in what respects? I beg leave to offer you, on this head, some of the most sensible remarks I have seen on the subject, with some little variations and additions:—

"The state of the nation has respect to nine capital articles; population, agriculture, manufactures; the land and fresh-water carriage of goods, salt-water carriage of goods; the state of our fisheries at home and abroad, the tendency of our taxes, the clear amount of the revenue, and the national debt. All of these, taken together, form that complex idea which we call 'the state of the nation.'

"In order therefore to know the state of the nation, we should compare each of these articles, as they subsist at present, with the like articles as they subsisted in some former period, in order to see whether our national affairs have gone backward or forward since that time. And what time more proper than the year 1759?—that period of glory and of conquest, when every thing was supposed to go right, as we are told that every thing now goes wrong."

1. "In regard to population, it is to be feared that our numbers have

decreased since the year 1759." This has been boldly affirmed, and that over and over; yet I cannot allow it by any means; and I have such opportunities of being informed as few persons in England have; as I see almost all the large towns in the kingdom, once in two years at least, and can therefore make these inquiries on the spot, as minutely as I please.

We may allow, that within this time, twenty or thirty thousand English soldiers have been sent abroad. Allow, likewise, seventy or eighty thousand emigrants, from England and Scotland only. Hereby there is a decrease of a hundred thousand, within less than twenty years. I read likewise, in a very beautiful poem, of a "Deserted"—what? province? county? metropolis? No—"Village," somewhere on the Wiltshire Downs! Yet not quite deserted; for a gentleman who lives there informs me, he cannot learn, it has had more inhabitants within these hundred years, than it has at this day. I allow too, that some of the villages near the Land's End are less populous than formerly; but what is all this loss, taken together, in comparison of the increase? I cannot but think there has been, within twenty years, an increase of more than a hundred thousand, in six cities and towns only; I mean, in London, Bristol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, and Liverpool. Do not you see with your eyes in all these places, not only houses, but whole streets added continually? And can any one persuade you, in the mean time, that there is no increase of inhabitants? And yet some have wonderfully affirmed that there is a decrease of inhabitants even in London! Why do they not affirm, there is a decrease of houses too? When I see one, I will believe the other.

And it is not only in cities and large towns, as some have intimated, but even on commons, heaths, and mountains, yea, all over the Peak of Derbyshire, that you may see little houses (and many not very little) shooting up on every side. And does not this denote an increase of people? Or are they inhabited only by rats and mice? Considering these things, which I have seen with my own eyes, I cannot doubt one moment but England has a million more inhabitants than it had twenty years ago.

2. "As to agriculture, what was the state of it last year, compared with the state of it in 1759? Has it advanced or declined since that time? You may judge by considering a very few particulars. Are your old farm houses, barns, out houses, tumbling down? And are no new ones erected? Are your old enclosures, fences, drains, running to decay, and no new ones making? Is there less land tilled and improved now, than there was in 1759? Nay more, as is notoriously known, by many hundred thousand acres. Are our farmers in general grown poorer than heretofore? Are their stocks of hay and corn, of sheep, horses, and cattle diminished? Are they not exceedingly increased? I will add no more. Let those who affirm we are on the brink of ruin show how greatly our agriculture is decreased since the happy days of 1759!"

3. Again: inquire, my friends, "In what respects and in what degree have any of our manufactures declined of late? Perhaps there is some decrease in a few branches, of weaving in particular. And this must be in the nature of things, while fashions are continually changing; so that a large demand for this or that commodity cannot be expected to continue long. But is not this decrease in some branches amply compensated by the increase in others? Let it be more particularly inquired. Are the capital places less employ-

ed in manufactures, than they were in 1759? Are there fewer buildings now in use for the carrying on of great and extensive works? Are there fewer warehouses and magazines, and fewer machines and engines of every kind? How easily may you be convinced, that, in every one of these articles, far from a decrease, there is a very considerable increase, since the year 1759?

4. "As to land and fresh water carriage of goods, let any of you inquire, Are there fewer public waggons on the roads than there were formerly? And are there fewer roads fit for waggons to travel on? If so, our trade decreases. Are there fewer trows or barges employed on rivers and canals than there were heretofore? If there are, we allow the decrease of these is a sure sign of the decrease of trade. And, on the contrary, the vast increase of these proves a proportionable increase of it. 'Are the rivers and canals fewer in these degenerate times than in the year 1759?'" See, my friends, by this plain, demonstrative proof, how sadly our trade is decreased!

And I cannot but observe, that arguments of this general kind are abundantly more conclusive than any which are or can be drawn from the case of particular persons. We always find a considerable number of these, both in London and elsewhere, who loudly complain of the decay of trade, and the hardness of the times. What does this mean? That "they themselves want business." Perhaps they want industry too. But these particular cases are of no weight, opposed to those general considerations.

5. You may inquire next, with regard to "salt-water carriage of goods. Is the quantity of British shipping decreased since the year 1759? Are there fewer ships now employed in the coasting trade? fewer in the Irish trade? or fewer for distant voyages? Nay, have we fewer ship carpenters, or fewer sail makers at work? And do we build fewer or smaller ships for merchants' service than formerly?" The more particularly you inquire, the more clearly you will see how immensely the nation has improved in this article.

But it is objected, "We have lost eight hundred of our ships since the beginning of the war." Perhaps so; although you have no proof of this; for Lloyd's Catalogue is no sufficient evidence. But how many have we taken? This it is absolutely needful you should know, or you cannot know whether we have lost or gained upon the whole. We have taken above nine hundred. And the evidence of our gain is at least as good as that of our loss.

"Nay, but we have also lost our negro trade." I would to God it may never be found more! that we may never more steal and sell our brethren like beasts; never murder them by thousands and tens of thousands! O may this worse than Mohammedan, worse than Pagan, abomination, be removed from us for ever! Never was any thing such a reproach to England since it was a nation, as the having any hand in this execrable traffic.

6. "The state of our fisheries at home and abroad forms another important article of comparison. For as our ships of war are our bulwarks, and our sailors are the proper guards for defending such works, so it is of the utmost importance to have always ready, for manning our fleets, a number of able seamen. Now, these are most readily supplied by our fisheries. And when were these in their most flourishing state? in 1759, or 1777? Were more British ships employed in the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, or in the gulf of St. Lawrence, or on the coasts of Labrador, then, than there are

now? Were there half as many? Again: Were there more employed in the fisheries for whales, and fish to make oil? Were there even half as many? As to the fisheries on our own coasts, and on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, can any man deny that they have hugely increased during these eighteen years? Indeed all our fisheries are now in a more flourishing condition than ever they were before." Allowing then, that we have sustained some loss in Newfoundland, what is this to the total gain? On this account, therefore, we have no reason to talk of the "ruinous state of the nation."

7. "As to the tendency of our taxes, having previously observed, that the hands of the diligent and frugal are the only hands which make a nation rich; I have then to ask, Do our taxes in general, especially those which took place the last year, tend to make the people diligent and frugal, or idle and extravagant? Do they tend to promote industry, or obstruct it? to turn bees into drones, or drones into bees? Of late years we have made several excellent alterations in our taxes: we have repealed that very injudicious tax which in a manner prohibited the importing of butter, tallow, lard, and other articles from Ireland. Hence the mutual intercourse between the two kingdoms has prodigiously increased. Our shipping and navigation likewise have increased in the same proportion. And so has the quantity of English goods and manufactures exported thither. Does this show a decay of trade; or give a just ground for our daily complaints and lamentations?

8. "The clear amount of the annual revenue is a matter of fact, and capable of ocular demonstration. Now, let an appeal be made to the proper accounts, which state the amount of all the taxes of the year 1759; let these accounts be compared with those of the year 1777, and you cannot but see with your own eyes where the advantage lies; yea, notwithstanding the loss of our tobacco trade from Maryland and Virginia, and notwithstanding the great failure of the crops of sugar, as well as of cider and perry.

9. "The last article is the national debt. And great it undoubtedly is. Yet, comparatively speaking, it is not so great now, as it was in 1759. For if the nation is now (as has been clearly shown) very considerably richer, then it is better able to bear an equal or a greater load of national debt, than it was at that juncture.

"To illustrate this by a familiar instance: A private trader, who has but a hundred pounds in the world, is greatly in debt if he owes but twenty pounds; and is in danger of stopping payment for want of cash, or of being crushed by some wealthy rival. But if he has a thousand pounds in stock, and owes two hundred, he is in far less danger. And if he has ten thousand pounds stock, and owes two thousand, he is in no danger; nay, he is a rich man.

"Not that I would encourage the running any farther in debt. I only intend to show that our distresses, which raise such tragical exclamations, are more imaginary than real."

Thus far the dean of Gloucester. And what can be more fair and candid than these reasonings? What can be more satisfactory to you who are of no party, but an honest inquirer after truth? Perhaps you lately heard a strange, broken, maimed account all on one side of the question, of debts without any credits to balance! And what could you learn from this? Now you hear both sides, and thence may easily see what is the real state of the nation. And how much better is it, in all the preceding respects, than it was eighteen years ago! What becomes then of all those passionate outcries concerning the "dreadful condition we are in," when it undeniably appears, to every candid inquirer, that we have not been in so good a condition these fifty years! On how totally insufficient grounds is the contrary supposition built! "We have lost—near as many ships as we have taken! We have been disturbed

on the banks of Newfoundland; and we can no longer sell our brethren like sheep, and pour out their blood like water; therefore the nation is in a desperate state, therefore we are on the brink of ruin!" And are these the best arguments that can be found to support the lamentable conclusion!

Now, my friends, give me leave to sum up briefly what has been offered on the other side. And, I pray, observe the difference; mark the firm and solid foundation whereon the conclusion is built. The prosperous or adverse state of the nation is to be judged of from the state of its population, its agriculture, its manufactures, its land and fresh water carriage of goods, its salt water carriage of goods, its fisheries, the tendency of its taxes, its annual revenue, and the national debt. But you have seen, that, in each of these particulars, considered one by one, England is not in a worse but in a far better state than it was eighteen years ago; so far from being on the brink of ruin, that it is in a state of eminent prosperity.

Let none then deceive you with vain words! Let none by subtle reasonings, or by artful, elaborate harangues, persuade you out of your senses. Let no sweet-tongued orator, by his smooth periods, steal away your understanding; no thundering talker fill you with vain fears of evils that have no being. Be aware of all who (perhaps sincerely) strive to terrify you with creatures of their own imagination. You are encompassed with liberty, peace, and plenty: you see them on the right hand and on the left. Let no man then cast a mist before your eyes, and face you down that they are poverty and slavery. Know the public as well as private blessings which you enjoy, and be thankful to God and man.

There is only one reason why we should fear: There is a God that judgeth the earth. And as none can harm us if we have him for our friend, so none can help us if we have him for our enemy. Is it not wise then seriously to consider this, Is God our friend or our enemy? But who thinks or cares about it? Too many of us do not: God is not in all our thoughts. I am afraid ignorance, yea, contempt, of God, is the present characteristic of the English nation. A late writer supposes it to be sloth and luxury; but I cannot think so; because neither of these is peculiar to us; our neighbours vie with us in both; many of them are full as slothful as us, and many of them are as luxurious. But none can vie with us in this: There is no nation upon earth that is equally profane. Is there any people under heaven, that pays no more regard than we do to the Creator and Governor of heaven and earth? What nation (I do not say in the Christian, but in the Mohammedan or Pagan, world) uses his great and venerable name with so little ceremony? In what country is there to be heard in so great abundance—

> The horrid oath, the direful curse,
> (That latest weapon of the wretch's war!)
> And blasphemy, sad comrade of despair?

Comrade of despair! So it uses to be in other countries; but in ours it is the comrade of mirth and jollity! We daily curse and swear, and blaspheme the Most High, merely by way of diversion, almost from the highest to the lowest. Nobility, gentry, tradesmen, peasants, blaspheme the worthy name whereby we are called, without provocation, without

remorse! Sloth and luxury we allow are general among us; but profaneness is well nigh universal. Whoever spends but a few days in any of our large towns, will find abundant proof, that senseless, shameless, stupid profaneness is the true characteristic of the English nation.

Meantime we say, (in effect, if not in terms,) "Is there knowledge in the Most High? Tush, thou God carest not for it."

But are we sure of this? I doubt, he does: I doubt, if this is still added to all the other instances of impiety, he will soon say, "Shall I not visit for these things? Shall I not be avenged on such a nation as this?" Let us be wise in time! Let us be as wise, at least, as the inhabitants of Nineveh; let us make our peace with God, and then we may defy all the men upon earth!

A nation God delights to bless,
Can all our raging foes distress,
Or hurt whom they surround?
Hid from the general scourge we are,
Nor see the bloody waste of war,
Nor hear the trumpet's sound.

O might we, Lord, the grace improve,
By labouring for the rest of love,
The soul-composing power!
Bless us with that internal peace,
And all the fruits of righteousness,
Till time shall be no more!

London, Feb. 20, 1778.

A COMPASSIONATE ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF IRELAND.

Limerick, May 10, 1778.

My Dear Brethren,—1. Before I left London (two or three months ago) a general panic prevailed there. Some vehemently affirmed, and others potently believed, that the nation was in a most desperate state; that it was upon the very brink of ruin, past all hopes of recovery. Soon after, I found that the same panic had spread throughout the city of Bristol. I traced it likewise wherever I went, in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire. When I crossed the Channel, I was surprised to find it had got before me to Ireland; and that it was not only spread through Dublin first, and thence to every part of Leinster, but had found its way into Munster too, into Cork, Bandon, and Limerick: in all which places people were terrifying themselves and their neighbours, just as they did in London.

2. "How is it possible," say they, "that we should contend with so many enemies together? If General Washington has (as Mr. Franklin of Limerick computes) sixty-five thousand men; if the powerful fleet and numerous armies of France are added to these; if Spain, in consequence of the family compact, declares war at the same time; and if Portugal join in confederacy with them, what will become of us? Add to these the enemies of our own household, ready to start up on every side; and when France invades us from without, and these from within, what can follow but ruin and destruction?"

3. I would fain speak a word of comfort to my poor neighbours, that they may not be frightened to death. Perhaps, my friends, things are not in altogether so desperate a situation as you imagine. When I was at Cork last week, I conversed largely with some persons who were just landed from Philadelphia. I could thoroughly depend upon the account they gave, as they had had full means of information, and had no possible

interest to serve by misrepresenting any thing. The substance of their account was this: "In December, General Washington had seventeen or eighteen thousand men in his army. From that time thirty, forty, sometimes fifty of them died in a day by a pestilential fever; and in two months' time, upwards of fifteen hundred deserted to General Howe. So that many were inclined to believe he had not when we came away much more than five thousand effective men left." Never fright yourselves, therefore, about General Washington's huge army, that melted away like snow in harvest. The English forces meantime are in perfect health, (about sixteen thousand,) and have plenty of all things.

4. "But there are twenty or thirty thousand recruits to join him in a month or two, and what will General Howe do then?" Just as he does now; he will regard any number of them as much as he would so many sparrows. For what could fifty thousand raw men do, that had never seen the face of an enemy? especially when, by the tenure of their service, they were only to stay in the army nine months? (The circumstance concerning which General Washington so earnestly expostulated with the congress.) Will these dead-doing men, do you think, be in haste to cut off all the old, weather-beaten Englishmen? Otherwise they will not have made an end of them, before the time comes for their returning home!

5. "But I do not believe the American army is in this condition." If you do not, I cannot help it. And you have no more right to be angry at me for believing it, than I at you for not believing it. Let each of us then, without resentment or bitterness, permit the other to think for himself.

6. "O, but the French will swallow us up." They will as soon swallow up the sea. Pray, which way is it they are to come at us, unless they can fly through the air? It is certain our fleet, notwithstanding the shameless lies told to the contrary, is now every way in a better condition than it ever was since England was a nation. And while we are indisputably masters at sea, what can the French do but gnash their teeth at us? "Nay, but Spain will join them." That is by no means clear. They have not forgot the Havannah yet. But, if they do, we are well able to deal with them both; full as able as we were the last war.

7. "Yea, but Portugal too will declare against us." I do not believe one word of it. The Portuguese (to say nothing about their gratitude) are not such arrant fools; they understand their own interest better; they need no one to inform them, that if the English were only to stand neuter, the Spaniards would eat them up at a mouthful. They well know the present war will not last always; and, in the end, either England will prevail, or not. If it does not, if Spain prevail over England, England cannot defend Portugal. If England prevail over Spain, she will not. She will doubtless leave his most faithful majesty to receive the reward he has so justly deserved from the fleet and army of his neighbour.

8. "But do not you know the French squadron is sailed to assist them. with four thousand soldiers on board?" I really do not, nor you neither; nor any man in Ireland. That they are sailed, I know; but not whether to Africa, or Asia, or America. But have they four thousand soldiers on board? And is that all? I heard they were twelve thousand. But in how many transports did they embark? We could

not hear of one. Where then were the soldiers to be put? in the hold of the men-of-war, or on the shrouds? This story is not well devised; it manifestly confutes itself. But, suppose twelve thousand are sailed, are they sure to land? Do they command the winds and seas? And, if they do, are they sure the English fleet will not speak with them by the way? If they escape these, are they sure of landing without opposition? Is it certain that all our soldiers will stand meantime with their fingers in their mouth? How great then is the odds against the French ever joining the American army! Although, if they did, there is no doubt but General Howe would give a good account of them all.

9. "Why, to say the truth, we are not so much afraid of Portugal or Spain, yea, or of France itself, as we are of those intestine vipers, who are always ready to tear out their mother's bowels. And how should we defend ourselves against these, if they made a general insurrection?" This is worth considering. It is certain, it is undoubtedly plain, it is beyond all contradiction, if they gave a large dose of laudanum to all his majesty's liege subjects; if every man, woman, and child in the four provinces fell fast asleep all at once; if they all continued to sleep till the insurgents had brought their matters to bear in every city and town in the kingdom; if then the conspirators came all in the same hour, and cut off their heads at a stroke; the nation certainly, without all doubt, would be in a very fearful condition! But till this is the case, you need no more be afraid of ten thousand White Boys, than of ten thousand crows.

10. There is no need at present that a handful of men should oppose themselves to a multitude. Blessed be God, there are still within the kingdom some thousands of regular troops, of horse as well as foot, who are ready to march wherever they shall be wanted; over and above the independent companies at Birr, at Mount Mellick, at Bandon, and at Cork; at which city alone no less than six of these companies are formed already; which it is supposed, when they shall be completed, will contain at least two thousand men. And as they exercise themselves every day, they are already expert in the whole military exercise. So that were any so mad as to attempt making an insurrection, it would be crushed in its very infancy.

11. "But is there not another ground of fear? Is there not 'a God that judgeth the earth?' And have not England and Ireland (to speak in the language of Scripture) 'filled up the measure of their iniquity?'" I answer, (1.) I allow that wickedness of various kinds has overspread the land like a flood. It would be easy to enlarge upon this melancholy truth; it cannot be denied that,

> The rich, the poor, the high, the low,
> Have wander'd from his mild command:
> The floods of wickedness o'erflow,
> And deluge all the guilty land:
> People and priest lie drown'd in sin,
> And Tophet yawns to take them in.

But yet, (2.) I totally deny that either England or Ireland have yet "filled up the measure of their iniquities." "Why, what have they not done? What abomination can be named or conceived which they have not committed?" I will tell you: They have not done what was done

of old, before God delivered up the Jews to destruction. They have not "shed the blood of the just in the midst of Jerusalem." Neither in London, Dublin, nor any other of our cities, has there been any instance of the kind. To which of our governors in either England or Ireland can those words of our Lord be applied? "Behold, I send unto you prophets; and some of them ye will kill; and some of them ye will scourge, and persecute from city to city. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee!" Matt. xxiii, 34, &c. Now, neither England nor Ireland has done this, at least during the present century. Therefore, it cannot be affirmed that they have "filled up the measure of their iniquities." Consequently we have no reason to believe that our Lord will yet say, "Behold your house is left unto you desolate!"

12. I have another reason to believe that God will yet have compassion upon a sinful land: what was it which he said of old time to Abraham interceding for guilty Sodom? "I will not destroy the city, if there be fifty, twenty, yea, ten righteous men found in it." And are there not ten, twenty, fifty righteous men to be found in our Sodom? Dare you affirm, or have you reason to believe, that there are only twenty hundred? And will God "destroy the righteous with the wicked! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Besides, will not all these righteous men wrestle with God for their people and nation? And does he not hear the prayer?

Let Moses in the spirit groan,
And God cries out, Let me alone!

Let me alone, that all my wrath
  May rise the wicked to consume!
While justice hears thy praying faith,
  It cannot seal the sinner's doom.
My Son is in my servant's prayer,
And Jesus forces me to spare.

13. I add but one reason more, why we may rationally hope that these kingdoms, sinful as they are, will not yet be given up to destruction. Religion, true, Scriptural religion, the love of God and our neighbour, inviting men to avoid evil and to do good, to practise justice, mercy, and truth, is not decreasing therein; no, it is continually increasing in every part of the kingdom; as an impartial inquirer cannot but observe, whether he turn east, west, north, or south. Now, I know no instance in all history, from the earliest ages to this day, of the Governor of the world delivering up a kingdom to destruction, while religion was increasing in it. I believe no such instance can be found. And indeed it seems to be totally inconsistent with his wisdom and goodness, and with the rules whereby he hath governed all nations from the beginning of the world. Fear him therefore with a filial fear; and you need fear nothing but him. In this sense also, one thing is needful,—the making God your friend. And when we have "a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man," we may say with boldness, "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge: therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and though the hills be carried into the depth of the sea. The flood thereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacle of the Most High."

HOW FAR IS IT THE DUTY OF A CHRISTIAN MINISTER TO PREACH POLITICS?

1. It is impossible to answer this question before it is understood. We must, First, therefore endeavour to understand it; and then it will be easy to answer.

2. There is a plain command in the Bible, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." But nothwithstanding this, many that are called religious people speak evil of him continually. And they speak many things that are palpably false; particularly when they affirm him to be a weak man; whereas a nobleman, who is not at all prejudiced in his favour, when he was pressed to speak, made this honest declaration: "Sir, I know him well; and I judge the king to be one of the most sensible men in Europe. His ministers are no fools; but his majesty is able to wind them all round his finger."

3. Now, when a clergyman comes into a place where this and many more stories, equally false, have been diligently propagated against the king, and are generally believed, if he guards the people against this evil speaking, by refuting those slanders, many cry out, "O, he is preaching politics!"

4. If you mean this by the term, it is the bounden duty of every Christian minister to preach politics. It is our bounden duty to refute these vile aspersions, in public as well as in private. But this can be done only now and then, when it comes naturally in our way. For it is our main and constant business to "preach Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

5. Again: Many who do not so freely censure the king, speak all manner of evil of his ministers. If any misfortune befalls us at home or abroad, by sea or land, it is "all their fault." If one commander in America is surprised with all his forces when he is dead drunk, "Lord North deserves to be hanged." If General Burgoyne or Lord Cornwallis is betrayed into their enemy's hand, all the blame is laid on our ministers at home. But still the king is wounded through their sides; the blame glances from them to him. Yet if we say a word in defence of them, (which is in effect defending him,) this also is preaching politics.

6. It is always difficult aud frequently impossible for private men to judge of the measures taken by men in public offices. We do not see many of the grounds which determine them to act in this or the contrary manner. Generally, therefore, it behooves us to be silent, as we may suppose they know their own business best; but when they are censured without any colour of reason, and when an odium is cast on the king by that means, we ought to preach politics in this sense also; we ought publicly to confute those unjust censures: only remembering still, that this is rarely to be done, and only when fit occasion offers; it being our main business to preach "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

John Wesley.

Lewisham, January 9, 1782.

AN ESTIMATE

OF

THE MANNERS OF THE PRESENT TIMES.

[PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1782.]

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1. SOME years ago an ingenious man published a treatise with this title. According to him, the characteristics of the English at present are sloth and luxury. And thus much we may allow, that neither the one nor the other ever abounded in England as they do at this day. With regard to sloth, it was the constant custom of our ancestors to rise at four in the morning. This was the stated hour, summer and winter, for all that were in health. The two houses of parliament met "at five;" *horâ quintâ antemeredianâ*, [at five o'clock in the morning,] says their Journal. But how is it with people of fashion now? They can hardly huddle on their clothes before eight or nine o'clock in the morning; perhaps some of them not before twelve. And when they are risen, what do they do?

They waste away in gentle inactivity the day.

How many are so far from working with their hands, that they can scarce set a foot to the ground! How many, even young, healthy men, are too lazy either to walk or ride! They must loll in their carriages day by day; and these can scarce be made easy enough! And must not the minor gentry have their coaches too? Yea, if they only ride on the outside. See here the grand cause (together with intemperance) of our innumerable nervous complaints! For how imperfectly do either medicines or the cold bath supply the place of exercise! without which the human body can no more continue in health than without sleep or food.

2. We allow likewise the abundant increase of luxury, both in meat, drink, dress, and furniture. What an amazing profusion of food do we see, not only at a nobleman's table, but at an ordinary city entertainment; suppose of the shoemakers' or tailors' company! What variety of wines, instead of the good, home-brewed ale, used by our forefathers! What luxury of apparel, changing like the moon, in the city and country, as well as at court! What superfluity of expensive furniture glitters in all our great men's houses! And luxury naturally increases sloth, unfitting us for exercise either of body or mind. Sloth, on the other hand, by destroying the appetite, leads to still farther luxury. And how many does a regular kind of luxury betray at last into gluttony and drunkenness; yea, and lewdness too of every kind; which indeed is hardly separable from them!

3. But allowing all these things, still this is not a true estimate of the present manners of the English nation. For whatever is the characteristic of a nation, is, First, universal, found in all the individuals of it, or at least in so very great a majority, that the exceptions are not worth regarding. It is, Secondly, constant, found not only now and then, but continually, without intermission; and, Thirdly, peculiar to that nation, in contradistinction to all others. But neither luxury nor sloth is either universal or constant in England, much less peculiar to it.

4. Whatever may be the case of many of the nobility and gentry

(the whole body of whom are not a twentieth part of the nation,) it is by no means true, that the English in general, much less universally, are a slothful people. There are not only some gentlemen, yea, and noblemen, who are of the ancient stamp, who are patterns of industry in their calling to all that are round about them, but it is undeniable that a vast majority of the middle and lower ranks of people are diligently employed from morning to night, and from the beginning to the end of the year. And indeed those who are best acquainted with other nations, will not scruple to testify, that the bulk of the English, are at this day as diligent as any people in the universe.

5. Neither is sloth the constant, any more than the universal, character of the English nation. Upon many occasions even those that are most infected with it arise and shake themselves from the dust. Witness the behaviour of those of the highest rank, when they were engaged in war. Did any one charge sloth on the late Duke of Marlborough, or the Marquis of Granby? Witness the behaviour of many eminent men in the militia, setting an example to all their troops! Yea, some of them were neither afraid nor ashamed to march on foot at the head of their men!

6. Least of all is sloth peculiar to the English nation. Is there no such thing even in Holland? Is there none in Germany? Certainly there is enough of it, and to spare, in every part of France; and yet there is a more abundant harvest of it both in Italy, Spain, and Portugal: So utterly void of truth is that assertion, that sloth is the present characteristic of the English nation!

7. Neither is luxury. For it is not universal, no, nor general. The food which is used by nine-tenths of our nation is (as it ever was) plain and simple. A vast majority of the nation, if we take in all the living souls, are not only strangers to gluttony and drunkenness, but to delicacy either of meat or drink. Neither do they err in quantity any more than in quality, but take what nature requires, and no more.

8. And as luxury in food is not universal in England, so neither is luxury in apparel. Thousands in every part of the kingdom are utterly guiltless of it. Whether by choice or necessity, their dress is as plain as their food; and so is their furniture. We may farther affirm, that even lewdness is not yet universal in England; although we are making swift advances toward it, by play houses, masquerades, and pantheons.

9. And even where luxury in food and dress is most prevalent, yet it is not constant. Both the one and the other are laid aside, at particular seasons, even by gentlemen and noblemen. How many of these are, in time of war, regardless both of food and apparel! Yea, what a contempt of both did they show even during the shadow of war, while they lay encamped in various parts of the kingdom!

10. Neither is luxury peculiar to the English nation. What is our luxury in dress to that of the French? And luxury in food is carried to as great a height even in Germany; and to a much greater in France: The French scorn to stand on a level herein with the dull Germans. In the northern kingdoms, too, there are as many gluttons as in ours, and at least as many drunkards. And as to the basest branch of luxury, if we may give credit to eye-witnesses, (I cite Dr. Johnson in particular, and Lady Mary Wortley Montague,) what is all the lewdness of Lon

don, to that of Vienna, Paris, Rome, and all the large cities of Italy? English ladies are not attended by their cicisbys yet; nor would any English husband suffer it. So that, bad as we are, we are sober and temperate, yea, and modest, in comparison of our neighbours.

11. But if sloth and luxury are not, what is the present characteristic of the English nation?

It is ungodliness. This is at present the characteristic of the English nation. Ungodliness is our universal, our constant, our peculiar character.

I do not mean Deism; the not assenting to revealed religion. No; a Deist is a respectable character, compared to an ungodly man. But by ungodliness I mean, First, a total ignorance of God; Secondly, a total contempt of him.

12. And, First, a total ignorance of God is almost universal among us. The exceptions are exceeding few, whether among the learned or unlearned. High and low, cobblers, tinkers, hackney-coachmen, men and maid servants, soldiers, sailors, tradesmen of all ranks, lawyers, physicians, gentlemen, lords, are as ignorant of the Creator of the world as Mohammedans or Pagans. They look up to that "brave o'er-hanged firmament, fretted with golden fires;" they see the moon walking in brightness, the sun on his meridian throne; they look round on the various furniture of the earth, herbs, flowers, trees, in all their beauty; and coolly ascribe all to nature, without having any idea affixed to the word. Should you seriously ask them, What is nature? they know not how to answer. Perhaps they will say, "Why, it is the course of things, that always was and always will be." *Always was!* Then you assert that the present course of things was from eternity. If so, the world is eternal; either then there are two eternals, or there is no God!

13. So much the good people of England in general know of God their Creator! And high and low, from the meanest peasant to the gayest butterfly at court, know just as much of God their Governor. They know not, they do not in the least suspect, that he governs the world he has made; that he is the supreme and absolute Disposer of all things both in heaven and earth. A poor Heathen (though a consul, a prime minister) knew *Deorum providentiâ cuncta geri;* that "the providence of God directs all things." *Providence!* What is that? Do you know any thing about it? "Yes I do; I never denied a general providence." *A general providence!* What do you mean? What is a general that includes no particulars? What is a whole that does not contain any parts? It is a self-contradiction, it is arrant nonsense. Either, therefore, allow a particular providence, or do not pretend to believe any providence at all. If you do not believe that the Governor of the world governs all things in it, small and great; that fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil his word; that he rules kingdoms and cities, fleets and armies, and all the individuals whereof they are composed; (and yet without forcing the wills of men, or necessitating any of their actions;) do not affect to believe that he governs any thing, or has any thing to do in the world. No; be consistent with yourself: Say that, as nature produced, so chance governs, all things. At least, if you must, for decency's sake, acknowledge a kind of God, maintain that,

Since he gave things their beginning,
And set this whirligig a spinning,

he left it, and every thing therein, to spin on in its own way.

14. Whether this is right or no, it is almost the universal sentiment of the English nation. And if high and low are so totally ignorant of God their Governor, are they likely to know any more of God their Redeemer, or of God their Judge, who will shortly reward every man according to his works? In very deed, God is not in all their thoughts; they do not think of him from morning to night. Whether they are forming particular or national schemes, God has no place therein. They do not take God into their account; they can do their whole business without him; without considering whether there be any God in the world; or whether he has any share in the management of it.

15. And whatever be the event of their undertakings, whether they have good or ill success, they do not suppose God to have any part either in the one or the other. They take it for granted, that the race is to the swift, and the battle to the strong. Therefore, if things succeed well, they give no praise to God, but to the conduct of their general, and the courage of their men. And if they succeed ill, they do not see the hand of God, but impute all to natural causes.

16. The English in general high and low, rich and poor, do not speak of God. They do not say any thing about him, from day to day, from week to week, from year to year. They talk of any thing beside; they are not so squeamish as the old poet, who would not spend his breath in talking

De villis, domibusve alienis;
Nec male necne Lepos saltet.
[About other people's country seats, or mansions; nor whether Lepos dance well or ill.]

We talk indifferently on every thing that comes in the way; on every thing—but God. If any one were to name him in good company, with any degree of seriousness, suppose at a gentleman or nobleman's table, would not they all stand aghast? Would not a profound silence ensue, till some one started a more agreeable subject?

17. Again: A vast majority of the English live in the constant neglect of the worship of God. To form a judgment of this, you may take a specimen in the good city of London. How few of the inhabitants worship God in public, even one day in a week! Do not yet fewer of them make a conscience of worshipping God in their families? And perhaps they are a still smaller number that daily worship God in their closets. Such, if we acknowledge the truth, is the general, constant ungodliness of the English nation!

18. But negative ungodliness (so to speak) is the least exceptionable part of our character. Proceed we then to the positive ungodliness, which overflows every part of our land.

The first branch of this positive ungodliness, and such as shows an utter contempt of God, is perjury. And to this the common people are strongly tempted in our public courts of justice, by the shocking manner wherein oaths are usually administered there, contrary to all sense and decency. Forty years ago, (and perhaps it may be so still,) when an oath was administered in the court of Savannah in Georgia, the judge

with all on the bench rose up, and stood uncovered while it was administering; and none moved his foot, or uttered a word, till they sat down again. Has not every English judge power to introduce the same solemnity into every court where he presides? Certainly he has. And if he does not exert that power, he is inexcusable before God and man.

19. Till this is done, our shameless manner of administering oaths will increase the constant perjuries in our nation. They are farther increased by our multiplying oaths to such an amazing degree; and that on the slightest occasions. Hence perjury infects the whole nation. It is constant, from month to month, from year to year. And it is a glory which no nation divides with us; it is peculiar to ourselves. There is nothing like it to be found in any other (Christian or Heathen) nation under heaven.

20. To descend to particulars would be tedious: Suffice it to observe in general, there are exceeding few justices of the peace, mayors of corporations, sheriffs, constables, or churchwardens; exceeding few officers of the customs, the excise, or any public office whatever, who are not constantly perjured, taking oaths which they never intend to keep. Add to these, thousands, yea, myriads of the voters at elections, particularly for members of parliament: add thousands of the students in each university, who swear to a book of statutes, which they never read, which most of them never design to read, and much less to observe: then judge whether there be any nation on the face of the earth, which can vie with the English in perjury!

21. There is one other species of ungodliness, which is, if possible, still more general among us; which is also constant, being to be heard in every street every day in the year; and which is quite peculiar to our nation, to England, and its dependencies; namely, the stupid, senseless, shameless, ungodliness of taking the name of God in vain. Where in the habitable world do the people so continually pray the great God to "damn their souls?" Where else do they so blaspheme the Majesty of Heaven? so idly swear by the name of God? Some wretched gentlemen (so called) set the example, which the small vulgar readily follow. And these curses and oaths they pour out wantonly, without any provocation; and desperately, without any remorse. Let those who are acquainted with ancient and modern history say, whether there is or ever was any Heathen nation wherein such a total contempt of God, such horrid ungodliness, so generally and constantly prevailed!

22. See then, Englishmen, what is the undoubted characteristic of our nation; it is ungodliness. True, it was not always so: for many ages we had as much of the fear of God as our neighbours. But in the last age, many who were absolute strangers to this, made so large a profession of it, that the nation in general was surfeited, and, at the Restoration, ran headlong from one extreme to the other. It was then ungodliness broke in upon us as a flood; and when shall its dire waves be stayed?

23. Countrymen, is ungodliness any honour to our nation? Let men of reason judge. Is this outraging the greatest and best of Beings, a thing honourable in itself? Surely you cannot think so. Does it gain us any honour in the eyes of other nations? Nay, just the contrary. Some of them abhor the very name of Englishmen, others despise us, on

this very account. They look upon us as monsters, hardly worthy to be ranked among human creatures.

24. Ye men of candour, say, does this ungodliness bring any real advantage to our nation? Innumerable advantages we enjoy; but might we not have them without discarding the fear of God? Might we not prosper as well, both by sea and land, if we did not set God at open defiance? if we did not so continually affront him to his face, and dare him to do his worst? If he has not left chance to govern the world, and if he is really stronger than men, will not our affairs go on better if God is our friend, than if he is our enemy? Is God an enemy to be despised? Rather, is there not reason in those words of the old warrior?—

Non me tua fervida terrent
Dicta, ferox, Dii me terrent et Jupiter hostis!

[Insolent foe, your proud boasts affright me not, but the gods, and especially Jupiter, my enemy!]

We have had excellent, well-appointed fleets; we have had numerous veteran armies. And what have they done? Have we not more and more reason to make that melancholy exclamation,

Heu, nihil invitis fas quenquam fidere Divis!

[Alas, the gods unwilling, all our hopes are vain!]

25. Can you believe, that our total ignorance of God, and our general contempt of him, who, whether men will acknowledge it or no, has still all power in heaven and in earth, can be well pleasing to him? We need not care for all the *fervida dicta*, all the rodomontades, of France and Spain. But if the Lord of the universe is against us, ought we not to care? unless we are very sure that our fleets and armies can prevail against him! Otherwise, would it be any disgrace to humble ourselves, not to man, but to God? to use every means to secure him for our friend, now all our other friends have failed us? Then, admitting "there is no other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God," yet shall none be able to hurt us, but peace and every other blessing shall return both to us and to our colonies.

A WORD TO A SABBATH BREAKER.

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy."

Have you forgotten who spoke these words? Or do you set him at defiance? Do you bid him do his worst? Have a care. You are not stronger than he. "Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth; but wo unto the man that contendeth with his Maker. He sitteth on the circle of the heavens; and the inhabitants of the earth are as grashoppers before him!"

"Six days shalt thou do all manner of work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." It is not thine, but God's day. He claims it for his own. He always did claim it for his own, even from the beginning of the world. "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the

Sabbath day and hallowed it." He *hallowed* it; that is, he made it holy; he reserved it for his own service. He appointed, that as long as the sun or the moon, the heavens and the earth, should endure, the children of men should spend this day in the worship of Him who "gave them life and breath and all things."

Shall a man then rob God? And art thou the man? Consider, think what thou art doing! Is it not God who giveth thee all thou hast? Every day thou livest, is it not his gift? And wilt thou give him none? Nay, wilt thou deny him what is his own already? He will not, he cannot, quit his claim. This day is God's. It was so from the beginning. It will be so to the end of the world. This he cannot give to another. O "render unto God the things that are God's," now; "to-day, while it is called to-day!"

For whose sake does God lay claim to this day? for his sake or for thine? Doubtless, not for his own. He needeth not thee, nor any child of man. "Look unto the heavens and see, and behold the clouds which are higher than thou. If thou sinnest, what doest thou against him? If thy transgressions be multiplied, what doest thou unto him? If thou art righteous, what givest thou him? Or what receiveth he of thine hand?" For thy own sake, therefore, God thy maker doeth this. For thy own sake he calleth thee to serve him. For thy own sake he demands a part of thy time to be restored to him that gave thee all. Acknowledge his love. Learn, while thou art on earth, to praise the King of Heaven. Spend this day as thou hopest to spend that day which never shall have an end.

The Lord not only hallowed the Sabbath day, but he hath also blessed it. So that you are an enemy to yourself. You throw away your own blessing, if you neglect to "keep this day holy." It is a day of special grace. The King of Heaven now sits upon his mercy seat, in a more gracious manner than on other days, to bestow blessings on those who observe it. If you love your own soul, can you then forbear laying hold on so happy an opportunity? Awake, arise, let God give thee his blessing! Receive a token of his love! Cry to him that thou mayest find the riches of his grace and mercy in Christ Jesus! You do not know how few more of these days of salvation you may have. And how dreadful would it be, to be called hence in the abuse of his proffered mercy!

O what mercy hath God prepared for you, if you do not trample it under foot! "What mercy hath he prepared for them that fear him, even before the sons of men!" A peace which the world cannot give; joy, that no man taketh from you; rest from doubt and fear and sorrow of heart; and love, the beginning of heaven. And are not these for you? Are they not all purchased for you by him who loved you, and gave himself for you? for you, a sinner? you, a rebel against God? you, who have so long crucified him afresh? Now "look unto him whom you have pierced!" Now say, Lord, it is enough. I have fought against thee long enough. I yield, I yield. "Jesus, Master, have mercy upon me!"

On this day, above all, cry aloud, and spare not, to the "God who heareth prayer." This is the day he hath set apart for the good of your soul, both in this world and that which is to come. Never more dis-

appoint the design of his love, either by worldly business or idle diversions. Let not a little thing keep you from the house of God, either in the forenoon or afternoon. And spend as much as you can of the rest of the day, either in repeating what you have heard, or in reading the Scripture, or in private prayer, or talking of the things of God. Let his love be ever before your eyes. Let his praise be ever in your mouth. You have lived many years in folly and sin; now, live one day unto the Lord.

Do not ask any more, "Where is the harm, if, after church, I spend the remainder of the day in the fields, or in a public house, or in taking a little diversion?" You know where is the harm. Your own heart tells you so plain, that you cannot but hear. It is a base mis-spending of your talent, and a barefaced contempt of God and his authority. You have heard of God's judgments, even upon earth, against the profaners of this day. And yet these are but as drops of that storm of "fiery indignation, which will" at last "consume his adversaries."

Glory be to God who hath now given you a sense of this. You now know, this was always designed for a day of blessing. May you never again, by your idleness or profaneness, turn that blessing into a curse! What folly, what madness would that be! And in what sorrow and anguish would it end! For yet a little while, and death will close up the day of grace and mercy. And those who despise them now, will have no more Sabbaths, or sacraments, or prayers for ever. Then how will they wish to recover that which they now so idly cast away! But all in vain. For they will then "find no place for repentance, though they should seek it carefully with tears."

O my friend, know the privilege you enjoy. Now "remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." Your day of life and of grace is far spent. The night of death is at hand. Make haste to use the time you have; improve the last hours of your day. Now provide "the things which make for your peace," that you may stand before the face of God for ever.

A WORD TO A SWEARER.

SWEAR NOT AT ALL, saith the Lord God of heaven and earth. Art thou without God in the world? Hast thou no knowledge of God, no concern about him? Is not God in all thy thoughts?

Dost thou believe there is a God? Where? in heaven only? Nay, he filleth all in all! Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? Do not I fill heaven and earth?

Whither wilt thou go then from his Spirit? Or whither wilt thou flee from his presence? If thou go up into heaven, God is there: If thou go down into hell, he is there also. If thou take the wings of the morning, and remain in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there his hand shall touch thee, and his right hand shall hold thee.

God seeth thee now; his eyes are upon thee; he observes all thy thoughts; he compasseth thy path; he counteth all thy steps; he is

acquainted with all thy ways; by him thy actions are weighed; nor is there a word in thy tongue but he knoweth it altogether.

And does not power belong unto God; yea, all power in heaven and in earth? Is he not able, even while thou readest or hearest these words, to crush thee into nothing? Can he not just now crumble thee into dust; or bid the earth open and swallow thee up? O do not set him at nought! do not provoke him thus! do not fly in his face! Can he not, in a moment, cast forth his lightnings and tear thee; shoot out his arrows and consume thee? What hinders him from cutting thee off this instant; sending thee now, now, quick into hell?

Would God do thee any wrong therein? What! in giving thee the request of thy own lips? What words were those thou spakest but now? Did not God hear? Why, thou didst pray to God to send thee to hell! Thou didst ask him to damn thy soul! How, art thou in love with damnation? Art thou in haste to dwell with everlasting burnings; to be day and night tormented in that flame, without a drop of water to cool thy tongue?

Dost thou pray for this? I pray God it may never be either my lot or thine. Alas, my brother! What, if God take thee at thy word! What, if he say, Be it unto thee even as thou wilt! What, if he give thee thy wish, and let thee drop into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels!

I had rather thou shouldest go to the paradise of God. Hadst not thou? Is not heaven better than hell? Art thou not convinced of this in thy own conscience? Why, then, amend thy prayer. Cry to God: "Save my soul, for I have sinned against thee! Seve me from all my sins. Save me from all my evil words, and evil works; from my evil tempers, and evil desires! Make me holy as thou art holy! Let me know thee, and love thee, and serve thee, now and for ever!"

And is not God willing to do this? Surely he is; for God loveth thee. He gave his only Son, that thou mightest not perish, but have everlasting life. Christ died for thee; and he that believeth on him hath everlasting life. Mark that word,—he *hath* it. He hath it now. He hath the beginning of heaven even upon earth; for his soul is filled with the love of God; and the love of God is heaven. He that truly believes on Jesus Christ hath a peace which earth cannot give; his mind is always calm; he hath learned in every state therewith to be content; he is always easy, quiet, well pleased; always happy, in life and in death; for a believer is not afraid to die; he desires to be dissolved and to be with Christ; he desires to quit this house of clay, and to be carried by angels into Abraham's bosom; to hear the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, and to see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven; to stand at his right hand, and hear that word, (which I earnestly beg of God you and I may hear,) "Come, ye blessed, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world!"

A WORD TO A DRUNKARD.

1. Are you a man? God made you a man; but you make yourself a beast. Wherein does a man differ from a beast? Is it not chiefly in reason and understanding? But you throw away what reason you have. You strip yourself of your understanding. You do all you can to make yourself a mere beast; not a fool, not a madman only, but a swine, a poor filthy swine. Go and wallow with them in the mire! Go, drink on, till thy nakedness be uncovered, and shameful spewing be on thy glory!

2. O how honourable is a beast of God's making, compared to one who makes himself a beast! But that is not all. You make yourself a devil. You stir up all the devilish tempers that are in you, and gain others, which perhaps were not in you; at least you heighten and increase them. You cause the fire of anger, or malice, or lust, to burn seven times hotter than before. At the same time you grieve the Spirit of God, till you drive him quite away from you; and whatever spark of good remained in your soul you drown and quench at once.

3. So you are now just fit for every work of the devil, having cast off all that is good or virtuous, and filled your heart with every thing that is bad, that is earthly, sensual, devilish. You have forced the Spirit of God to depart from you; for you would take none of his reproof; and you have given yourself up into the hands of the devil, to be led blindfold by him at his will.

4. Now, what should hinder the same thing from befalling you, which befell him who was asked, which was the greatest sin, adultery, drunkenness, or murder; and which of the three he had rather commit. He said drunkenness was the least. Soon after, he got drunk; he then met with another man's wife, and ravished her. The husband coming to help her, he murdered him. So drunkenness, adultery, and murder went together.

5. I have heard a story of a poor wild Indian, far wiser than either him or you. The English gave him a cask of strong liquor. The next morning he called his friends together, and setting it in the midst of them, said, "These white men have given us poison. This man" (calling him by his name) "was a wise man, and would hurt none but his enemies; but as soon as he had drunk of this, he was mad, and would have killed his own brother. We will not be poisoned." He then broke the cask, and poured the liquor upon the sand.

6. On what motive do you thus poison yourself? only for the pleasure of doing it? What! will you make yourself a beast, or rather a devil? Will you run the hazard of committing all manner of villanies; and this only for the poor pleasure of a few moments, while the poison is running down your throat? O never call yourself a Christian! Never call yourself a man! You are sunk beneath the greater part of the beasts that perish.

7. Do you not rather drink for the sake of company? Do you not do it to oblige your friends? "For company," do you say? How is this? Will you take a dose of ratsbane for company? If twenty men were to

do so before you, would not you desire to be excused? How much more may you desire to be excused from going to hell for company? But, "to oblige your friends:" what manner of friends are they who would be obliged by your destroying yourself? who would suffer, nay, entice you so to do? They are villains. They are your worst enemies. They are just such friends, as a man that would smile in your face, and stab you to the heart.

8. O do not aim at any excuse! Say not, as many do, "I am no one's enemy but my own." If it were so, what a poor saying is this, "I give none but my own soul to the devil." Alas! Is not that too much? Why shouldest thou give him thy own soul? Do it not. Rather give it to God.

But it is not so. You are an enemy to your king, whom you rob hereby of a useful subject. You are an enemy to your country, which you defraud of the service you might do, either as a man or as a Christian. You are an enemy to every man that sees you in your sin; for your example may move him to do the same. A drunkard is a public enemy. I should not wonder at all, if you was (like Cain of old) afraid that "every man who meeteth you should slay you."

9. Above all, you are an enemy to God, the great God of heaven and earth; to him who surrounds you on every side, and can just now send you quick into hell. Him you are continually affronting to his face. You are setting him at open defiance. O do not provoke him thus any more! Fear the great God!

10. You are an enemy to Christ, to the Lord that bought you. You fly in the face of his authority. You set at nought both his sovereign power and tender love. You crucify him afresh; and when you call him your Saviour, what is it less than to "betray him with a kiss?"

11. O repent! See and feel what a wretch you are. Pray to God, to convince you in your inmost soul. How often have you crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame! Pray that you may know yourself, inwardly and outwardly, all sin, all guilt, all helplessness. Then cry out, "Thou Son of David, have mercy upon me!" Thou lamb of God, take away my sins! Grant me thy peace. Justify the ungodly. O bring me to the blood of sprinkling, that I may go and sin no more, that I may love much, having had so much for given!

A WORD TO AN UNHAPPY WOMAN.

1. Whither are you going? to heaven or hell? Do you not know? Do you never think about it? Why do you not? Are you never to die? Nay, it is appointed for all men to die. And what comes after? Only heaven or hell. Will the not thinking of death, put it farther off? No; not a day; not one hour. Or will your not thinking of hell, save you from it? O no; you know better. And you know that every moment you are nearer hell, whether you are thinking of it or no; that is, if you are not nearer heaven. You must be nearer one or the other.

2. I intreat you, think a little on that plain question, Are you going

toward heaven or hell? To which of the two does this way lead? Is it possible you should be ignorant? Did you never hear, that neither adulterers nor fornicators shall inherit the kingdom? that fornicators and adulterers God will judge? And how dreadful will be their sentence, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels!"

3. Surely you do not mock at the word of God! You are not yet sunk so low as this. Consider then that awful word, "Know ye not, that ye are the temples of God?" Was not you designed for the Spirit of God to dwell in? Was not you devoted to God in baptism? But "if any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy." O do not provoke him to it any longer! Tremble before the great, the holy God!

4. Know you not that your body is, or ought to be, the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? Know you not, that "you are not your own? for you are bought with a price." And, O how great a price! "You are not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." O when will you glorify God, with your body and your spirit, which are God's!

5. Ah, poor wretch! How far are you from this? How low are you fallen! You yourself are ashamed of what you do. Are you not? Conscience speak in the sight of God! Does not your own heart condemn you at this very hour? Do not you shudder at the condition you are in? Dare, for once, to lay your hand upon your breast, and ask, "What am I doing? And what must the end of these things be?" Destruction both of body and soul.

6. *Destruction of body as well as of soul!* Can it be otherwise? Are you not plunging into misery in this world, as well as in the world to come? What have you brought upon yourself already? what infamy? what contempt? How could you now appear among those relations and friends that were once so loved, and so loving to you? What pangs have you given them? How do some of them still weep for you in secret places? And will you not weep for yourself, when you see nothing before you but want, pain, diseases, death? O spare yourself! Have pity upon your body, if not your soul! Stop! before you rot above ground and perish!

7. Do you ask, What shall I do? First, sin no more. First of all, secure this point. Now, this instant, now, escape for your life; stay not; look not behind you. Whatever you do, sin no more; starve, die, rather than sin. Be more careful for your soul than your body. Take care of that too; but of your poor soul first.

8. "But you have no friend; none at least that is able to help you." Indeed you have: one that is a present help in time of trouble. You have a friend that has all power in heaven and earth, even Jesus Christ the righteous. He loved sinners of old; and he does so still. He then suffered the publicans and harlots to come unto him. And one of them washed his feet with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. I would to God you were in her place! Say, Amen! Lift up your heart, and it shall be done. How soon will he say, "Woman, be of good cheer; thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee. Go in peace. Sin no more. Love much; for thou hast much forgiven."

9. Do you still ask, But what shall I do for bread; for food to eat, and raiment to put on? I answer, in the name of the Lord God, (and, mark well! His promise shall not fail,) "Seek thou first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto thee."

Settle it first in your heart, Whatever I have or have not, I will not have everlasting burnings. I will not sell my soul and body for bread; better even starve on earth than burn in hell. Then ask help of God. He is not slow to hear. He hath never failed them that seek him. He who feeds the young ravens that call upon him, will not let you perish for lack of sustenance. He will provide, in a way you thought not of, if you seek him with your whole heart. O let your heart be toward him; seek him from the heart! Fear sin, more than want, more than death. And cry mightily to Him who bore your sins, till you have bread to eat that the world knoweth not of; till you have angels' food, even the love of God shed abroad in your heart; till you can say, "Now I know that my Redeemer liveth, that he hath loved me and given himself for me; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God!"

A WORD TO A SMUGGLER.

I. "What is smuggling?" It is the importing, selling, or buying of run goods; that is, those which have not paid the duty appointed by law to be paid to the king.

1. Importing run goods. All smuggling vessels do this with a high hand. It is the chief, if not the whole, business of these to bring goods which have not paid duty.

2. Next to these are all sea captains, officers, sailors, or passengers, who import any thing without paying the duty which the law requires.

3. A third sort of smugglers are all those who sell any thing which has not paid the duty.

4. A fourth sort, those who buy tea, liquors, linen, handkerchiefs, or any thing else which has not paid duty.

II. "But why should they not? What harm is there in it?"

1. I answer, open smuggling (such as was common a few years ago, on the southern coasts especially) is robbing on the highway; and as much harm as there is in this, just so much there is in smuggling. A smuggler of this kind is no honester than a highwayman. They may shake hands together.

2. Private smuggling is just the same with picking of pockets. There is full as much harm in this as in that. A smuggler of this kind is no honester than a pickpocket. These may shake hands together.

3. But open smugglers are worse than common highwaymen, and private smugglers are worse than common pickpockets. For it is undoubtedly worse to rob our father than one we have no obligation to. And it is worse still, far worse, to rob a good father, one who sincerely loves us, and is at that very time doing all he can to provide for us and to make us happy. Now, this is exactly the present case. King George is the father of all his subjects; and not only so, but he is a

good father. He shows his love to them on all occasions; and is continually doing all that is in his power to make his subjects happy.

4. An honest man therefore would be ashamed to ask, Where is the harm in robbing such a father? His own reason, if he had any at all, would give him a speedy answer. But you are a Christian,—are you not? You say you believe the Bible. Then I say to you, in the name of God and in the name of Christ, "Thou shalt not steal." Thou shalt not take what is not thine own, what is the right of another man. But the duties appointed by law are the king's right, as much as your coat is your right. He has as good a right to them as you have to this: these are his property as much as this is yours. Therefore you are as much a thief if you take his duties, as a man is that takes your coat.

5. If you believe the Bible, I say to you, as our Saviour said to them of old time, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." If then you mind our Saviour's words, be as careful to honour the king as to fear God. Be as exact in giving the king what is due to the king, as in giving God what is due to God. Upon no account whatever rob or defraud him of the least thing which is his lawful property.

6. If you believe the Bible, I say to you, as St. Paul said to the ancient Christians, "Render unto all their dues;" in particular, "custom to whom custom is due, tribute to whom tribute." Now, custom is by the laws of England due to the king; therefore every one in England is bound to pay it him. So that robbing the king herein is abundantly worse than common stealing, or common robbing on the highway.

7. And so it is on another account also; for it is a general robbery: it is, in effect, not only robbing the king, but robbing every honest man in the nation. For the more the king's duties are diminished, the more the taxes must be increased. And these lie upon us all; they are the burden, not of some, but of all the people of England. Therefore every smuggler is a thief-general, who picks the pockets both of the king and all his fellow subjects. He wrongs them all; and, above all, the honest traders; many of whom he deprives of their maintenance; constraining them either not to sell their goods at all, or to sell them to no profit. Some of them are tempted hereby, finding they cannot get bread for their families, to turn thieves too. And then you are accountable for their sin as well as your own; you bring their blood upon your own head. Calmly consider this, and you will never more ask what harm there is in smuggling.

III. 1. But for all this, cannot men find excuses for it? Yes, abundance; such as they are. "I would not do this," says one, "I would not sell uncustomed goods, but I am under a necessity: I cannot live without it." I answer, May not the man who stops you on the highway say the very same? "I would not take your purse; but I am under a necessity: I cannot live without it." Suppose the case to be your own; and will you accept of this excuse? Would not you tell him, "Let the worst come to the worst, you had better be honest, though you should starve." But that need not be, neither. Others who had no more than you to begin with, yet find a way to live honestly; and certainly so may you: however, settle it in your heart, "Live or die, I will be an honest man."

2. "Nay," says another, "we do not wrong the king; for he loses nothing by us. Yea, on the contrary, the king is rather a gainer; namely, by the seizures that are made."

So you plunder the king, out of stark love and kindness! You rob him to make him rich! It is true, you take away his purse; but you put a heavier in its place! Are you serious? Do you mean what you say? Look me in the face and tell me so. You cannot. You know in your own conscience that what comes to the king out of all seizures made the year round, does not amount to the tenth, no, not to the hundredth, part of what he is defrauded of.

But if he really gained more than he lost, that would not excuse you. You are not to commit robbery, though the person robbed were afterward to gain by it. You are not to "do evil, that good may come." If you do, your "damnation is just."

"But certainly," say some, "the king is a gainer by it, or he might easily suppress it." Will you tell him which way? by custom-house officers? But many of them have no desire to suppress it. They find their account in its continuance; they come in for a share of the plunder. But what, if they had a desire to suppress it? They have not the power. Some of them have lately made the experiment; and what was the consequence? Why, they lost a great part of their bread, and were in danger of losing their lives.

Can the king suppress smuggling by parties of soldiers? That he cannot do. For all the soldiers he has are not enough to watch every port and every creek in Great Britain. Besides, the soldiers that are employed will do little more than the custom-house officers. For there are ways and means to take off their edge too, and making them as quiet as lambs.

"But many courtiers and great men, who know the king's mind, not only connive at smuggling, but practise it." And what can we infer from this? Only that those great men are great villains. They are great highwaymen and pickpockets; and their greatness does not excuse, but makes their crime tenfold more inexcusable.

But besides: Suppose the king were willing to be cheated, how would this excuse your cheating his subjects? all your fellow subjects, every honest man, and, in particular, every honest trader? How would it excuse your making it impossible for him to live, unless he will turn knave as well as yourself?

3. "Well, but I am not convinced it is a sin: my conscience does not condemn me for it." No! Are you not convinced that robbery is a sin? Then I am sorry for you. And does not your conscience condemn you for stealing? Then your conscience is asleep. I pray God to smite you to the heart, and awaken it this day!

4. "Nay, but my soul is quite happy in the love of God; therefore I cannot think it is wrong." I answer, Wrong it must be, if the Bible is right. Therefore either that love is a mere delusion, a fire of your own kindling, or God may have hitherto winked at the times of ignorance. But now you have the means of knowing better; now light is offered to you; and if you shut your eyes against the light, the love of God cannot possibly continue.

5. "But I only buy a little brandy or tea now and then, just for my own use." That is, I only steal a little. God says, "Steal not at all."

6. "Nay, I do not buy any at all myself; I only send my child or servant for it." You receive it of them; do you not? And the receiver is as bad as the thief

7. "Why, I would not meddle with it, but I am forced by my parent, husband, or master." If you are forced by your father or mother to rob, you will be hanged nevertheless. This may lessen, but does not take away, the fault; for you ought to suffer rather than sin.

8. "But I do not know that it was run." No! Did not he that sold it tell you it was? If he sold it under the common price, he did. The naming the price was telling you, "This is run."

9. "But I do not know where to get tea which is not run." I will tell you where to get it; you may have it from those whose tea is duly entered, and who make a conscience of it. But were it otherwise, if I could get no wine but what I knew to be stolen, I would drink water; yea, though not only my health but my life depended upon it; for it is better to die than to live by thieving.

10. "But, if I could get what has paid duty, I am not able to pay the price of it; and I cannot live without it." I answer, (1.) You can live without it, as well as your grandmother did. But, (2.) If you could not live without it, you ought to die rather than steal; for death is a less evil than sin.

11. "But my husband will buy it, whether I do or no; and I must use what he provides, or have none." Undoubtedly, to have none is a less evil than to be partaker with a thief.

IV. Upon the whole, then, I exhort all of you that fear God, and desire to save your souls, without regarding what others do, resolve at all hazards to keep yourselves pure. Let your eye be fixed on the word of God, not the examples of men. Our Lord says to every one of you, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me!" Let no convenience, no gain, no pleasure, no friend, draw you from following him. In spite of all the persuasions, all the reasonings, of men, keep to the word of God. If all on the right hand and the left will be knaves, be you an honest man. Probably God will repay you, (he certainly will, if this be best for you,) even with temporal blessings; there have not been wanting remarkable instances of this. But, if not, he will repay you with what is far better,—with "the testimony of a good conscience toward God;" with "joy in the Holy Ghost;" with a "hope full of immortality;" with "the love of God shed abroad in your hearts:" and "the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus!"

London, January 30, 1767.

A WORD TO A CONDEMNED MALEFACTOR.

What a condition are you in! The sentence is passed; you are condemned to die; and this sentence is to be executed shortly! You have no way to escape; these fetters, these walls, these gates and bars, these keepers, cut off all hope: therefore, die you must. But must you die like a beast, without thinking what it is to die? You need not; you will not; you will think a little first; you will consider, "What is death?"

It is leaving this world, these houses, lands, and all things under the sun; leaving all these things, never to return; your place will know you no more. It is leaving these pleasures; for there is no eating, drinking, gaming, no merriment in the grave. It is leaving your acquaintance, companions, friends; your father, mother, wife, children. You cannot stay with them, nor can they go with you; you must part; perhaps for ever. It is leaving a part of yourself; leaving this body which has accompanied you so long. Your soul must now drop its old companion, to rot and moulder into dust. It must enter upon a new, strange, unbodied state. It must stand naked before God!

2. But, O, how will you stand before God; the great, the holy, the just, the terrible God? Is it not his own word, "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord?" No man shall see him with joy; rather, he will call for the mountains to fall upon him, and the rocks to cover him. And what do you think holiness is? It is purity both of heart and life. It is the mind that was in Christ, enabling us to walk as he also walked. It is the loving God with all our heart; the loving our neighbour, every man, as ourselves; and the doing to all men, in every point, as we would they should do unto us. The least part of holiness is to do good to all men, and to do no evil either in word or work. This is only the outside of it. But this is more than you have. You are far from it; far as darkness from light. You have not the mind that was in Christ: there was no pride, no malice in him; no hatred, no revenge, no furious anger, no foolish or worldly desire. You have not walked as Christ walked; no, rather as the devil would have walked, had he been in a body; the works of the devil you have done, not the works of God. You have not loved God with all your heart. You have not loved him at all. You have not thought about him. You hardly knew or cared whether there was any God in the world. You have not done to others as you would they should do to you; far, very far from it. Have you done all the good you could to all men? If so, you had never come to this place. You have done evil exceedingly; your sins against God and man are more than the hairs of your head. Insomuch that even the world cannot bear you; the world itself spews you out. Even the men that know not God declare you are not fit to live upon the earth.

3. O repent, repent! Know yourself; see and feel what a sinner you are. Think of the innumerable sins you have committed, even from your youth up. How many wicked words have you spoken? How many wicked actions have you done? Think of your inward sins; your pride, malice, hatred, anger, revenge, lust! Think of your sinful nature, totally alienated from the life of God. How is your whole soul prone to evil, void of good, corrupt, full of all abominations! Feel that your carnal mind is enmity against God. Well may the wrath of God abide upon you. He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; he hath said, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." It shall die eternally, shall be "punished with everlasting destruction, from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power."

4. How then can you escape the damnation of hell,—the lake of fire burning with brimstone; "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched?" You can never redeem your own soul. You cannot atone for the sins that are past. If you could leave off sin now, and

live unblamable for the time to come, that would be no atonement for what is past. Nay, if you could live like an angel for a thousand years, that would not atone for one sin. But neither can you do this; you cannot leave off sin; it has the dominion over you. If all your past sins were now to be forgiven, you would immediately sin again; that is, unless your heart were cleansed; unless it were created anew. And who can do this? Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? Surely none but God. So you are utterly sinful, guilty, helpless! What can you do to be saved?

5. One thing is needful: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved!" Believe (not as the devils only, but) with that faith which is the gift of God, which is wrought in a poor, guilty, helpless sinner by the power of the Holy Ghost. See all thy sins on Jesus laid. God laid on him the iniquities of us all. He suffered once the just for the unjust. He bore our sins in his own body on the tree. He was wounded for thy sins; he was bruised for thy iniquities. "Behold the Lamb of God taking away the sin of the world!" taking away thy sins, even thine, and reconciling thee unto God the Father! "Look unto him and be thou saved!" If thou look unto him by faith, if thou cleave to him with thy whole heart, if thou receive him both to atone, to teach, and to govern thee in all things, thou shalt be saved, thou art saved, both from the guilt, the punishment, and all the power of sin. Thou shalt have peace with God, and a peace in thy own soul, that passeth all understanding. Thy soul shall magnify the Lord, and thy spirit rejoice in God thy Saviour. The love of God shall be shed abroad in thy heart, enabling thee to trample sin under thy feet. And thou wilt then have a hope full of immortality. Thou wilt no longer be afraid to die, but rather long for the hour, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ.

6. This is the faith that worketh by love, the way that leadeth to the kingdom. Do you earnestly desire to walk therein? Then put away all hinderances. Beware of company: At the peril of your soul, keep from those who neither know nor seek God. Your old acquaintance are no acquaintance for you, unless they too acquaint themselves with God. Let them laugh at you, or say you are running mad. It is enough, if you have praise of God. Beware of strong drink. Touch it not, lest you should not know when to stop. You have no need of this to cheer your spirits; but of the peace and the love of God; beware of men that pretend to show you the way to heaven, and know it not themselves. There is no other name whereby you can be saved, but the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And there is no other way whereby you can find the virtue of his name but by faith. Beware of Satan transformed into an angel of light, and telling you it is presumption to believe in Christ, as your Lord and your God, your wisdom and righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. Believe in him with your whole heart. Cast your whole soul upon his love. Trust him alone; love him alone; fear him alone; and cleave to him alone; till he shall say to you, (as to the dying malefactor of old,) "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

A WORD IN SEASON: OR, ADVICE TO AN ENGLISHMAN.

(This was published at the beginning of the late rebellion.)

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1. Do you ever think? Do you ever consider? If not, it is high time you should. Think a little, before it is too late. Consider what a state you are in; and not you alone, but our whole nation. We would have war; and we have it. And what is the fruit? Our armies broken in pieces; and thousands of our men either killed on the spot, or made prisoners in one day. Nor is this all. We have now war at our own doors; our own countrymen turning their swords against their brethren. And have any hitherto been able to stand before them? Have they not already seized upon one whole kingdom? Friend, either think now, or sleep on and take your rest, till you drop into the pit where you will sleep no more!

2. Think what is likely to follow, if an army of French also should blow the trumpet in our land! What desolation may we not then expect? what a wide-spread field of blood? And what can the end of these things be? If they prevail, what but Popery and slavery? Do you know what the spirit of Popery is? Did you never hear of that in Queen Mary's reign; and of the holy men who were then burned alive by the Papists, because they did not dare to do as they did; to worship angels and saints, to pray to the Virgin Mary, to bow down to images, and the like? If we had a king of this spirit, whose life would be safe? at least, what honest man's? A knave indeed might turn with the times. But what a dreadful thing would this be to a man of conscience: "Either turn or burn: Either go into that fire, or into 'the fire that never shall be quenched!'"

3. And can you dream that your property would be any safer than your conscience? Nay, how should that be? Nothing is plainer than that the Pretender cannot be king of England, unless it be by conquest. But every conqueror may do what he will; the laws of the land are no laws to him. And who can doubt, but one who should conquer England by the assistance of France, would copy after the French rules of government?

4. How dreadful then is the condition wherein we stand! on the very brink of utter destruction! But why are we thus? I am afraid the answer is too plain to every considerate man: Because of our sins; because we have well nigh "filled up the measure of our iniquities." For, what wickedness is there under heaven which is not found among us at this day? Not to insist on the Sabbath breaking in every corner of our land; the thefts, cheating, fraud, extortion; the injustice, violence, oppression; the lying and dissimulating; the robberies, sodomies, and murders; which, with a thousand unnamed villanies, are common to us and our neighbour Christians of Holland, France, and Germany; consider, over and above, what a plentiful harvest we have of wickedness almost peculiar to ourselves. For who can vie with us in the direction of courts of justice; in the management of public charities; or in the

accomplished, barefaced wickedness which so abounds in our prisons, and fleets, and armies? Who in Europe can compare with the sloth, laziness, luxury, and effeminacy of the English gentry; or with the drunkenness, and stupid, senseless cursing and swearing which are daily seen and heard in our streets? one great inlet, no doubt, to that flood of perjury, which so increases among us day by day; the like whereunto is not to be found in any other part of the habitable earth.

5. Add to all these, (what is indeed the source as well as completion of all,) that open and professed Deism and rejection of the Gospel, that public, avowed apostasy from the Christian faith, which reigns among the rich and great, and hath spread from them to all ranks and orders of men, the vulgar themselves not excepted, and made us a people fitted for the "destroyer of the Gentiles."

6. Because of these sins is this evil come upon us. For, whether you are aware of it or no, there is a God; a God who, though he sits upon the circle of the heavens, sees and knows all that is done upon earth. And this God is holy; he does not love sin; he is just, rendering to all their due; and he is strong, there is none able to withstand him; he hath all power in heaven and in earth. He is patient indeed, and suffers long; but he will at last repay the wicked to his face. He often does so in this world; especially when a whole nation is openly and insolently wicked. Then doth God "arise and maintain his own cause;" then doth he terribly show both his justice and power; that if these will not repent, yet others may fear, and flee from the wrath to come.

7. There hath been, among them that feared God, a general expectation, for many years, that the time was coming when God would thus arise to be avenged on this sinful nation. At length the time is come. The patience of God, long provoked, gives place to justice. The windows of heaven begin to be opened, to rain down judgments on the earth. And yet, with what tenderness does he proceed! in the midst of wrath remembering mercy. By how slow degrees does his vengeance move! Nor does his whole displeasure yet arise.

8. Brethren, countrymen, Englishmen, what shall we do; to-day while it is called to-day, before the season of mercy is quite expired, and our "destruction cometh as a whirlwind?" Which way can we remove the evils we feel? which way prevent those we fear? Is there any better way than the making God our friend? the securing his help against our enemies? Other helps are little worth. We see armies may be destroyed, or even flee away from old men and children. Fleets may be dashed to pieces in an hour, and sunk in the depth of the sea. Allies may be treacherous, or slow, or foolish, or weak, or cowardly. But God is a friend who cannot betray, and whom none can either bribe or terrify. And who is wise, or swift, or strong like him? Therefore, whatever we do, let us make God our friend; let us with all speed remove the cause of his anger; let us cast away our sins. Then shall his love have free course, and he will send us help, sufficient help against all our enemies.

9. Come; will you begin? Will you, by the grace of God, amend one, and that without delay? First, then, own those sins which have long cried for vengeance in the ears of God. Confess, that we, and all, and

you in particular, deserve for our inward and outward abominations, not only to be swept from the face of the earth, but to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire. Never aim at excusing either yourself or others; let your mouth be stopped. Plead guilty before God. Above all, own that impudence of wickedness, that utter carelessness, that pert stupidity, which is hardly to be found in any part of the earth, (at least, not in such a degree,) except in England. Do you not know what I mean? You was not long since praying to God for damnation upon your soul. One who has heard you, said, "Is that right? Does not God hear? What if he takes you at your word?" You replied, with equal impudence and ignorance, "What, are you a Methodist?" What, if he is a Turk? Must you therefore be a Heathen? God humble thy brutish, devilish spirit!

10. Lay thee in the dust, for this and for all thy sins. Let thy laughter be turned into heaviness; thy joy into mourning; thy senseless jollity and mirth into sorrow and brokenness of heart. This is no time to eat, and drink, and rise up to play, but to afflict thy soul before the Lord. Desire of God a deep, piercing sense of the enormous sins of the nation, and of thy own. Remember that great example; how when the king of Nineveh was warned of the near approaching vengeance of God, he "caused it to be proclaimed, Let none taste any thing; let them not feed nor drink water: but let them be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?" Jonah iii.

11. Let them turn every one from his evil way. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. And see that this reformation be universal; for there is no serving God by halves. Avoid all evil, and do all good unto all men; else you only deceive your own soul. See also that it be from the heart; lay the axe to the root of the tree. Cut up, by the grace of God, evil desire, pride, anger, unbelief. Let this be your continual prayer to God, the prayer of your heart as well as lips: "Lord, I would believe; help thou mine unbelief; give me the faith that worketh by love. 'The life which I now live,' let me 'live by faith in the Son of God.' Let me so believe, that I may 'love thee with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength;' and that I may love every child of man, even 'as thou hast loved us!' Let me daily 'add to my faith courage, knowledge, temperance, patience, brotherly kindness, charity; that so an entrance may be ministered to me abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'"

A HYMN.

Regard, thou righteous God, and true,
  Regard thy weeping people's prayer,
Before the sword our land go through,
  Before thy latest plague we bear,
Let all to thee, their Smiter, turn,
Let all beneath thine anger mourn.

The sword, which first bereaved abroad,
  We now within our borders see;
We see, but slight, thy nearer rod:
  So oft, so kindly, warn'd by thee,
We still thy warning love despise,
And dare thine utmost wrath to rise.

Yet, for the faithful remnant's sake,
  Thine utmost wrath awhile defer,
If, haply, we at last may wake,
  And, trembling at destruction near,
The cause of all our evils own,
And leave the sins for which we groan.

Or, if the wicked will not mourn,
  And 'scape the long-suspended blow,
Yet shall it to thy glory turn,
  Yet shall they all thy patience know
Thy slighted love and mercy clear,
And vindicate thy justice here.

FOR HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE.

IMMORTAL King of kings,
Whose favour or whose frown
Monarchs and states to honour brings,
Or turns them upside down!

To thee, in danger's hour,
We for our sovereign cry:
Protect him by thy gracious power,
And set him up on high.

Not by a mighty host
Can he deliver'd be;
Let others in their numbers trust,
We look, O Lord, to thee.

Help to thy servant send,
And strengthen from above;
And still thy minister defend
By thine Almighty love.

The Spirit of thy grace,
Thy heavenly unction, shed,
And hosts of guardian angels place
Around his sacred head.

Confound whoe'er oppose,
Or force them to retire;
Be thou a tower against his foes,
Be thou a wall of fire.

O bring him out of all
His sanctified distress,
And by his name thy servant call,
And fill him with thy peace.

Show him, Almighty Lord,
That thou his Saviour art;
And speak the soul-converting word,
"My son, give me thy heart!"

A WORD TO A PROTESTANT.

1. Do not you call yourself a Protestant? Why so? Do you know what the word means? What is a Protestant? I suppose you mean one that is not a Papist. But what is a Papist? If you do not know, say so; acknowledge you cannot tell. Is not this the case? You call yourself a Protestant; but you do not know what a Protestant is. You talk against Papists; and yet neither do you know what a Papist is. Why do you pretend, then, to the knowledge which you have not? Why do you use words which you do not understand?

2. Are you desirous to know what these words, *Papist* and *Protestant*, mean? A Papist is one who holds the Pope or Bishop of Rome (the name *papa*, that is, *father*, was formerly given to all bishops) to be head of the whole Christian Church; and the Church of Rome, or that which owns the Pope as their head, to be the only Christian Church.

3. In a course of years, many errors crept into this Church, of which good men complained from time to time. At last, about two hundred years ago, the Pope appointed many bishops and others to meet at a town in Germany, called Trent. But these, instead of amending those errors, established them all by a law, and so delivered them down to all succeeding generations.

4. Among these errors may be numbered, their doctrine of seven sacraments; of transubstantiation; of communion in one kind only; of purgatory, and praying for the dead therein; of veneration of relics; and of indulgences, or pardons granted by the Pope, and to be bought for money.

It is thought by some, that these errors, great as they are, do only defile the purity of Christianity; but it is sure, the following strike at its very root, and tend to banish true religion out of the world:—

5. First. The doctrine of merit. The very foundation of Christianity is, that a man can merit nothing of God; that we are "justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ;" not for any of our works or of our deservings, but by faith in the blood of the covenant.

But the Papists hold, that a man may by his works merit or deserve eternal life; and that we are justified, not by faith in Christ alone, but by faith and works together.

This doctrine strikes at the root of Christian faith, the only foundation of true religion.

6. Secondly. The doctrine of praying to saints, and worshipping of images. To the Virgin Mary they pray in these words: "O Mother of God, O Queen of Heaven, command thy Son to have mercy upon us!" And, "The right use of images," says the Council of Trent, "is to honour them, by bowing down before them." (*Sess.* 25, pars 2.)

This doctrine strikes at the root of that great commandment, (which the Papists call part of the first,) "Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them," that is, not any image whatsoever. It is gross, open, palpable idolatry, such as can neither be denied nor excused; and tends directly to destroy the love of God, which is indeed the first and great commandment.

7. Thirdly. The doctrine of persecution. This has been for many ages a favourite doctrine of the Church of Rome. And the Papists in general still maintain, that all heretics (that is, all who differ from them) ought to be compelled to receive what they call the true faith; to be forced into the Church, or out of the world.

Now, this strikes at the root of, and utterly tears up, the second great commandment. It directly tends to bring in blind, bitter zeal; anger, hatred, malice, variance; every temper, word, and work that is just contrary to the loving our neighbour as ourselves.

So plain it is, that these grand Popish doctrines of merit, idolatry, and persecution, by destroying both faith, and the love of God and of our neighbour, tend to banish true Christianity out of the world.

8. Well might our forefathers protest against these: And hence it was that they were called Protestants; even because they publicly protested, as against all the errors of the Papists, so against these three in particular: The making void Christian faith, by holding that man may merit heaven by his own works; the overthrowing the love of God by idolatry, and the love of our neighbour by persecution.

Are you then a Protestant, truly so called? Do you protest, as against all the rest, so in particular against these three grand fundamental errors of Popery? Do you publicly protest against all merit in man? all salvation by your own works? against all idolatry of every sort? and against every kind and degree of persecution?

I question not but you do. You publicly protest against all these horrible errors of Popery. But does your heart agree with your lips? Do you not inwardly cherish what you outwardly renounce? It is well if you who cry out so much against Papists are not one yourself. It is well if you are not yourself (as little as you may think of it) a rank Papist in your heart.

9. For, First, how do you hope to be saved? by doing thus and thus? by doing no harm, and paying every man his own, and saying your prayers, and going to church and sacrament? Alas! alas! Now you have thrown off the mask: This is Popery barefaced. You may just as well speak plain, and say, "I trust to be saved by the merit of my own works." But where is Christ all this time? Why, he is not to come

in till you get to the end of your prayer; and then you will say, "for Jesus Christ's sake,"—because so it stands in your book. O my friend, your very foundation is Popish. You seek salvation by your own works. You trample upon the "blood of the covenant." And what can a poor Papist do more?

10. But let us go on: Are you clear of idolatry any more than the Papists are? It may be, indeed, yours is in a different way. But how little does that signify! They set up their idols in their churches; you set up yours in your heart. Their idols are only covered with gold or silver; but yours is solid gold. They worship the picture of the queen of heaven; you, the picture of the queen or king of England. In another way, they idolize a dead man or woman; whereas your idol is yet alive. O how little is the difference before God! How small pre-eminence has the money-worshiper at London, over the image-worshipper at Rome; or the idolizer of a living sinner, over him that prays to a dead saint!

11. Take one step farther: Does the Papist abroad persecute? Does he force another man's conscience? So does the Papist at home, as far as he can, for all he calls himself a Protestant. Will the man in Italy tolerate no opinion but his own? No more, if he could help it, would the man in Egland. Would you? Do not you think the government much overseen, in bearing with any but those of the Church? Do not you wish they would put down such and such people? You know what you would do if you was in their place. And by the very same spirit you would continue the Inquisition at Rome, and rekindle the fires in Smithfield.

12. It is because our nation is overrun with such Protestants, who are full of their own good deservings, as well as of abominable idolatry, and of blind, fiery zeal, of the whole spirit of persecution, that the sword of God, the great, the just, the jealous God, is even now drawn in our land; that the armies of the aliens are hovering over it, as a vulture over his prey; and that the open Papists are on the very point of swallowing up the pretended Protestants. (This was wrote during the late rebellion.)

13. Do you desire to escape the scourge of God? Then I entreat you, First, be a real Protestant. By the Spirit of God assisting you, (for without him you know you can do nothing,) cast away all that trust in your own righteousness, all hope of being saved by your own works. Own your merit is everlasting damnation; that you deserve the damnation of hell. Humble yourself under the mighty hand of God. Lie in the dust. Let your mouth be stopped; and let all your confidence be in the "blood of sprinkling;" all your hope in Jesus Christ "the righteous;" all your faith in "Him that justifieth the ungodly, through the redemption that is in Jesus."

O put away your idols out of your heart. "Love not the world, neither the things of the world."—"Having food to eat and raiment to put on, be content;" desire nothing more but God. To-day hear his voice, who continually cries, "My son, give me thy heart." Give yourself to him who gave himself for you. May you love God, as he has loved us! Let him be your desire, your delight, your joy, your portion, in time and in eternity.

And if you love God, you will love your brother also; you will be ready to lay down your life for his sake; so far from any desire to take away his life, or hurt a hair of his head. You will then leave his conscience uncontrolled; you will no more think of forcing him into your own opinions, as neither can he force you to judge by his conscience. But each shall "give an account of himself to God."

14. It is true, if his conscience be misinformed, you should endeavour to inform him better. But whatever you do, let it be done in charity, in love and meekness of wisdom. Be zealous for God; but remember, that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" that angry zeal, though opposing sin, is the servant of sin; that true zeal is only the flame of love. Let this be your truly Protestant zeal: While you abhor every kind and degree of persecution, let your heart burn with love to all mankind, to friends and enemies, neighbours and strangers; to Christians, Heathens, Jews, Turks, Papists, heretics; to every soul which God hath made. "Let" this "your light shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven."

HYMN I.

1 Where have I been so long,
Fast bound in sin and night,
Mix'd with the blind self-righteous throng
Who hate the sons of light?

2 O how shall I presume,
Jesus, to call on thee,
Sunk in the lowest dregs of Rome,
The worst idolatry!

3 A stranger to thy grace,
Long have I labour'd, Lord,
To 'stablish my own righteousness,
And been what I abhorr'd.

4 Foe to the Popish boast,
No merit was in me!
Yet in my works I put my trust,
And not alone in thee.

5 For works that I had wrought
I look'd to be forgiven,
And by my virtuous tempers thought
At last to purchase heaven.

6 Or if I needed still
The help of grace divine,
Thy merits should come in to fill
The small defects of mine.

7 Alas! I knew not then,
Thou only didst atone
For all the sinful sons of men,
And purge our guilt alone;

8 Didst shed thy blood to pay
The all-sufficient price,
And take the world's offence away
By thy great sacrifice.

9 But O, my dying God,
By thee convinced at last,
My soul on that atoning blood,
On that alone I cast!

10 I dare no longer trust
On aught I do or feel,
But own, while humbled in the dust,
My whole desert is hell.

11 My works of righteousness,
I cast them all away:
Me, Lord, thou frankly must release,
For I have nought to pay.

12 Not one good word or thought
I to thy merits join;
But gladly take the gift, unbought,
Of righteousness divine.

13 My faith is all in thee,
My only hope thou art;
The pardon thou hast bought for me,
Engrave it on my heart.

14 The blood by faith applied,
O let it now take place;
And speak me freely justified,
And fully saved by grace.

HYMN II.

1 Forgive me, O thou jealous God,
A wretch who on thy laws have trod,
And robb'd thee of thy right;
A sinner to myself unknown,
'Gainst thee I have transgress'd, and done
This evil in thy sight.

2 My body I disdain'd to incline,
Or worship at an idol's shrine,
With gross idolatry:
But O! my soul hath baser proved,
Honour'd, and fear'd, and served, and loved
The creature more than thee

3 Let the blind sons of Rome bow down
To images of wood and stone;
But I, with subtler art,
Safe from the letter of thy word,
My idols secretly adored,
Set up within my heart.

4 But O! suffice the season past;
My idols now away I cast,
Pleasure, and wealth, and fame;
The world, and all its goods, I leave,
To thee alone resolved to give,
Whate'er I have or am.

5 Lo! in a thankful, loving heart,
I render thee whate'er thou art,
I give myself to thee;
And thee my whole delight I own,
My joy, my glory, and my crown,
To all eternity.

HYMN III.

1 O Thou who seest what is in man,
And show'st myself to me,
Suffer a sinner to complain,
And groan his griefs to thee.

2 A sinner, that has cloaked his shame
With self-deceiving art;
Thy worshipper reform'd in name,
But unrenew'd in heart.

3 The servants most unlike their Lord,
How oft did I condemn!
The persecuting Church abhorr'd,
Nor saw myself in them!

4 The spirit of my foes I caught,
The angry, bitter zeal;
And fierce for my own party fought,
And breathed the fire of hell.

5 Threat'ning I did and slaughter breathe,
(The flail of heresy,)
And doom the sects to bonds, or death,
That did not think with me.

6 To propagate the truth, I fought
With fury and despite;
And, in my zeal for Israel, sought
To slay the Gibeonite.

7 "The temple of the Lord are we!"
And all who dared deny,
I would not have their conscience free,
But force them to comply.

8 With wholesome discipline severe
To conquer them I strove,
And drive into the pale through fear,
Who would not come through love.

9 How vainly then the zealots blind
Of Rome did I disclaim!
Still to the church of Satan join'd,
And differing but in name.

10 How could I, Lord, myself deceive,
While unreform'd within?
Protest against their creed, and cleave
The closer to their sin?

11 Their foulest sin my own I made,
(And humbly now confess,)
While by my anger I essay'd
To work thy righteousness.

12 A murderer convict, I come
My vileness to bewail;
By nature born a son of Rome,
A child of wrath and hell.

13 Lord, I at last recant, reject,
Through thy great strength alone,
The madness of the Romish sect,
The madness of my own.

14 Lord, I abhor, renounce, abjure,
The fiery spirit unclean,
The persecuting zeal impure,
The sin-opposing sin.

15 Let others draw, with fierce despite,
The eradicating sword,
And with the devil's weapons fight
The battles of the Lord.

16 But O! my gracious God, to me
A better spirit impart;
The gentle mind that was in thee,
The meekly loving heart.

17 The heart whose charity o'erflows
To all, far off, and near;
True charity to friends and foes,
Impartially sincere.

18 Heathens, and Jews, and Turks, may I
And heretics embrace;
Nor e'en to Rome the love deny
I owe to all the race.

A WORD TO A FREEHOLDER.

What are you going to do? to vote for a parliament man? I hope then you have taken no money. For doubtless you know the strictness of the oath,—that you have received no "gift or reward, directly or indirectly, nor any promise of any, on account of your vote" in the ensuing election. Surely you start at perjury! at calm, fore-thought

deliberate, wilful perjury! If you are guilty already, stop; go no farther. It is at the peril of your soul. Will you sell your country? Will you sell your own soul? Will you sell your God, your Saviour? Nay, God forbid! Rather cast down just now the thirty pieces of silver or gold, and say, "Sir, I will not sell heaven. Neither you nor all the world is able to pay the purchase."

I hope you have received nothing else, neither will receive; no entertainment, no meat or drink. If this is given you on account of your vote, you are perjured still. How can you make oath, you have received no gift? This was a gift if you did not buy it. What! will you sell your soul to the devil for a draught of drink, or for a morsel of bread? O consider what you do! Act as if the whole election depended on your single vote, and as if the whole parliament depended (and therein the whole nation) on that single person whom you now choose to be a member of it.

But if you take nothing of any, for whom shall you vote? For the man that loves God. He must love his country, and that from a steady, invariable principle. And by his fruits you shall know him. He is careful to abstain from all appearance of evil. He is zealous of good works, as he has opportunity, doing good to all men. He uses all the ordinances of God, and that both constantly and carefully. And he does this, not barely as something he must do, or what he would willingly be excused from; no, he rejoices in this his reasonable service, as a blessed privilege of the children of God.

But what, if none of the candidates have these fruits? Then vote for him that loves the king, King George, whom the wise providence of God has appointed to reign over us. He ought to be highly esteemed in love, even for his office' sake. A king is a lovely, sacred name. He is a minister of God unto thee for good. How much more such a king, as has been, in many respects, a blessing to his subjects! You may easily know those who love him not; for they generally glory in their shame. They "are not afraid to speak evil of dignities;" no, not even of the "ruler of their people."

Perhaps you will say, "But I love my country; therefore I am for the country interest." I fear you know not what you say. Are you against your king because you love your country? Who taught you to separate your king from your country? to set one against the other? Be assured, none that loves either. True lovers of their country do not talk in this senseless manner.

Is not the interest of the king of England, and of the country of England, one and the same? If the king is destroyed, doth it profit the country? if the country, does it profit the king? Their interest cannot be divided. The welfare of one is the welfare of both.

Have you an objection of a different kind? Do you say, "I am for the Church? The Church of England for ever! Therefore I vote for ——; he is a true Churchman, a lover of the Church." Are you sure of that? Friend, think a little. What kind of a Churchman is he? a whoring Churchman, a gaming Churchman, a drunken Churchman, a lying Churchman, a cursing and swearing Churchman? or a red-hot persecuting Churchman, that would send all Dissenters to the devil at a clap? For shame! for shame! Do you call a man a Churchman,

who knows no more of God than a Turk? call a man a Churchman, that does not even pretend to so much religion as would serve an honest Heathen? He is a lover of the Church who is a lover of God, and consequently of all mankind. Whoever else talks of loving the Church, is a cheat. Set a mark upon that man.

Above all, mark that man who talks of loving the Church, and does not love the king. If he does not love the king, he cannot love God. And if he does not love God, he cannot love the Church. He loves the Church and the king just alike. For indeed he loves neither one nor the other.

O beware, you who truly love the Church, and therefore cannot but love the king; beware of dividing the king and the Church, any more than the king and country. Let others do as they will, what is that to you? Act you as an honest man, a loyal subject, a true Englishman, a lover of the country, a lover of the Church; in one word, a Christian! one that fears nothing but sin, that seeks nothing but heaven, and that desires nothing but God; nothing but glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!

ADVICE TO A SOLDIER.

1. Are you to die? Must you leave this world, and carry nothing of it away with you? Naked as you came out of your mother's womb, naked shall you return. And are you never to come back into this world? Have you no more place under the sun? When you leave these houses and fields, this flesh and blood, do you part with them for ever? Are you sure of this? Must all men die? Can none at all escape death? Do rich men likewise die, and leave their riches for others? Do princes also fall and die like one of their people? Can you then escape it? You do not think so. You know death is as sure as if you felt it already; as if you was now gasping for life, sweating and trembling in those last pangs, till the soul started off from the quivering lips into the boundless ocean of eternity.

2. And are you to be judged? How is this to be? Why, the Son of God shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him; "and then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them from one another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats. Behold, he cometh with clouds! And every eye shall see Him which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty! And I saw" (wilt thou also say) "a great white throne, and Him that sat thereon, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and they were judged, every man according to his works." And shalt thou also be judged according to thy works? all thy works, whether they be good or evil? Yea, and for every idle word which thou shalt speak, thou shalt give an account in the day of judgment. But this is not all: The Lord, the Judge, searcheth the heart, and trieth the reins. He understands all thy thoughts; and for all these likewise he shall bring thee into

judgment. Supposest thou it is enough to be outwardly good? What! though thy inward parts are very wickedness? And are they not? Is not thy soul fallen short of the glory (the glorious image) of God? Look into thy breast. Art thou not a fallen spirit? Dost thou not know and feel how very far thou art gone from original righteousness? Desperately full thou art of all evil, and naked of all good? Is there not in thee an earthly, sensual, devilish mind? a mind that is enmity against God? It is plain there is. For thou dost not love God. Thou dost not delight in him. He is not the desire of thy eyes, or the joy of thy heart. Thou lovest the creature more than the Creator. Thou art a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God. O how wilt thou stand in the judgment?

3. Are you then to go to heaven or hell? It must be either to one or the other. I pray God you may not go to hell! For who can dwell with everlasting burnings? Who can bear the fierceness of that flame, without even a drop of water to cool his tongue? yea, and that without end; for as the worm dieth not, so the fire is not quenched. No; whoever is once cast into that lake of fire, shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever. O eternity! eternity! Who can tell the length of eternity? I warn thee now, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, that thou come not into that place of torment!

4. But, alas! Is not hell now begun in thy soul? Does thy conscience never awake? Hast thou no remorse at any time? no sense of guilt? no dread of the wrath of God? Why, these (if thou art not saved from them in this life) are the worm that never dieth. And what else is thy carnal mind? thy enmity against God? thy foolish and hurtful lusts, thy inordinate affections? What are pride, envy, malice, revenge? Are they not vipers gnawing thy heart? May they not well be called, the dogs of hell? Canst thou be out of hell, while these are in thy soul? while they are tearing it in pieces, and there is none to help thee? Indeed they are not fully let loose upon thee: And while thou seest the light of the sun, the things of the world that surround thee, or the pleasures of sense, divert thy thoughts from them. But when thou canst eat and drink no more, when the earth, with the works thereof, is burned up, when the sun is fallen from heaven, and thou art shut up in utter darkness, what a state wilt thou be in then! Mayest thou never try! Seek thou a better habitation, a house of God, eternal in the heavens.

5. There the wicked cease from troubling, there the weary are at rest. For God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain, but everlasting joy upon their heads. But this joy our ears have not yet heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive. Yet a little of it the children of God can conceive, from what they already enjoy. For the kingdom of heaven is within them. God has given them eternal life; the life which is hid with Christ in God. They have heaven upon earth; "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Their souls are renewed in the image of God. They love God. They are happy in him; and they love their neighbour (that is, every man) as themselves, as their own souls. Being justified by faith, they have peace with God, yea, a peace which passeth all

understanding. And they rejoice in him, knowing their sins are blotted out; that they are accepted in the Beloved; and that they are going to "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

6. Will you reply to all this: "But I am a soldier, and have therefore nothing to do with these things?" Hold! Have soldiers nothing to do with death? How so? Do soldiers never die? Can you fright death away? No, my friend; he will not regard all your big words and looks, nor all the weapons of your warfare. You can neither conquer nor escape him. Your profession may excuse you from many other things; but there is no excusing yourself from death. Are you less sure of this than other men are? No; there is one lot for all. Are you farther from it than they? Nay, rather nearer; you live in the very jaws of death. Why, then, a soldier (if there be any difference) has more to do with death than other men. It is not far from every one of us; but to him it is just at the door.

7. Or, do you fancy a soldier has nothing to do with judgment? Will you say, then, (as poor Captain Uratz did, when he was asked, a few minutes before his death, if he had made his peace with God,) "I hope God will deal with me like a gentleman?" But God said unto him, "Thou fool! I will deal with thee as with all mankind. There is no respect of persons with me. I reward every man according to his works." Thou also shalt receive of the righteous Judge according to the things which thou hast done in the body. Death levels all; it mingles in one dust the gentleman, soldier, clown, and beggar; it makes all these distinctions void. When life ends, so do they. Holy or unholy, is the one question then. Lo! the books are opened, that all the dead may be judged according to the things that are written therein. O may thy name be found written in the book of life!

8. For, have soldiers nothing to do with hell? Why, then, is it so often in thy mouth? Dost thou think God does not hear the prayer? And how often hast thou prayed him to damn thy soul? Is his ear waxed heavy, that it cannot hear? I fear thou wilt find it otherwise. Was not he a soldier, too, (and a terrible one,) to whom God said of old, "Hell from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee at thy coming?" And what marvel? For sin is the high road to hell. And have soldiers nothing to do with sin? Alas! how many of you wallow therein, yea, and glory in your shame! How do you labour to work out your own damnation! O, poor work for poor wages! The wages of sin is death; the wages of cursing, of swearing, of taking the name of God in vain, of Sabbath breaking, drunkenness, revenge, of fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness. Now, art thou clear of these? Does not thy own heart smite thee? Art thou not condemned already? What voice is that which sounds in thine ears? Is it not the voice of God? "Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a sinner as this?" It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God! Be very sure that thou art stronger than he, before thou fliest in his face! Do not defy God, unless thou canst overcome him. But canst thou indeed? O no; do not try. Do not dare him to do his worst. Why should he destroy both thy body and soul in hell? Why shouldest thou be punished with everlasting

destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power?

9. But if there were no other hell, thou has hell enough within thee. An awakened conscience is hell. Pride, envy, wrath, hatred, malice, revenge; what are these but hell upon earth? And how often art thou tormented in these flames!—flames of lust, envy, or proud wrath! Are not these to thy soul, when blown up to the height, as it were a lake of fire, burning with brimstone? Flee away, before the great gulf is fixed; escape, escape for thy life! If thou hast not strength, cry to God, and thou shalt receive power from on high; and He whose name is rightly called Jesus shall save thee from thy sins.

10. And why should he not? Has a soldier nothing to do with heaven? God forbid that you should think so! Heaven was designed for you also. God so loved your soul, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that you, believing in him, might not perish, but have everlasting life. Receive, then, the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world! This, this is the time to make it sure; this short, uncertain day of life. Have you then an hour to spare? No; not a moment. Arise, and call upon thy God. Call upon the Lamb, who taketh away the sins of the world, to take away thy sins. Surely he hath borne thy griefs and carried thy sorrows! He was wounded for thy transgressions, and bruised for thy iniquities. He hath paid the ransom for thy soul. Believe in him, and thou shalt be saved. Art thou a sinner? He came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance. Art thou a lost, undone sinner? He came to seek and to save that which was lost. May He that gave himself for thee, give thee ears to hear, and a heart to understand, his love! So shalt thou also say, "The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God." So shall the love of God be shed abroad in thy heart, and thou shalt rejoice with joy unspeakable. Thou shalt have the mind that was in Christ, and shalt so walk as he also walked; till, having fought the good fight, and finished thy course, thou receive the crown that fadeth not away!

A COLLECTION
OF FORMS OF PRAYER FOR EVERY DAY IN THE WEEK

[First printed in the year 1733.]

SUNDAY MORNING.

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, I, thy unworthy servant, desire to present myself, with all humility, before thee, to offer my morning sacrifice of love and thanksgiving. Glory be to thee, O most adorable Father, who, after thou hadst finished the work of creation, enteredst into thy eternal rest. Glory be to thee, O holy Jesus, who having through the eternal Spirit, offered thyself a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, didst rise again the third day from the dead, and hadst all power given thee both in heaven and on earth. Glory be to thee, O blessed Spirit, who, proceeding from the Father and the Son, didst come down in fiery tongues on the Apostles on

the first day of the week, and didst enable them to preach the glad tidings of salvation to a sinful world, and hast ever since been moving on the faces of men's souls, as thou didst once on the face of the great deep, bringing them out of that dark chaos in which they were involved. Glory be to thee, O holy, undivided Trinity, for jointly concurring in the great work of our redemption, and restoring us again to the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Glory be to thee, who, in compassion to human weakness, hast appointed a solemn day for the remembrance of thy inestimable benefits. O let me ever esteem it my privilege and happiness to have a day set apart for the concerns of my soul, a day free from distractions, disengaged from the world, wherein I have nothing to do but to praise and love thee. O let it ever be to me a day sacred to divine love, a day of heavenly rest and refreshment.

Let thy Holy Spirit, who, on the first day of the week, descended in miraculous gifts on thy Apostles, descend on me thy unworthy servant, that I may be always "in the spirit on the Lord's day." Let his blessed inspiration prevent and assist me in all the duties of this thy sacred day, that my wandering thoughts may all be fixed on thee, my tumultuous affections composed, and my flat and cold desires quickened into fervent longings and thirstings after thee. O let me join in the prayers and praises of thy Church with ardent and heavenly affection, hear thy word with earnest attention and a fixed resolution to obey it. And when I approach thy altar, pour into my heart humility, faith, hope, love, and all those holy dispositions which become the solemn remembrance of a crucified Saviour. Let me employ this whole day to the ends for which it was ordained, in works of necessity and mercy, in prayer, praise, and meditation; and "let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be always acceptable in thy sight."

I know, O Lord, that thou hast commanded me, and therefore it is my duty to love thee with all my heart, and with all my strength. I know thou art infinitely holy and overflowing in all perfection; and therefore it is my duty so to love thee.

I know thou hast created me, and that I have neither being nor blessing but what is the effect of thy power and goodness.

I know thou art the end for which I was created, and that I can expect no happiness but in thee.

I know that in love to me, being lost in sin, thou didst send thy only Son, and that he, being the Lord of glory, did humble himself to the death upon the cross, that I might be raised to glory.

I know thou hast provided me with all necessary helps for carrying me through this life to that eternal glory, and this out of the excess of thy pure mercy to me, unworthy of all mercies.

I know thou hast promised to be thyself my "exceeding great reward;" though it is thou alone who thyself "workest in me, both to will and to do of thy good pleasure."

Upon these, and many other titles, I confess it is my duty to love thee, my God, with all my heart. Give thy strength unto thy servant, that thy love may fill my heart, and be the motive of all the use I make of my understanding, my affections, my senses, my health, my time, and whatever other talents I have received from thee. Let this, O God, rule my heart without a rival; let it dispose all my thoughts, words, and works;

and thus only can I fulfil my duty and thy command, of loving thee "with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength."

O thou infinite Goodness, confirm thy past mercies to me, by enabling me, for what remains of my life, to be more faithful than I have hitherto been to this thy great command. For the time I have yet to sojourn upon earth, O let me fulfil this great duty. Permit me not to be in any delusion here; let me not trust in words, or sighs, or tears, but love thee even as thou hast commanded. Let me feel, and then I shall know, what it is to love thee with all my heart.

O merciful God, whatsoever thou deniest me, deny me not this love. Save me from the idolatry of "loving the world, or any of the things of the world." Let me never love any creature, but for thy sake, and in subordination to thy love. Take thou the full possession of my heart; raise there thy throne, and command there as thou dost in heaven. Being created by thee, let me live to thee; being created for thee, let me ever act for thy glory; being redeemed by thee, let me render unto thee what is thine, and let my spirit ever cleave to thee alone.

Let the prayers and sacrifices of thy holy Church, offered unto thee this day, be graciously accepted. "Clothe thy priests with righteousness, and pardon all thy people who are not prepared according to the preparation of the sanctuary." Prosper all those who are sincerely engaged in propagating or promoting thy faith and love: "Give thy Son the Heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession;" that from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same, thy name may be great among the Gentiles. Enable us of this nation, and especially those whom thou hast set over us in Church and State, in our several stations, to serve thee in all holiness, and to "know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge." Continue to us the means of grace, and grant we may never provoke thee, by our non-improvement, to deprive us of them. Pour down thy blessing upon our universities, that they may ever promote true religion and sound learning. Show mercy, O Lord, to my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, to all my friends, (Here mention the particular persons you would pray for,) relations, and enemies, and to all that are in affliction. Let thy fatherly hand be over them, and thy Holy Spirit ever with them; that, submitting themselves entirely to thy will, and directing all their thoughts, words, and works to thy glory, they, and those that are already dead in the Lord, may at length enjoy thee, in the glories of thy kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed for ever.

SUNDAY EVENING.

General Questions which a serious Christian may propose to himself before he begins his Evening Devotions.

1. With what degree of attention and fervour did I use my morning prayers, public or private?

2. Have I done any thing without a present, or at least a previous perception of its direct or remote tendency to the glory of God?

3. Did I in the morning consider what particular virtue I was to exercise, and what business I had to do, in the day?

4. Have I been zealous to undertake, and active in doing, what good I could?

5. Have I interested myself any farther in the affairs of others than charity required?

6. Have I, before I visited or was visited, considered how I might thereby give or receive improvement?

7. Have I mentioned any failing or fault of any man, when it was not necessary for the good of another?

8. Have I unnecessarily grieved any one by word or deed?

9. Have I before or in every action considered how it might be a means of improving in the virtue of the day?

Particular Questions relative to the Love of God.

1. Have I set apart some of this day to think upon his perfections and mercies?

2. Have I laboured to make this day a day of heavenly rest, sacred to Divine love?

3. Have I employed those parts of it in works of necessity and mercy, which were not employed in prayer, reading, and meditation?

O my Father, my God, I am in thy hand; and may I rejoice above all things in being so. Do with me what seemeth good in thy sight; only let me love thee with all my mind, soul, and strength.

I magnify thee for granting me to be born in thy Church, and of religious parents; for washing me in thy baptism, and instructing me in thy doctrine of truth and holiness; for sustaining me by thy gracious providence, and guiding me by thy blessed Spirit; for admitting me, with the rest of my Christian brethren, to wait on thee at thy public worship; and for so often feeding my soul with thy most precious body and blood, those pledges of love, and sure conveyances of strength and comfort. O be gracious unto all of us, whom thou hast this day (or at any time) admitted to thy holy table. Strengthen our hearts in thy ways against all our temptations, and make us "more than conquerors" in thy love.

O my Father, my God, deliver me, I beseech thee, from all violent passions: I know how greatly obstructive these are both of the knowledge and love of thee. O let none of them find a way into my heart, but let me ever possess my soul in meekness. O my God, I desire to fear them more than death; let me not serve these cruel tyrants, but do thou reign in my breast; let me ever be thy servant, and love thee with all my heart.

Deliver me, O God, from too intense an application to even necessary business. I know how this dissipates my thoughts from the one end of all my business, and impairs that lively perception I would ever retain of thee standing at my right hand. I know the narrowness of my heart, and that an eager attention to earthly things leaves it no room for the things of heaven. O teach me to go through all my employments with so truly disengaged a heart, that I may still see thee in all things, and see thee therein as continually looking upon me, and searching my

reins; and that I may never impair that liberty of spirit which is necessary for the love of thee.

Deliver me, O God, from a slothful mind, from all lukewarmness, and all dejection of spirit. I know these cannot but deaden my love to thee; mercifully free my heart from them, and give me a lively, zealous, active, and cheerful spirit; that I may vigorously perform whatever thou commandest, thankfully suffer whatever thou choosest for me, and be ever ardent to obey in all things thy holy love.

Deliver me, O God, from all idolatrous love of any creature. I know infinite numbers have been lost to thee, by loving those creatures for their own sake, which thou permittest, nay, even commandest, to love subordinately to thee. Preserve me, I beseech thee, from all such blind affection; be thou a guard to all my desires, that they fix on no creature any farther than the love of it tends to build me up in the love of thee. Thou requirest me to love thee with all my heart: undertake for me, I beseech thee, and be thou my security, that I may never open my heart to any thing, but out of love to thee.

Above all, deliver me, O my God, from all idolatrous self-love. I know, O God, (blessed be thy infinite mercy for giving me this knowledge,) that this is the root of all evil. I know thou madest me, not to do my own will, but thine. I know, the very corruption of the devil is, the having a will contrary to thine. O be thou my helper against this most dangerous of all idols, that I may both discern all its subtleties, and withstand all its force. O thou who hast commanded me to renounce myself, give me strength, and I will obey thy command. My choice and desire is, to love myself, as all other creatures, in and for thee. O let thy almighty arm so stablish, strengthen, and settle me, that thou mayest ever be the ground and pillar of all my love.

By this love of thee, my God, may my soul be fixed against its natural inconstancy; by this may it be reduced to an entire indifference as to all things else, and simply desire what is pleasing in thy sight. May this holy flame ever warm my breast, that I may serve thee with all my might; and let it consume in my heart all selfish desires, that I may in all things regard, not myself, but thee.

O my God, let thy glorious name be duly honoured and loved by all the creatures which thou hast made. Let thy infinite goodness and greatness be ever adored by all angels and men. May thy Church, the catholic seminary of Divine love, be protected from all the powers of darkness. O vouchsafe to all who call themselves by thy name one short glimpse of thy goodness. May they once taste and see how gracious thou art, that all things else may be tasteless to them; that their desires may be always flying up toward thee, that they may render thee love, and praise, and obedience, pure and cheerful, constant and zealous, universal and uniform, like that the holy angels render thee in heaven.

Send forth thy blessed Spirit into the midst of these sinful nations, and make us a holy people: stir up the heart of our sovereign, of the royal family, of the clergy, the nobility, and of all whom thou hast set over us, that they may be happy instruments in thy hand of promoting this good work. Be gracious to the universities, to the gentry and commons of this land: and comfort all that are in affliction; let the

trial of their faith work patience in them, and perfect them in hope and love (——.)

Bless my father, &c, my friends and relations, and all that belong to this family; all that have been instrumental to my good, by their assistance, advice, example, or writing; and all that do not pray for themselves.

Change the hearts of mine enemies, and give me grace to forgive them, even as thou for Christ's sake forgivest us.

O thou Shepherd of Israel, vouchsafe to receive me this night and ever into thy protection; accept my poor services, and pardon the sinfulness of these and all my holy duties. O let it be thy good pleasure shortly to put a period to sin and misery, to infirmity and death, to complete the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, and all that wait for thy salvation, may eternally love and praise thee, O God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, throughout all ages, world without end. "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

General Questions, which may be used every morning.

Did I think of God first and last?

Have I examined myself how I have behaved since last night's retirement?

Am I resolved to do all the good I can this day, and to be diligent in the business of my calling?

O God, who art the giver of all good gifts, I thy unworthy servant entirely desire to praise thy name for all the expressions of thy bounty toward me. Blessed be thy love for giving thy Son to die for our sins, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. Blessed be thy love for all the temporal benefits which thou hast with a liberal hand poured out upon me; for my health and strength, food and raiment, and all other necessaries with which thou hast provided thy sinful servant. I also bless thee that, after all my refusals of thy grace, thou still hast patience with me, hast preserved me this night, (here you may mention any particular mercy received,) and given me yet another day to renew and perfect my repentance. Pardon, good Lord, all my former sins, and make me every day more zealous and diligent to improve every opportunity of building up my soul in thy faith, and love, and obedience. Make thyself always present to my mind, and let thy love fill and rule my soul, in all those places, and companies, and employments to which thou callest me this day. In all my passage through this world, suffer not my heart to be set upon it; but always fix my single eye and my undivided affections on "the prize of my high calling." This one thing let me do; let me so press toward this, as to make all things else minister unto it; and be careful so to use them, as thereby to fit my soul for that pure bliss which thou hast prepared for those that love thee.

O thou, who art good and doest good, who extendest thy loving kindness to all mankind, the work of thine hands, thine image, capable of knowing and loving thee eternally: suffer me to exclude none, O Lord, from my charity, who are the objects of thy mercy; but let me treat all my neighbours with that tender love which is due to thy servants and to

thy children. Thou hast required this mark of my love to thee: O let no temptation expose me to ingratitude, or make me forfeit thy loving kindness, which is better than life itself. But grant that I may assist all my brethren with my prayers, where I cannot reach them with actual services. Make me zealous to embrace all occasions that may administer to their happiness, by assisting the needy, protecting the oppressed, instructing the ignorant, confirming the wavering, exhorting the good, and reproving the wicked. Let me look upon the failings of my neighbour as if they were my own; that I may be grieved for them, that I may never reveal them but when charity requires, and then with tenderness and compassion. Let thy love to me, O blessed Saviour, be the pattern of my love to him. Thou thoughtest nothing too dear to part with, to rescue me from eternal misery: O let me think nothing too dear to part with to set forward the everlasting good of my fellow Christians. They are members of thy body; therefore I will cherish them. Thou hast redeemed them with an inestimable price; assisted by thy Holy Spirit, therefore, I will endeavour to recover them from a state of destruction; that thus adorning thy holy Gospel, by doing good according to my power, I may at last be received into the endearments of thy eternal love, and sing everlasting praise unto the Lamb that was slain and sitteth on the throne for ever.

Extend, I humbly beseech thee, thy mercy to all men, and let them become thy faithful servants. Let all Christians live up to the holy religion they profess; especially these sinful nations. Be entreated for us, good Lord; be glorified by our reformation, and not by our destruction. "Turn thou us, and so shall we be turned:" O be favourable to thy people; give us grace to put a period to our provocations, and do thou put a period to our punishment. Defend our Church from schism, heresy, and sacrilege, and the king from all treasons and conspiracies. Bless all bishops, priests, and deacons, with Apostolical graces, exemplary lives, and sound doctrine. Grant to the council wisdom from above, to all magistrates integrity and zeal, to the universities quietness and industry, and to the gentry and commons pious and peaceable and loyal hearts.

Preserve my parents, my brothers and sisters, my friends and relations, and all mankind, in their souls and bodies (——.) Forgive mine enemies, and in thy due time make them kindly affected toward me. Have mercy on all who are "afflicted in mind, body, or estate; give them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions." O grant that we, with those who are already dead in thy faith and fear, may together partake of a joyful resurrection, through Him who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God world without end.

MONDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to the Love of our Neighbour.

1. Have I thought any thing but my conscience too dear to part with to please or serve my neighbour?
2. Have I rejoiced or grieved with him?
3. Have I received his infirmities with pity, not with anger?

4. Have I contradicted any one, either where I had no good end in view, or where there was no probability of convincing?

5. Have I let him I thought in the wrong (in a trifle) have the last word?

Most great and glorious Lord God, I desire to prostrate myself before thy divine Majesty, under a deep sense of my unworthiness; and with sorrow, and shame, and confusion of face, to confess I have, by my manifold transgressions, deserved thy severest visitations. "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and am no more worthy to be called thy son:" O let thy paternal bowels yearn upon me, and for Jesus Christ's sake graciously receive me. Accept my imperfect repentance, and send thy Spirit of adoption into my heart, that I may again be owned by thee, call thee Father, and share in the blessings of thy children.

Adored be thy goodness for all the benefits thou hast already from time to time bestowed on me; for the good things of this life, and the hope of eternal happiness. Particularly, I offer to thee my humblest thanks for thy preservation of me this day (——.) If I have escaped any sin, it is the effect of thy restraining grace; if I have avoided any danger, it was thy hand directed me. To thy holy name be ascribed the honour and glory. O let the sense of all thy blessings have this effect upon me,—to make me daily more diligent in devoting myself, all I am, and all I have, to thy glory.

O my God, fill my soul with so entire a love of thee, that I may love nothing but for thy sake, and in subordination to thy love. Give me grace to study thy knowledge daily, that the more I know thee, the more I may love thee. Create in me a zealous obedience to all thy commands, a cheerful patience under all thy chastisements, and a thankful resignation to all thy disposals. May I ever have awful thoughts of thee; never mention thy venerable name, unless on just, solemn, and devout occasions; nor even then, without acts of adoration. O let it be the one business of my life to glorify thee, by every thought of my heart, by every word of my tongue, by every work of my hand; by professing thy truth, even to the death, if it should please thee to call me to it; and by engaging all men, as far as in me lies, to glorify and love thee.

Let thy unwearied and tender love to me, make my love unwearied and tender to my neighbour, zealous to pray for, and to procure and promote, his health and safety, ease and happiness; and active to comfort, succour, and relieve all whom thy love and their own necessities recommend to my charity. Make me peaceful and reconcilable; easy to forgive, and glad to return good for evil. Make me like thyself, all kindness and benignity, all goodness and gentleness, all meekness and longsuffering. And, O thou Lover of souls, raise in me a compassionate zeal to save the life, the eternal life, of souls; and by affectionate and seasonable advice, exhortations and reproof, to reclaim the wicked, and win them to thy love.

Be pleased, O Lord, to take me, with my father and mother, brethren and sisters, my friends and relations, and my enemies, into thy almighty protection this night. Refresh me with such comfortable rest that I may rise more fit for thy service. Let me lie down with holy thoughts of thee, and when I awake let me be still present with thee.

Show mercy to the whole world, O Father of all; let the Gospel of

thy Son run and be glorified throughout all the earth. Let it be made known to all infidels, and obeyed by all Christians. Be merciful to this Church and nation; give unto thy bishops a discerning spirit, that they may make choice of fit persons to serve in thy sacred ministry; and enable all who are ordained to any holy function, diligently to feed the flocks committed to their charge, instructing them in saving knowledge, guiding them by their examples, praying for and blessing them, exercising spiritual discipline in thy Church, and duly administering thy holy sacraments. Multiply thy blessings on our sovereign, on the royal family, and on the nobles, magistrates, gentry, and commons of this land; that they may all, according to the several talents they have received, be faithful instruments of thy glory. Give to our schools and universities, zeal, prudence, and holiness. Visit in mercy all the children of affliction, (——) relieve their necessities, lighten their burdens; give them a cheerful submission to thy gracious will, and at length bring them and us, with those that already rest from their labours, into the joy of our Lord; to whom with thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, be all praise, now and for ever.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O ETERNAL and merciful Father, I give thee humble thanks (increase my thankfulness I beseech thee) for all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which, in the riches of thy mercy, thou hast poured down upon me. Lord, let me not live but to love thee, and to glorify thy name. Particularly I give thee most unfeigned thanks for preserving me from my birth to this moment, and for bringing me safe to the beginning of this day, (——) in which, and in all the days of my life, I beseech thee that all my thoughts, words, and works may tend to thy glory. Heal, O Father of mercies, all my infirmities, (——) strengthen me against all my follies; forgive me all my sins, (——) and let them not cry louder in thine ears for vengeance, than my prayers for mercy and forgiveness.

O blessed Lord, enable me to fulfil thy commands, and command what thou wilt. O thou Saviour of all that trust in thee, do with me what seemeth best in thine own eyes; only give me the mind which was in thee; let me learn of thee to be meek and lowly. Pour into me the whole spirit of humility; fill, I beseech thee, every part of my soul with it, and make it the constant, ruling habit of my mind, that all my other tempers may arise from it; that I may have no thoughts, no desires, no designs, but such as are the true fruit of a lowly spirit. Grant that I may think of myself as I ought to think, that I may "know myself, even as I am known." Herein may I exercise myself continually, when I lie down and when I rise up, that I may always appear poor, and little, and mean, and base, and vile in mine own eyes. O convince me that "I have neither learned wisdom, nor have the knowledge of the holy." Give me a lively sense that I am nothing, that I have nothing, and that I can do nothing. Enable me to feel that I am all ignorance and error, weakness and uncleanness, sin and misery; that I am not worthy of the air I breathe, the earth I tread upon, or the sun that shines upon me. And let me be fully content when all other men think of me as I do of myself. O save me from either desiring or seeking the honour that

cometh of men. Convince me that the words of praise, "when smoother than oil," then especially "are very swords." Give me to dread them more than the "poison of asps," or "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." And when these cords of pride, these snares of death, do overtake me, suffer me not to take any pleasure in them, but enable me instantly to flee unto thee, O Lord, and to complain unto my God. Let all my bones cry out, "Thou art worthy to be praised; so shall I be safe from mine enemies."

Bless, O gracious Father, all the nations, whom thou hast placed upon the earth, with the knowledge of thee, the only true God: But especially bless thy holy Catholic Church, and fill it with truth and grace; where it is corrupt, purge it; where it is in error, rectify it; where it is right, confirm it; where it is divided and rent asunder, heal the breaches thereof, O thou Holy One of Israel. Replenish all whom thou hast called to any office therein with truth of doctrine and innocency of life. Let their prayers be as precious incense in thy sight, that their cries and tears for the city of their God may not be in vain.

O Lord, hear the king in the day of his trouble; Let thy name, O God, defend him. Grant him his heart's desire, and fulfil all his mind. Set his heart firm upon thee, and upon other things only as they are in and for thee. O defend him and his royal relations from thy holy heaven, even with the saving strength of thy right hand.

Have mercy upon this kingdom, and forgive the sins of this people; turn thee unto us, bless us, and cause thy face to shine on our desolations. Inspire the nobles and magistrates with prudent zeal, the gentry and commons with humble loyalty. Pour down thy blessings on all seminaries of true religion and learning, that they may remember and answer the end of their institution. Comfort all the sons and daughters of affliction, especially those who suffer for righteousness' sake. Bless my father and mother, my brethren and sisters, my friends and relations, and all that belong to this family. Forgive all who are mine enemies, and so reconcile them to me and thyself, that we all, together with those that now sleep in thee, may awake to life everlasting, through thy merits and intercession, O blessed Jesus; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed, by all creatures, "all honour, and might, and wisdom, and glory, and blessing."

TUESDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Humility.

1. Have I laboured to conform all my thoughts, words and actions to these fundamental maxims: "I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing?"
2. Have I set apart some time this day to think upon my infirmities, follies, and sins?
3. Have I ascribed to myself any part of any good which God did by my hand?
4. Have I said or done any thing with a view to the praise of men?
5. Have I desired the praise of men?
6. Have I taken pleasure in it?

7. Have I commended myself, or others, to their faces, unless for God's sake, and then with fear and trembling?

8. Have I despised any one's advice?

9. Have I, when I thought so, said, "I am in the wrong?"

10. Have I received contempt for things indifferent, with meekness? for doing my duty, with joy?

11. Have I omitted justifying myself where the glory of God was not concerned? Have I submitted to be thought in the wrong?

12. Have I, when contemned, First, prayed God it might not discourage or puff me up; Secondly, that it might not be imputed to the contemner; Thirdly, that it might heal my pride?

13. Have I, without some particular good in view, mentioned the contempt I had met with?

I DESIRE to offer unto thee, O Lord, my evening sacrifice,—the sacrifice of a contrite spirit. "Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness, and after the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences." Let thy unspeakable mercy free me from the sins I have committed, and deliver me from the punishment I have deserved (——.) O save me from every work of darkness, and cleanse me "from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," that, for the time to come, I may, with a pure heart and mind, follow thee, the only true God.

O Lamb of God, who, both by thy example and precept, didst instruct us to be meek and humble, give me grace throughout my whole life, in every thought, and word, and work, to imitate thy meekness and humility. O mortify in me the whole body of pride; grant me to feel that I am nothing and have nothing, and that I deserve nothing but shame and contempt, but misery and punishment. Grant, O Lord, that I may look for nothing, claim nothing; and that I may go through all the scenes of life, not seeking my own glory, but looking wholly unto thee, and acting wholly for thee. Let me never speak any word that may tend to my own praise, unless the good of my neighbour require it; and even then let me beware, lest, to heal another, I wound my own soul. Let my ears and my heart be ever shut to the praise that cometh from men, and let me "refuse to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so sweetly." Give me a dread of applause, in whatsoever form, and from whatsoever tongue it cometh. I know that "many stronger men have been slain by it," and that it "leadeth to the chambers of death." O deliver my soul from this snare of hell; neither let me spread it for the feet of others. Whosoever perish thereby, be their blood upon their own head, and let not my hand be upon them.

O thou Giver of every good and perfect gift, if at any time thou pleasest to work by my hand, teach me to discern what is my own from what is another's, and to render unto thee the things that are thine. As all the good that is done on earth thou doest it thyself, let me ever return to thee all the glory. Let me, as a pure crystal, transmit all the light thou pourest upon me; but never claim as my own what is thy sole property.

O thou who wert despised and rejected of men, when I am slighted by my friends, disdained by my superiors, overborne or ridiculed by my equals, or contemptuously treated by my inferiors, let me cry out with

thy holy martyr, (Ignatius,) "It is now that I begin to be a disciple of Christ." Then let me thankfully accept, and faithfully use, the happy occasion of improving in thy meek and lowly spirit. If for thy sake "men cast out my name as evil," let me "rejoice and be exceeding glad." If for my own infirmities, yet let me acknowledge thy goodness, in giving me this medicine to heal my pride and vanity, and beg thy mercy for those physicians of my soul by whose hands it is administered to me.

"Make me to remember thee on my bed, and think upon thee when I am waking." Thou hast preserved me from all the dangers of the day past; thou hast been my support from my youth up until now; "under the shadow of thy wings" let me pass this night in comfort and peace.

O thou Creator and Preserver of all mankind, have mercy upon all conditions of men; purge thy holy catholic Church from all heresy, schism, and superstition. Bless our sovereign in his person, in his actions, in his relations, and in his people. May it please thee "to endue his council, and all the nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding;" the magistrates, with equity, courage, and prudence; the gentry, with industry and temperance; and all the commons of this land, with increase of grace, and a holy, humble, thankful spirit.

O pour upon our whole Church, and especially upon the clergy thereof, the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant to our universities peace and piety; and to all that labour under affliction, constant patience and timely deliverance. Bless all my kindred, especially my father and mother, my brothers and sisters, and all my friends and benefactors (——.) Turn the hearts of my enemies; (——) forgive them and me all our sins, and grant that we, and all the members of thy holy Church, may find mercy in the dreadful day of judgment, through the mediation and satisfaction of thy blessed Son Jesus Christ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost the Comforter, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, in all the Churches of the saints for ever.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O THOU who dwellest in the light which no man can approach, in whose presence there is no night, in the light of whose countenance there is perpetual day; I, thy sinful servant, whom thou hast preserved this night, who live by thy power this day, bless and glorify thee for the defence of thy almighty providence, (——) and humbly pray thee, that this, and all my days, may be wholly devoted to thy service. Send thy Holy Spirit to be the guide of all my ways, and the sanctifier of my soul and body. Save, defend, and build me up in thy fear and love; give unto me the light of thy countenance, peace from heaven, and the salvation of my soul in the day of the Lord Jesus.

O thou who art "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," thou hast said no man can follow thee, unless he renounce himself. I know, O Saviour, that thou hast laid nothing upon us but what the design of thy love made necessary for us. Thou sawest our disease, our idolatrous self-love, whereby we fell away from God, to be as gods ourselves, to please our-

selves, and to do our own will. Lo, I come! May I ever renounce my own, and do thy blessed will in all things!

I know, O God, thou didst empty thyself of thy eternal glory, and tookest upon thee "the form of a servant." Thou who madest all men to serve and please thee, didst not please thyself, but wast the servant of all. Thou, O Lord of the hosts of heaven and earth, didst yield thy cheeks to be smitten, thy back to be scourged, and thy hands and feet to be nailed to an accursed tree. Thus didst thou, our great Master, renounce thyself; and can we think much of renouncing our vile selves? My Lord and my God, let me not presume to be above my Master! Let it be the one desire of my heart, to be as my Master; to do, not my own will, but the will of Him that sent me.

O thou whose whole life did cry aloud, "Father, not mine, but thy will be done," give me grace to walk after thy pattern, to tread in thy steps. Give me grace to "take up my cross daily," to inure myself to bear hardship. Let me exercise myself unto godliness betimes, before the rains descend and the floods beat upon me. Let me now practise what is not pleasing to flesh and blood, what is not agreeable to my senses, appetites, and passions, that I may not hereafter renounce thee, for fear of suffering for thee, but may stand firm in the "day of my visitation."

O thou who didst not please thyself, although for thy "pleasure all things are and were created," let some portion of thy Spirit descend on me, that I may "deny myself and follow thee." Strengthen my soul, that I may be temperate in all things; that I may never use any of thy creatures but in order to some end thou commandest me to pursue, and in that measure and manner which most conduces to it. Let me never gratify any desire which has not thee for its ultimate object. Let me ever abstain from all pleasures, which do not prepare me for taking pleasure in thee; as knowing that all such war against the soul, and tend to alienate it from thee. O save me from ever indulging either "the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life." Set a watch, O Lord, over my senses and appetites, my passions and understanding, that I may resolutely deny them every gratification which has no tendency to thy glory. O train me up in this good way, "that when I a[illegible] I may not depart from it;" that I may be at length of a truly mortified heart, "crucified unto the world, and the world crucified unto me."

Hear also my prayers for all mankind, and guide their feet into the way of peace; for thy holy catholic Church,—let her live by thy Spirit, and reign in thy glory. Remember that branch of it which thou hast planted in these kingdoms; especially the stewards of thy holy mysteries; give them such zeal, and diligence, and wisdom, that they may save both themselves and those that hear them.

Preserve, O great King of heaven and earth, all Christian princes, especially our sovereign and his family. Grant that his council, and all that are in authority under him, may truly and indifferently administer justice. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that they may faithfully serve thee all the days of their life. Bless the universities with prudence, unity, and holiness. However the way of truth be evil spoken of, may they walk in it even to the end. Whoever forget or blaspheme their high calling, may they ever remember that they are a

"chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people;" and, accordingly, "show forth the praise of Him who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

With a propitious eye, O gracious Lord, behold all my enemies, and all that are in affliction; give them patience under their sufferings, and grant that they, and all the members of thy Church, may find rest, "where the wicked cease from troubling," and mercy in the great day of trial. In particular I commend to thy mercy, my father and mother my brethren and sisters, my friends and relations (——.) Lord, thou best knowest all their wants; O suit thy blessings to their several necessities.

Let these my prayers, O Lord, find access to the throne of grace, through the Son of thy love, Jesus Christ, the righteous; to whom, with thee, O Father, in the unity of the Spirit, be all love and obedience now and for ever!

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Mortification.

1. Have I done any thing merely because it was pleasing?

2. Have I not only not done what passion solicited me to, but done just the contrary?

3. Have I received the inconveniences I could not avoid as means of mortification chosen for me by God?

4. Have I contrived pretences to avoid self-denial? In particular,

5. Have I thought any occasion of denying myself too small to be embraced?

6. Have I submitted my will to the will of every one that opposed it, except where the glory of God was concerned?

7. Have I set apart some time for endeavouring after a lively sense of the sufferings of Christ and my own sins? for deprecating God's judgment, and thinking how to amend?

O almighty Lord of heaven and earth, I desire with fear and shame to cast myself down before thee, humbly confessing my manifold sins and unsufferable wickedness. I confess, O great God, that I have sinned grievously against thee by thought, word, and deed, particularly this day. Thy words and thy laws, O God, are holy, and thy judgments are terrible! But I have broken all thy righteous laws, and incurred thy severest judgments; and where shall I appear when thou art angry?

But, O Lord my Judge, thou art also my Redeemer! I have sinned, but thou, O blessed Jesus, art my Advocate! "Enter not into judgment with me," lest I die; but spare me, gracious Lord, "spare thy servant, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood." O reserve not evil in store for me against the day of vengeance, but let thy mercy be magnified upon me. Deliver me from the power of sin, and preserve me from the punishment of it.

Thou whose mercy is without measure, whose goodness is unspeakable, despise not thy returning servant, who earnestly begs for pardon and reconciliation. Grant me the forgiveness of what is past, and a perfect repentance of all my sins; that for the time to come I may with a pure spirit do thy will, O God, walking humbly with thee, conversing

charitably with men, possessing my soul in resignation and holiness, and my body in sanctification and honour.

"My Lord and my God," I know that unless I am planted together with thee in the likeness of thy death, I cannot in the likeness of thy resurrection. O strengthen me, that by "denying myself and taking up my cross daily," I may crucify the old man, and utterly destroy the whole body of sin. Give me grace to "mortify all my members which are upon earth," all my works and affections which are according to corrupt nature. Let me be dead unto sin, unto every transgression of thy law, which is holy, merciful, and perfect. Let me be dead unto the world, and all that is in the world, "the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, and the pride of life." Let me be dead unto pleasure, so far as it tendeth not to thee and to those pleasures which are at thy right hand for evermore. Let me be dead unto my own will, and alive only unto thine. I am not my own; thou hast "bought me with a price," with the price of thine own blood. And thou didst therefore die for all, "that we should not henceforth live unto ourselves, but unto him that died for us." Arm thou me with this mind; circumcise my heart, and make me a new creature. Let me no longer live to the desires of men, but to the will of God. Let thy Holy Spirit enable me to say with thy blessed Apostle, "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."

O thou Great Shepherd of souls, bring home unto thy fold all that are gone astray. Preserve thy Church from all heresy and schism, from all that persecute or oppose the truth; and give unto thy ministers wisdom and holiness, and the powerful aid of thy blessed Spirit. Advance the just interests, and preserve the persons, of all Christian princes, especially our sovereign: give to him and his royal family, and to all his subjects, in their several stations, particularly those that are in authority among them, grace to do thy will in this world, and eternal glory in the world to come.

Bless, O Lord, all our nurseries of piety and schools of learning, that they may devote all their studies to thy glory. Have mercy on all that are in affliction; remember the poor and needy, the widow and fatherless, the friendless and oppressed; heal the sick and languishing, give them a sanctified use of thy rod, and when thou seest it expedient for them, receive them into the number of thy departed saints, and with them into thine everlasting kingdom.

O my God, I praise thee for thy continual preservation of me, for thy fatherly protection over me this day; (——) for all the comforts with which thou surroundest me, spiritual and temporal; particularly for leave now to pray unto thee. O accept the poor services, pardon the sinfulness of this and all my holy duties, and bless me, my friends and relations, my benefactors and mine enemies, (this night and ever,) with the blessings of thy children.

These my prayers, O most merciful Father, vouchsafe to hear, through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Redeemer; who with thee and the Holy Ghost is worshipped and glorified, in all Churches of the saints, one God blessed for ever!

THURSDAY MORNING.

O ETERNAL God, my Sovereign Lord, I acknowledge all I am, all I have, is thine. O give me such a sense of thy infinite goodness, that I may return to thee all possible love and obedience.

I humbly and heartily thank thee for all the favours thou hast bestowed upon me; for creating me after thine own image, for thy daily preserving me by thy good providence, for redeeming me by the death of thy blessed Son, and for the assistance of thy Holy Spirit; for causing me to be born in a Christian country, for blessing me with plentiful means of salvation, with religious parents and friends, and frequent returns of thy ever-blessed sacrament. I also thank thee for all thy temporal blessings; for the preservation of me this night; (——) for my health, strength, food, raiment, and all the comforts and necessaries of life. O may I always delight to "praise thy holy name," and, above all thy benefits, love thee my great Benefactor.

And, O Father of mercies, shut not up thy bowels of compassion toward me, a vile and miserable sinner; despise not the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood. For his sake I most humbly implore forgiveness of all my sins. "Lo, I come now, to do thy will alone;" and am resolved, by thy assistance, to have no longer any choice of my own, but with singleness of heart to obey thy good pleasure: "Father, not my will, but thine be done," in all my thoughts, words, and actions.

O thou all-sufficient God of angels and men, who art above all, and through all, and in all; from whom, by whom, and in whom are all things; "in whom we live, move, and have our being;" may my will be as entirely and continually derived from thine, as my being and happiness are!

I believe, O sovereign Goodness, O mighty Wisdom, that thou dost sweetly order and govern all things, even the most minute, even the most noxious, to thy glory, and the good of those that love thee. I believe, O Father of the families of heaven and earth, that thou so disposest all events, as may best magnify thy goodness to all thy children, especially those whose eyes wait upon thee. I most humbly beseech thee, teach me to adore all thy ways, though I cannot comprehend them; teach me to be glad that thou art king, and to give thee thanks for all things that befall me; seeing thou hast chosen that for me, and hast thereby "set to thy seal that they are good." And for that which is to come, give me thy grace to do in all things what pleaseth thee; and then, with an absolute submission to thy wisdom, to leave the issues of them in thy hand.

O Lord Jesus, I give thee my body, my soul, my substance, my fame, my friends, my liberty, my life: dispose of me, and all that is mine, as it seemeth best unto thee. I am not mine, but thine: claim me as thy right, keep me as thy charge, love me as thy child! Fight for me when I am assaulted, heal me when I am wounded, and revive me when I am destroyed.

O help me with thy grace, that whatsoever I shall do or suffer this day may tend to thy glory. Keep me in love to thee, and to all men. Do thou direct my paths, and teach me to set thee always before me

Let not the things of this life, or my manifold concerns therein, alienate any part of my affections from thee; nor let me ever pursue or regard them, but for thee, and in obedience to thy will.

Extend, O Lord, thy pity to the whole race of mankind; enlighten the Gentiles with thy truth, and bring into thy flock thy ancient people the Jews. Be gracious to the holy catholic Church; and grant she may always preserve that doctrine and discipline which thou hast delivered to her. Grant that all of this nation, especially our governors and the clergy, may, "whatsoever they do, do all to thy glory." Bless all nurseries of true religion and useful learning, and let them not neglect the end of their institution. Be merciful to all that are in distress, (—) that struggle with pain, poverty, or reproach; be thou a guide to them that travel by land or by water; give a strong and quiet spirit to those who are condemned to death, liberty to prisoners and captives, and ease and cheerfulness to every sad heart. O give spiritual strength and comfort to scrupulous consciences, and to them that are afflicted by evil spirits. Pity idiots and lunatics, and give life and salvation to all to whom thou hast given no understanding. Give to all that are in error the light of thy truth; bring all sinners to repentance, (—) and give to all heretics humility and grace to make amends to thy Church, by the public acknowledgment of a holy faith. Bless all my friends and relations, acquaintance and enemies; (—) unite us all to one another by mutual love, and to thyself by constant holiness; that we, together with all those who are gone before us in thy faith and fear, may find a merciful acceptance in the last day, through the merits of thy blessed Son; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all glory, world without end!

THURSDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Resignation and Meekness.

1. Have I endeavoured to will what God wills, and that only?

2. Have I received every thing that has befallen me without my choice, as the choice of infinite wisdom and goodness for me, with thanks?

3. Have I (after doing what he requires of me to do concerning them) left all future things absolutely to God's disposal; that is, have I laboured to be wholly indifferent to whichsoever way he shall ordain for me?

4. Have I resumed my claim to my body, soul, friends, fame, or fortune, which I have made over to God; or repented of my gift, when God accepted any of them at my hands?

5. Have I endeavoured to be cheerful, mild, and courteous in whatever I said or did?

6. Have I said any thing with a stern look, accent, or gesture, particularly with regard to religion?

My Lord and my God, thou seest my heart, and my desires are not hid from thee. I am encouraged by my happy experience of thy goodness, (particularly this day past,) to present myself before thee, notwithstanding I know myself unworthy of the least favour from thee. I am ashamed when I think how long I have lived a stranger, yea, an enemy to thee, taking upon me to dispose of myself, and to please myself in the main course of my life. But I now unfeignedly desire to return unto thee, and, renouncing all interest and propriety in myself, to give myself

up entirely to thee; I would be thine, and only thine for ever. But I know I am nothing, and can do nothing of myself; and if ever I am thine, I must be wholly indebted to thee for it. O my God, my Saviour, my Sanctifier, turn not away thy face from a poor soul that seeks thee; but as thou hast kindled in me these desires, so confirm, increase, and satisfy them. Reject not that poor gift which I would make of myself unto thee, but teach me so to make it, that it may be acceptable in thy sight. Lord, hear me, help me, and show mercy unto me, for Jesus Christ's sake.

To thee, O God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, my Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, I give up myself entirely: may I no longer serve myself, but thee, all the days of my life.

I give thee my understanding: may it be my only care to know thee, thy perfections, thy works, and thy will. Let all things else be as dung and dross unto me, for the excellency of this knowledge. And let me silence all reasonings against whatsoever thou teachest me, who canst neither deceive, nor be deceived.

I give thee my will: may I have no will of my own; whatsoever thou willest may I will, and that only. May I will thy glory in all things, as thou dost, and make that my end in every thing; may I ever say with the Psalmist, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee." May I delight to do thy will, O God, and rejoice to suffer it. Whatever threatens me, let me say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good;" and whatever befalls me, let me give thanks, since it is thy will concerning me.

I give thee my affections: do thou dispose of them all; be thou my love, my fear, my joy; and may nothing have any share in them, but with respect to thee and for thy sake. What thou lovest, may I love; what thou hatest, may I hate; and that in such measures as thou art pleased to prescribe me.

I give thee my body: may I glorify thee with it, and preserve it holy, fit for thee, O God, to dwell in. May I neither indulge it, nor use too much rigour toward it; but keep it, as far as in me lies, healthy, vigorous, and active, and fit to do thee all manner of service which thou shalt call for.

I give thee all my worldly goods: may I prize them and use them only for thee: may I faithfully restore to thee, in the poor, all thou hast intrusted me with, above the necessaries of life; and be content to part with them too, whenever thou, my Lord, shalt require them at my hands.

I give thee my credit and reputation: may I never value it, but only in respect of thee; nor endeavour to maintain it, but as it may do thee service and advance thy honour in the world.

I give thee myself and my all: let me look upon myself to be nothing, and to have nothing, out of thee. Be thou the sole disposer and governor of myself and all; be thou my portion and my all.

O my God and my all, when hereafter I shall be tempted to break this solemn engagement, when I shall be pressed to conform to the world, and to the company and customs that surround me; may my answer be, "I am not my own; I am not for myself, not for the world, but for my God. I will give unto God the things which are God's. God be merciful to me a sinner."

Have mercy, O Father of the spirits of all flesh, on all mankind. Convert all Jews, Turks, and Heathens, to thy truth. Bless the catholic Church; heal its breaches, and establish it in truth and peace. Preserve and defend all Christian princes, especially our sovereign and his family. Be merciful to this nation; bless the clergy with soundness of doctrine and purity of life, the council with wisdom, the magistrates with integrity and zeal, and the people with loyalty. Bless the universities with learning and holiness, that they may afford a constant supply of men fit and able to do thee service.

Shower down thy graces on all my relations, on all my friends, and all that belong to this family. Comfort and relieve those that labour under any affliction of body or mind, especially those who suffer for the testimony of a good conscience. Visit them, O gracious Lord, in all their distresses. Thou knowest, thou seest, them under all. O stay their souls upon thee; give them to rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer for thy name's sake, and constantly to look unto the author and finisher of their faith. Supply abundantly to all their souls who are in prison, the want of thy holy ordinances, and, in thy good time, deliver them, and be merciful unto them, as thou usest to be unto them that love thy name. Those that love or do good to me, reward sevenfold into their bosom; (——) those that hate me (——) convert and forgive; and grant us all, together with thy whole Church, an entrance into thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ; to whom with thee and the blessed Spirit, three persons and one God, be ascribed all majesty dominion, and power, now and for evermore. Amen.

FRIDAY MORNING.

Almighty and everlasting God, I bless thee from my heart, that of thy infinite goodness thou hast preserved me this night past, and hast, with the impregnable defence of thy providence, protected me from the power and malice of the devil. Withdraw not, I humbly entreat thee, thy protection from me, but mercifully this day watch over me with the eyes of thy mercy. Direct my soul and body according to the rule of thy will, and fill my heart with thy Holy Spirit, that I may pass this day, and all the rest of my days, to thy glory.

O Saviour of the world, God of gods, light of light, thou that art the brightness of thy Father's glory, the express image of his person; thou that hast destroyed the power of the devil, that hast overcome death, "that sittest at the right hand of the Father," thou wilt speedily come down in thy Father's glory to judge all men according to their works; be thou my light and my peace; destroy the power of the devil in me, and make me a new creature. O thou who didst cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalene, cast out of my heart all corrupt affections. O thou who didst raise Lazarus from the dead, raise me from the death of sin. Thou who didst cleanse the lepers, heal the sick, and give sight to the blind, heal the diseases of my soul; open my eyes, and fix them singly on the prize of my high calling, and cleanse my heart from every desire but that of advancing thy glory.

O Jesus, poor and abject, unknown and despised, have mercy upon me, and let me not be ashamed to follow thee. O Jesus, hated, calum-

niated, and persecuted, have mercy upon me, and let me not be ashamed to come after thee. O Jesus, betrayed and sold at a vile price, have mercy upon me, and make me content to be as my Master. O Jesus, blasphemed, accused, and wrongfully condemned, have mercy upon me, and teach me to endure the contradiction of sinners. O Jesus, clothed with a habit of reproach and shame, have mercy upon me, and let me not seek my own glory. O Jesus, insulted, mocked, and spit upon, have mercy upon me, and let me run with patience the race set before me. O Jesus, dragged to the pillar, scourged and bathed in blood, have mercy upon me, and let me not faint in the fiery trial. O Jesus, crowned with thorns, and hailed in derision; O Jesus, burdened with our sins, and the curses of the people; O Jesus, affronted, outraged, buffeted, overwhelmed with injuries, griefs and humiliations; O Jesus, hanging on the accursed tree, bowing the head, giving up the ghost, have mercy upon me, and conform my whole soul to thy holy, humble, suffering Spirit. O thou who for the love of me hast undergone such an infinity of sufferings and humiliations, let me be wholly "emptied of myself," that I may rejoice to take up my cross daily and follow thee. Enable me, too, to endure the pain and despise the shame; and, if it be thy will, to resist even unto blood!

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, I, miserable sinner, humbly acknowledge that I am altogether unworthy to pray for myself. But since thou hast commanded me to make prayers and intercessions for all men, in obedience to thy command, and confidence of thy unlimited goodness, I commend to thy mercy the wants and necessities of all mankind. Lord, let it be thy good pleasure to restore to thy Church catholic, primitive peace and purity; to show mercy to these sinful nations, and give us grace at length to break off our sins by repentance; defend our Church from all the assaults of schism, heresy, and sacrilege; and bless all bishops, priests, and deacons with Apostolical graces. O let it be thy good pleasure to defend the king from all his enemies, spiritual and temporal; to bless all his royal relations; to grant to the council wisdom, to the magistrates zeal and prudence, to the gentry and commons piety and loyalty!

Lord, let it be thy good pleasure to give thy grace to the universities; to bless those whom I have wronged, (——) and to forgive those who have wronged me; (——) to comfort the disconsolate, to give health and patience to all that are sick and afflicted. (——)

Vouchsafe to bless my father and mother with the fear of thy name, that they may be holy in all manner of conversation. Let them remember how short their time is, and be careful to improve every moment of it. O thou who hast kept them from their youth up until now, forsake them not now they are gray-headed, but perfect them in every good word and work, and be thou their guide unto death. Bless my brethren and sisters, whom thou hast graciously taught the Gospel of thy Christ; give them farther degrees of illumination, that they may serve thee with a perfect heart and willing mind. Bless my friends and benefactors, and all who have commended themselves to my prayers (——.) Lord, thou best knowest all our conditions, all our desires, all our wants. O do thou suit thy grace and blessings to our several necessities.

Hear, O merciful Father, my supplications, for the sake of thy Son

Jesus; and bring us, with all those who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, into the glories of thy Son's kingdom: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise for ever and ever!—"Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY EVENING.

Questions relating to Mortification:—See before the Prayers for Wednesday Evening.

O God the Father, who canst not be thought to have made me only to destroy me, have mercy upon me.

O God the Son, who, knowing thy Father's will, didst come into the world to save me, have mercy upon me.

O God the Holy Ghost, who to the same end hast so often since breathed holy thoughts into me, have mercy upon me.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, whom in three persons I adore as one God, have mercy upon me.

Lord, carest thou not that I perish? thou that wouldest have all men to be saved? thou that wouldest have none to perish? And wilt thou now show thine anger against a worm, a leaf? against a vapour that vanisheth before thee? O remember how short my time is, and deliver not my soul into the power of hell. For, alas, what profit is there in my blood? Or, who shall give thee thanks in that pit? No; let me live in thy sight: let me live, O my God, and my soul shall praise thee. Forget me as I have been disobedient, provoking thee to anger; and regard me as I am distressed, crying out to thee for help. Look not upon me as I am a sinner; but consider me as I am thy creature. A sinner I am, I confess, a sinner of no ordinary stain: but let not this hinder thee, O my God; for upon such sinners thou gettest the greatest glory.

O remember for whose sake it was that thou camest from the bosom of thy Father, and wast content to be born of thine own handmaid. Remember for whom it was that thy tender body was torn and scourged and crucified. Was it not for the sins of the whole world? And shall I be so injurious to thy glory, as to think thou hast excepted me? Or can I think, thou diedst only for sinners of a lower kind, and leftest such as me without remedy? What had become then of him who filled Jerusalem with blood? what of her who lived in a trade of sin? Nay, what had become of thine own disciple, who with oaths and curses thrice denied thee?

O, how easy is it for thee to forgive! for it is thy nature. How proper is it for thee to save! for it is thy name. How suitable is it to thy coming into the world! for it is thy business. And when I consider that I am the chief of sinners, may I not urge thee farther, and say, Shall the chief of thy business be left undone? Far be that from thee! Have mercy upon me!

I ask not of thee the things of this world, give them to whom thou pleasest, so thou givest me mercy. O say unto my soul, "Be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee." O that I might never sin against thee more! And whereinsoever my conscience accuses me most, be thou most merciful unto me.

Save me, O God, as a brand snatched out of the fire.

Receive me, O my Saviour, as a sheep that is gone astray, but would now return to the great Shepherd and Bishop of my soul.

Father, accept my imperfect repentance, compassionate my infirmities, forgive my wickedness, purify my uncleanness, strengthen my weakness, fix my unstableness, and let thy good Spirit watch over me for ever, and thy love ever rule in my heart, through the merits and sufferings and love of thy Son, in whom thou art always well pleased.

Give thy grace, O holy Jesus, to all the world; and let all who are redeemed by thy blood, acknowledge thee to be the Lord. Let all Christians, especially those of this nation, keep themselves unspotted from the world. Let all governors, and especially our sovereign, rule with wisdom and justice; and let the clergy be exemplary in their lives, and discreet and diligent in their labours. Let our universities enjoy freedom from violence and faction, and excel in true religion and sound learning. Be a help at hand to all that are afflicted, and assist them to trust in thee. Raise up friends for the widow and fatherless, the friendless and oppressed. Give patience to all that are sick, comfort to all troubled consciences, strength to all that are tempted. Be gracious to my relations, (——) to all that are endeared to me by their kindnesses or acquaintance, to all who remember me in their prayers, or desire to be remembered in mine (——.) Sanctify, O merciful Lord, the friendship which thou hast granted me with these thy servants (——.) O let our prayers be heard for each other, while our hearts are united in thy fear and love, and graciously unite them therein more and more. Strengthen the hearts of us thy servants against all our corruptions and temptations; enable us to consecrate ourselves faithfully and entirely to thy service. Grant that we may "provoke each other to love" and serve thee, and grow up together before thee in thy fear and love, to thy heavenly kingdom. And by thy infinite mercies, vouchsafe to bring us, with those that are dead in thee, to rejoice together before thee, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, be honour and power everlasting.

SATURDAY MORNING.

O God, thou great Creator and Sovereign Lord of heaven and earth thou Father of angels and men, thou Giver of life and Protector of all thy creatures, mercifully accept this my morning sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which I desire to offer, with all humility, to thy divine Majesty. "Thou art praised, O Lord, by all thy works," and magnified by every thing which thou hast created. The sun rejoiceth to run his course, that he may set forth thy praise who madest him. Nor do the moon and stars refrain to manifest thy glory, even amidst the silent night. The earth breathes forth each day perfumes, as incense to thee, her sacred King, who hast crowned her with herbs and trees, and beautified her with hills and dales. The deep uttereth his voice, and lifteth up his hands on high to thee, the great Creator, the universal King, the everlasting God. The floods clap their hands, and the hills are joyful together before thee; the fruitful vales rejoice and sing thy praise.

Thou feedest the innumerable multitude of animals which thou hast created: "These all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." Thou madest light for our comfort, and broughtest forth darkness out of thy treasures to overshadow the earth, that the living creatures of it might take their rest. "The fire and hail, snow and vapour, wind and storm, fulfil thy word," and manifest thy glory. Inanimate things declare thee, O Lord of life; and irrational animals demonstrate their wise Creator. Amidst this universal jubilee of nature, suffer not, I beseech thee, the sons of men to be silent; but let the noblest work of thy creation pay thee the noblest sacrifice of praise. O pour thy grace into my heart, that I may worthily magnify thy great and glorious name. Thou hast made me and sent me into the world to do thy work. O assist me to fulfil the end of my creation, and to show forth thy praise with all diligence, by giving myself up to thy service. "Prosper the work of my hands upon me," O Lord; O prosper thou whatever I shall undertake this day, that it may tend to thy glory, the good of my neighbour, and the salvation of my own soul.

Preserve me from all those snares and temptations which continually solicit me to offend thee. Guide me by thy Holy Spirit in all those places whither thy providence shall lead me this day; and suffer not my communications with the world to dissipate my thoughts, to make me inadvertent to thy presence, or lukewarm in thy service; but let me always walk as in thy sight, and as one who knows this life to be the seed-time of an eternal harvest. Keep me, I beseech thee, undefiled, unblamable, and unreprovable unto the end; and grant that I may so diligently perform thy will, in that station wherein thou hast been pleased to place me, that I may make my calling and election sure, through Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour.

Hear also, O Lord, my prayers for the whole race of mankind, and guide their feet into the way of peace. Reform the corruptions of thy catholic Church, heal her divisions, and restore to her her ancient discipline; give to the clergy thereof, whether they be bishops, priests, or deacons, grace, as good shepherds, to feed the flocks committed to their charge. Bless King George and all the royal family, and all that are put in authority under him. Let them exceed others as much in goodness as greatness, and be signal instruments of thy glory. Grant that in the universities, and in all other places set apart for thy service, whatsoever is praiseworthy may for ever flourish. Keep, O Lord, all the nobility, gentry, and commons of this land, in constant communion with thy holy catholic Church, in humble obedience to the king, and in Christian charity one toward another.

In a particular manner I beseech thee to be gracious to my father and mother, my brethren and sisters, and all my friends and relations. Pardon all their sins, and heal all their infirmities. Give them that share of the blessings of this life, which thou knowest to be most expedient for them; and thy grace so to use them here, that they may enjoy thee eternally.

With a propitious eye, O gracious Comforter, behold all that are in affliction; let the sighings of the prisoners, the groans of the sick, the prayers of the oppressed, the desire of the poor and needy, come before thee. (——) Give unto my enemies (——) grace and pardon, charity

to me and love to thee; remove the cloud from their eyes, the stony from their hearts, that they may know and feel what it is to love their neighbour as themselves. And may it please thee to enable me to love all mine enemies, to bless them that now curse me, to do good to them that hate me, and to pray for those who despitefully use me and persecute me. Be pleased, O Lord, of thy goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and to hasten thy kingdom; that we, with all thy whole Church, may have our perfect consummation of bliss, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, now and for ever.

SATURDAY EVENING.

Particular Questions relating to Thankfulness.

1. Have I allotted some time for thanking God for the blessings of the past week?

2. Have I, in order to be the more sensible of them, seriously and deliberately considered the several circumstances that attended them?

3. Have I considered each of them as an obligation to greater love, and, consequently, to stricter holiness?

O most great and glorious God, who art mighty in thy power, and wonderful in thy doings toward the sons of men, accept, I beseech thee, my unfeigned thanks and praise for my creation, preservation, and all the other blessings which, in the riches of thy mercy, thou hast from time to time poured down upon me. "Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thine hand." Thou createdst the sun and moon, the day and night, and makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to praise thee. Thou "formedst man of the dust of the ground, and breathedst into him the breath of life." In thine own image madest thou him, capable of knowing and loving thee eternally. His nature was perfect, thy will was his law, and thy blessed self his portion. Neither after he had left his first estate didst thou utterly withdraw thy mercy from him; but, in every succeeding generation, didst save, deliver, assist, and protect him. Thou hast instructed us by thy laws, and enlightened us by thy statutes; thou hast redeemed us by the blood of thy Son, and sanctifiest us by the grace of thy Holy Spirit. For these and all thy other mercies, how can I ever sufficiently love thee, or worthily magnify thy great and glorious name? All the powers of my soul are too few to conceive the thanks that are due to thee, even for vouchsafing me the honour of now appearing before thee and conversing with thee. But thou hast declared thou wilt accept the sacrifice of thanksgiving in return for all thy goodness. For ever therefore will I bless thee, will I adore thy power, and magnify thy goodness: "My tongue shall sing of thy righteousness, and be telling of thy salvation from day to day." I will give thanks unto thee for ever and ever; I will praise my God while I have my being. O that I had the heart of the seraphim, that I might burn with love like theirs. But though I am upon earth, yet will I praise, as I can, the King of heaven; though I am a feeble, mortal creature, yet will I join my song with those that excel in strength, with the immortal host of

angels and archangels, thrones, dominions, and powers, while they laud and magnify thy glorious name, and sing with incessant shouts of praise,—

"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts! Heaven and earth are full of his glory! Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen. Hallelujah."

Accept, O merciful Father, my most humble thanks for thy preservation of me this day (——.) O continue thy loving kindness toward me, and take me into thy protection this night. Let thy holy angels watch over me to defend me from the attempts of evil men and evil spirits. Let me rest in peace, and not sleep in sin; and grant that I may rise more fit for thy service.

O thou whose kingdom ruleth over all, rule in the hearts of all the men whom thou hast made; reform the corruptions, and heal the breaches, of thy holy Church, and establish her in truth and peace. Be gracious unto all priests and deacons, and give them rightly to divide the word of truth. Forgive the sins of this nation, and turn our hearts, that iniquity may not be our ruin. Bless King George, and all the royal family, with all those blessings which thou seest to be most expedient for them; and give to his council, and to the nobility and magistracy, grace truly to serve thee in their several stations. Bless our universities, that they may be the great bulwarks of thy faith and love, against all the assaults of vice and infidelity. May the gentry and commons of this realm live in constant communion with thy Church, in obedience to the king, and in love one toward another.

Be gracious to all who are near and dear to me. Thou knowest their names, and art acquainted with their wants. Of thy goodness be pleased to proportion thy blessings to their necessities. Pardon my enemies, and give them repentance and charity, and me grace to overcome evil with good. Have compassion on all who are distressed in mind, body, or estate, and give them steady patience, and timely deliverance.

Now, to God the Father, who first loved us, and made us accepted in the Beloved; to God the Son, who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood; to God the Holy Ghost, who sheddeth the love of God abroad in our hearts, be all love and all glory in time and to all eternity. Amen.

A COLLECTION OF PRAYERS FOR FAMILIES.

SUNDAY MORNING.

Almighty and eternal God, we desire to praise thy holy name for so graciously raising us up, in soundness of body and mind, to see the light of this day.

We bless thee in behalf of all thy creatures; for "the eyes of all look unto thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." But above all we acknowledge thy inestimable benefits bestowed upon mankind in Christ Jesus. We thank thee for his miraculous birth, for his most holy life, his bitter agony and bloody death, for his glorious resurrection

on this day, his ascension into heaven, his triumph over all the powers of darkness, and his sitting at thy right hand for evermore.

O God, how great was thy love to the sinful sons of men, to give "thy only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life!" How great was that love which hath committed our souls to One so "mighty to save;" which hath chosen us to be thy sons and heirs, together with Christ Jesus, and set such a High Priest over thy house and family, to make intercession for us, to pour thy blessings upon us, and to send forth his angels to "minister unto them who shall be heirs of salvation!" O the riches of thy grace, in sending the Holy Ghost to make us "abound in hope" that we shall one day rise from the dead, and, after our short labours here, rest with thee in thy eternal glory.

O that we could begin this day in devout meditations, in joy unspeakable, and in blessing and praising thee, who hast given us such good hope and everlasting consolation. Lift up our minds above all these little things below, which are apt to distract our thoughts; and keep them above, till our hearts are fully bent to seek thee every day, in the way wherein Jesus hath gone before us, though it should be with the loss of all we here possess.

We are ashamed, O Lord, to think that ever we have disobeyed thee, who hast redeemed us by the precious blood of thine own Son. O that we may agree with thy will in all things for the time to come; and that all the powers of our souls and bodies may be wholly dedicated to thy service. We desire unfeignedly that all the thoughts and designs of our minds, all the affections and tempers of our hearts, and all the actions of our life, may be pure, holy, and unreprovable in thy sight.

"Search us, O Lord, and prove us; try out our reins and our heart. Look well if there be any way of wickedness in us, and lead us in the way everlasting." Let thy favour be better to us than life itself; that so in all things we may approve our hearts before thee, and feel the sense of thy acceptance of us, giving us a joy which the world cannot give.

Make it our delight to praise thee, to call to mind thy loving-kindness, and to offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Help us to "take heed to ourselves, lest at any time our hearts be overcharged with surfeiting or drunkenness, or the cares of this life; to have our conversation without covetousness, and to be content with such things as we have; to possess our bodies in sanctification and honour; to love our neighbour as ourselves; and as we would that others should do to us, do even so to them; to live peaceably, as much as lieth in us, with all men; to put on the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit; and to take those who have spoken in the name of our Lord, for an example of suffering affliction, and of patience; and when we suffer as Christians, not to be ashamed, but to glorify thee our God on this behalf.

And accept, good Lord, of all the praises of all thy people met together this day. O that "thy ways were known upon all the earth, thy saving health among all nations;" and that all Christian kings, especially, may be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and be faithful subjects of the Lord Jesus, "the King of kings and Lord of lords." O that thy "priests may be clothed with righteousness, and thy saints rejoice and sing;" that all who are in distress may trust in thee, the "help of their counte-

nance and their God." O Lord, hear us, and make thy face to shine upon thy servants, that we may "enter into thy gates with thanksgiving, and into thy courts with praise; that we may be thankful unto thee and bless thy name." Amen, for Jesus Christ's sake; in whose words we conclude our imperfect prayers, saying, "Our Father," &c.

SUNDAY EVENING.

O THOU "high and holy One that inhabitest eternity," thou art to be feared and loved by all thy servants. "All thy works praise thee, O God;" and we especially give thanks unto thee, for thy marvellous love in Christ Jesus, by whom thou hast "reconciled the world to thyself." Thou hast "given us exceeding great and precious promises." Thou hast sealed them with his blood, thou hast confirmed them by his resurrection and ascension, and the coming of the Holy Ghost. We thank thee that thou hast given us so many happy opportunities of knowing the "truth as it is in Jesus," even "the mystery which was hid from ages and generations," but is now revealed to them that believe.

Blessed be thy goodness for that great consolation, and for the assistance of thy Holy Spirit. Blessed be thy goodness, that we have felt it so often in our hearts, inspiring us with holy thoughts, filling us with love and joy and comfortable expectations of "the glory that shall be revealed." We thank thee, that thou hast suffered us this day to attend on thee in thy public service; and that we have begun, in any measure, to pursue after that eternal "rest which remaineth for the people of God."

We offer up again our souls and bodies to thee to be governed, not by our will, but thine. O let it be ever the ease and joy of our hearts, to be under the conduct of thy unerring wisdom, to follow thy counsels, and to be ruled in all things by thy holy will. And let us never distrust thy abundant kindness and tender care over us; whatsoever it is thou wouldest have us to do or to suffer in this world.

O God, purify our hearts, that we may entirely love thee, and rejoice in being beloved of thee; that we may confide in thee, and absolutely resign ourselves to thee, and be filled with constant devotion toward thee. O that we may never sink into a base love of any thing here below, nor be oppressed with the cares of this life; but assist us to "abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good." Let us "use this world as not abusing it." Give us true humility of spirit, that we may "not think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think." Keep us from being "wise in our own conceits." "Let our moderation be known to all men." Make us "kindly affectioned one to another;" to delight in doing good; to "show all meekness to all men;" to "render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour;" and to "owe no man any thing, but to love one another." Make us so happy, that we may be able to "love our enemies, to bless those that curse us, to do good to them that hate us; to rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." Compose our spirits to a quiet and steady dependence on thy good providence, that we may "take no thought for our life," nor "be careful for any thing, but by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving,

still make known our requests to thee our God." And help us to "pray always and not faint; in every thing to give thanks, and offer up the sacrifice of praise continually; to rejoice in hope of thy glory;" to "possess our souls in patience;" and to "learn in whatsoever state we are, therewith to be content." Make us "know both how to be abased, and how to abound; every where, and in all things," instruct us "both to abound and to suffer want," being enabled to "do all things through Christ which strengtheneth us."

O that the light of all Christians did so "shine before men," that others might "glorify thee, our Father which art in heaven!" "Send forth thy light and thy truth" into all the dark corners of the earth, that "all kings may fall down before thee, and all nations do thee service!" Bless these kingdoms, and give us grace at length to "bring forth fruits meet for repentance." O Lord, save the king, and "establish his throne in righteousness." Prosper the endeavours of all those who faithfully feed thy people, and increase the number of them. O that the seed which hath been sown this day, may take deep root in all our hearts; that being "not forgetful hearers, but doers of the word, we may be blessed in our deeds." Help us, in all the week following to "set a watch before our mouth, and keep the door of our lips;" and "let not our heart incline to any evil thing," or "to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity." But "as we have received how we ought to walk and to please thee, so may we abound more and more."

Protect us, we beseech thee, and all our friends every where this night; and awaken in the morning those good thoughts in our hearts, that the words of our Saviour may abide in us, and we in him, who hath taught us when we pray, to say, "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

We humble ourselves, O Lord of heaven and earth, before thy glorious Majesty. We acknowledge thy eternal power, wisdom, goodness, and truth; and desire to render thee most unfeigned thanks, for all the benefits which thou pourest upon us; but above all, for thine inestimable love, in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ.

We implore thy tender mercies in the forgiveness of all our sins, whereby we have offended either in thought, word, or deed. We desire to be truly sorry for all our misdoings, and utterly to renounce whatsoever is contrary to thy will. We desire to devote our whole man, body, soul, and spirit, to thee. And as thou dost inspire us with these desires, so accompany them always with thy grace, that we may every day, with our whole hearts, give ourselves up to thy service.

We desire to be so holy and undefiled as our blessed Master was. And we trust thou wilt fulfil all the gracious promises which he hath made to us. Let them be dearer to us than thousands of gold and silver; let them be the comfort and joy of our hearts. We ask nothing, but that it may be unto thy servants according to his word.

Thou hast mercifully kept us the last night; blessed be thy continued goodness. Receive us likewise into thy protection this day. Guide and assist us in all our thoughts, words, and actions. Make us willing

to do and suffer what thou pleasest; waiting for the mercy of our Lord, Christ Jesus, unto eternal life.

Blessed be thy goodness, which hath not suffered us to wander without instruction after the foolish desires of our own hearts; but hath clearly shown us where our happiness lies. O may we receive, with all thankfulness, those holy words which teach us the blessedness of poverty of spirit, of mourning after thee, of meekness and gentleness, of hungering and thirsting after righteousness, of mercifulness and purity of heart, of doing good unto all, and patiently suffering for doing the will of our Lord Christ.

O may we always be in the number of those blessed souls. May we ever feel ourselves happy in having the kingdom of God within us, in the comforts of the Holy One, in being filled with all the fruits of righteousness, in being made the children of the Highest, and, above all, in seeing thee, our God. Let us abound in thy love more and more; and in continual prayers and praises to thee, the Father of mercies and God of all consolation, in Jesus Christ our Lord.

And we desire, thou knowest, the good of all mankind, especially of all Christian people; that they may all walk worthy of the Gospel, and live together in unity and Christian love. For which end, we pray that all Christian kings, princes, and governors, may be wise, pious, just, and merciful, endeavouring that all their subjects may lead peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty; and more particularly, that our sovereign, King George, may be blessed with a religious, quiet, long, and prosperous reign, and that all in authority under him may seek, in their several stations, to right the oppressed, to comfort the afflicted, to provide for the poor and needy, and to relieve all those that are in any misery. Bless all those that watch over our souls; succeed their labours, and give us grace to follow their godly admonitions, and to "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake." The same blessings we crave for our friends, relations, and acquaintance, that we may all live in perfect love and peace together, and rejoice together at the great day of the Lord Jesus; in whose holy words we sum up all our wants: "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY EVENING.

Almighty and most merciful Father, in whom we live, move, and have our being; to whose tender compassions we owe our safety the day past, together with all the comforts of this life, and the hopes of that which is to come; we praise thee, O Lord, we bow ourselves before thee, acknowledging we have nothing but what we receive from thee. "Unto thee do we give thanks," O God, who daily pourest thy benefits upon us.

Blessed be thy goodness for our health, for our food and raiment, for our peace and safety, for the love of our friends, for all our blessings in this life, and our desire to attain that life which is immortal. Blessed be thy love, for that we feel in our hearts any motion toward thee. Behold, O Lord, we present ourselves before thee, to be inspired with such a vigorous sense of thy love, as may put us forward with a greater earnestness, zeal, and diligence in all our duty. Renew in us, we be-

seech, a lively image of thee, in all righteousness, purity, mercy, faithfulness, and truth. O that Jesus, the hope of glory, may be formed in us, in all humility, meekness, patience, and an absolute surrender of our souls and bodies to thy holy will; that we may not live, but Christ may live in us; that every one of us may say, "The life I now live in the flesh, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

Let the remembrance of his love, who made himself an offering for our sins, be ever dear and precious to us. Let it continually move us to offer up ourselves to thee, to do thy will, as our blessed Master did. May we place an entire confidence in thee, and still trust ourselves with thee, who hast not "spared thine own Son, but freely given him up for us all." May we humbly accept of whatsoever thou sendest us, and "in every thing give thanks." Surely thou "wilt never leave us nor forsake us." O guide us safe through all the changes of this life, in an unchangeable love to thee, and a lively sense of thy love to us, till we come to live with thee and enjoy thee for ever.

And now that we are going to lay ourselves down to sleep, take us into thy gracious protection, and settle our spirits in such quiet and delightful thoughts of the glory where our Lord Jesus lives, that we may desire to be dissolved and to go to him who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we might live together with him.

To thy blessing we recommend all mankind, high and low, rich and poor, that they may all faithfully serve thee, and contentedly enjoy whatsoever is needful for them. And especially we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy Church may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness. We leave all we have with thee, especially our friends, and those who are dear unto us; desiring that when we are dead and gone, they may lift up their souls in this manner unto thee; and teach those that come after, to praise, love, and obey thee. And if we awake again in the morning, may we praise thee again with joyful lips, and still offer ourselves a more acceptable sacrifice to thee, through Jesus Christ; in whose words we beseech thee to hear us, according to the full sense and meaning thereof: "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O MOST great and mighty Lord, the possessor of heaven and earth, all the angels rejoice in blessing and praising thee, the Father of spirits; for "thou hast created all things, and in wisdom hast thou made them all," and spread thy tender mercies over all thy works. We desire thankfully to acknowledge thy bounty to us, among the rest of thy creatures, and thy particular grace and favour to us in Jesus Christ, our merciful Redeemer. O give us a deep sense of that love which gave Him to die for us, that he might be "the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him."

And hast thou not said, that thou wilt "give thy Holy Spirit to them that ask it?" O Father of mercies, let it be unto us according to thy word. Cherish whatever thou hast already given us, which is acceptable in thy sight. And since at the best we are unprofitable servants,

and can do no more than it is our duty to do, enable us to do every thing which thou hast commanded us heartily, with good will, and true love to thy service.

O that we might ever approach thee with delight, and feel it the joy of our hearts to think of thee, to praise thee, to give thee thanks, and to offer ourselves with absolute resignation to thee. O that mercy may always please us, as it pleaseth thee; that we may be strictly just and righteous; may cheerfully pass by injuries, freely deny ourselves whatever is not for thy glory; willingly submit to thy fatherly corrections, and perform the duties of our several relations with singleness of heart. Render us so mindful of the great love of our Lord, that we may be zealously concerned for his glory, and use our utmost diligence to promote his religion in the world; delighting to commemorate his death and passion, making a joyful sacrifice of our souls and bodies to him, and earnestly desiring that his kingdom may come over all the earth.

Fulfil, most merciful Lord, all our petitions; and as thou hast graciously protected us this night, so accompany us all this day with thy blessing, that we may please thee in body and soul, and be safe under thy defence, who art ever nigh unto all those that call upon thee.

And O that all men may be awakened into a lively and thankful sense of all thy benefits. Stir up especially the minds of all Christian people to follow "the truth as it is in Jesus," and exercise themselves "to have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man." Bless these kingdoms, and endue our sovereign with such excellent wisdom and holy zeal, that we may see many good days under his government. O that true religion, justice, mercy, brotherly kindness, and all things else that are praiseworthy, may so flourish among us, that we may enjoy the blessings of peace and plenty, and there may be no complaining in our streets.

We recommend to thee all our friends and neighbours, all the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, desiring those mercies for them which we should ask for ourselves, were we in their condition. "O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth, keep them and us, we beseech thee, from all hurtful things, and give us those things which are profitable for us, according to thine abundant mercy in our Lord Jesus;" in whose words we conclude our supplication unto thee, saying, "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY EVENING.

Almighty and everlasting God, the sovereign Lord of all creatures in heaven and earth, we acknowledge that our beings, and all the comforts of them, depend on thee, the Fountain of all good. We have nothing but what is owing entirely to thy free and bounteous love, O most blessed Creator, and to the riches of thy grace, O most blessed Redeemer.

To thee, therefore, be given, by us and by all creatures whom thou hast made to know how great and good thou art, all honour and praise, all love and obedience, as long as we have any being. "It is but meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should, at all times and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord," and devoutly resign both soul

and body to thee, to be absolutely governed and ruled according to thy holy will.

Farther, we pray thee, increase every good desire which we feel already in our hearts; let us always live as becomes thy creatures, as becomes the disciples of Jesus Christ. Incline us to be more and more in love with thy laws, till they are written upon our hearts. Stir up our wills to "love them exceedingly," and to cleave unto them as our very life.

O that we might heartily surrender our wills to thine; that we may unchangeably cleave unto it, with the greatest and most entire affection to all thy commands. O that there may abide for ever in us such a strong and powerful sense of thy mighty love toward us in Christ Jesus, as may constrain us freely and willingly to please thee, in the constant exercise of righteousness and mercy, temperance and charity, meekness and patience, truth and fidelity; together with such an humble, contented, and peaceable spirit, as may adorn the religion of our Lord and Master. Yea, let it ever be the joy of our hearts to be righteous, as thou art righteous; to be merciful, as thou, our heavenly Father, art merciful; to be "holy, as thou who hast called us art holy, in all manner of conversation;" to be endued with thy Divine wisdom, and to resemble thee in faithfulness and truth. O that the example of our blessed Saviour may be always dear unto us, that we may cheerfully follow him in every holy temper, and delight to do thy will, O God. Let these desires, which thou hast given us, never die or languish in our hearts, but be kept always alive, always in their vigour and force, by the perpetual inspirations of the Holy Ghost.

Accept, likewise, of our thanks, for thy merciful preservation of us all this day. We are bold again to commit ourselves unto thee this night. Defend us from all the powers of darkness; and raise up our spirits, together with our bodies, in the morning, to such a vigorous sense of thy continued goodness, as may provoke us all the day long to an unwearied diligence in well-doing.

And the same mercies that we beg for ourselves, we desire for the rest of mankind; especially for those who are called by the name of Christ. O that every one of these may do his duty with all fidelity; that kings may be tender-hearted, as the fathers of their countries; and all their subjects may be dutiful and obedient to them, as their children; that the pastors of thy Church may feed their flocks with true wisdom and understanding, and the people all may submit unto them, and follow their godly counsels; that the rich and mighty may have compassion on the poor and miserable; and all such distressed people may bless the rich, and rejoice in the prosperity of those that are above them! Give to husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, the grace to behave themselves so in their several relations, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, and may receive of him a crown of glory; in whose holy name and words we continue to beseech thy grace and mercy toward us and all thy people every where, saying, "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O God, blessed for ever, we thank and praise thee for all thy benefits, for the comforts of this life, and our hope of everlasting salvation in the life to come. We desire to have a lively sense of thy love always possessing our hearts, that may still constrain us to love thee, to obey thee, to trust in thee, to be content with the portion thy love allots unto us, and to rejoice even in the midst of all the troubles of this life.

Thou hast delivered thine own Son for us all. How shalt thou not with him also freely give us all things? We depend upon thee especially for the grace of thy Holy Spirit. O that we may feel it perpetually bearing us up, by the strength of our most holy faith, above all the temptations that may at any time assault us; that we may keep ourselves unspotted from the world, and may still cleave to thee in righteousness, in lowliness, purity of heart, yea, the whole mind that was in Christ.

Let thy mighty power enable us to do our duty toward thee, and toward all men, with care, and diligence, and zeal, and perseverance, unto the end. Help us to be meek and gentle in our conversation, prudent and discreet in ordering our affairs, observant of thy fatherly providence in every thing that befalls us, thankful for thy benefits, patient under thy chastisements, and readily disposed for every good word and work. Preserve in us a constant remembrance of thy all-seeing eye; of thy inestimable love in Jesus Christ, whereof thou hast given us so many pledges, and of the great account we must give to him at the day of his appearing; that so we may continue steadfast and unmovable, and be abundant in the work of the Lord, knowing that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord.

Deliver us, we beseech thee, from worldly cares and foolish desires; from vain hopes and causeless fears; and so dispose our hearts, that death itself may not be dreadful to us, but we may welcome it with a cheerful countenance, when and howsoever it shall approach.

O that our hearts may be so firmly established in grace, that nothing may affright us, or shake our constancy, but we may rather choose to die than to dishonour Him who died for us! We resign ourselves to thy wisdom and goodness, who knowest what is best for us; believing thou "wilt never suffer us to be tempted above what we are able, and wilt with the temptation also make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it."

We commend unto thee all mankind; especially thy Church, and more particularly these kingdoms, that we may all believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and be zealous of good works. Bless our sovereign, his counsellors, his ministers, and all employed in public business, whether spiritual or civil, that whatsoever they do may be for thy glory, and the public good. Be gracious to all that are near and dear to us, and keep us all in thy fear and love. Guide us, good Lord, and govern us by the same Spirit, that we may be so united to thee here, as not to be divided when thou art pleased to call us hence, but together enter into thy glory, to dwell with thee in love and joy that shall never die, through Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour; who hath taught us when we pray to say, "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

"O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all. The day is thine, the night also is thine; thou hast prepared the light and the sun." We render thee thanks for all the benefits which thou hast bestowed on the whole world; especially on us, whom thou hast called to the knowledge of thy grace in Christ Jesus. It is a marvellous love wherewith thou hast loved us. Thou hast not dealt so with all people; and as for thy great and precious promises, they have not known them.

Accept, O merciful Father, the good resolutions which thou hast inspired us with by thy Spirit. Strengthen them, we beseech thee, with thy continued grace, that no sudden desires, vehement inclinations, ineffectual purposes, no, nor partial performances, may lead us into a false opinion of ourselves; but that we may bring forth actually, and with a constant spirit, all the fruits of righteousness, which are by Christ Jesus.

Deny not, O Lord, the desires of those souls who would offer up themselves entirely to thy service. But preserve us always in seriousness of spirit. Let the sense of our weakness make us watchful and diligent, the sense of our former negligence excite us to be fervent in spirit, and the goodness of thy commands render us fruitful and abundant in the work of the Lord. O that all our pious affections may be turned into actions of piety and holiness; and may all our actions be spirited with zeal, and all our zeal regulated with prudence, and our prudence void of all guile, and joined with perfect integrity of heart; that, adorning our most holy faith here, by an upright, charitable, and discreet conversation, we may receive praise in the day of the Lord, and be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting.

O lift up our affections to things above, that we may have perfect contentment in well doing and patient suffering, and the good hope we have of being eternally beloved of thee may make us rejoice evermore. Free us from the cares of the world, from all distrust of thy good providence, from repining at any thing that befalls us, and enable us in every thing to give thanks, believing that all things are ordered wisely, and shall work together for good.

Into thy hands we commend both our souls and bodies, which thou hast mercifully preserved this day. We trust in thy watchful providence, who "givest thy angels charge over us," who "art about our beds, and about our paths, and spiest out all our" thoughts. O continue these holy thoughts and desires in us till we fall asleep, that we may receive the light of the morning, if thou prolongest our lives, with a new joy in thee, and thankful affection to thee.

We desire likewise, O God, the good of the whole world. Pity the follies of mankind; deliver them from their miseries, and forgive thou all their sins. Hear the groans of every part of the creation, that is yet "subject to bondage," and bring them all "into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." Hear the daily prayers of the Catholic Church. Free her from all foul and dividing errors; let the truth as it is in Jesus prevail, and "peace be in all her borders." O that all Christian governors may "seek peace and ensue it." Make thy ministers the messen-

gers of peace, and dispose all who are called Christians to keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Enlighten the minds of all Jews, Turks, and Infidels. Strengthen all thy faithful servants. Bring back them that wander out of the way; raise up those that are fallen; confirm those that stand, and grant them steadily to persevere in faith, love, and obedience. Relieve and comfort all that are in distress. Let the earth bring forth her fruit in due season; and let all honest and industrious people be blessed in their labours.

Remember all those who have done good unto us, and reward them sevenfold into their bosom. Grant forgiveness and charity to all our enemies; and continue good will among all our neighbours. Support the sick with faith and patience; assist those who are leaving this world. Receive the souls which thou hast redeemed with thy Son's precious blood, and sanctified by the Holy Ghost: and give us all a glorious resurrection and eternal life. "Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY MORNING.

O Lord, the God of our salvation, "thou art the hope of all the ends of the earth." Upon thee the eyes of all do wait; for thou givest unto all life and breath and all things. Thou still watchest over us for good; thou daily renewest to us our lives and thy mercies; and thou hast given us the assurance of thy word, that if we commit our affairs to thee, if we acknowledge thee in all our ways, thou wilt direct our paths. We desire, O Lord, to be still under thy gracious conduct and fatherly protection. We beg the guidance and help of thy good Spirit, to choose our inheritance for us, and to dispose of us, and all that concerns us, to the glory of thy name.

O Lord, withdraw not thy tender mercies from us, nor the comforts of thy presence. Never punish our past sins, by giving us over to the power of our sins; but pardon all our sins, and save us from all our iniquities. And grant us, O good God, the continual sense of thy gracious acceptance of us, in the Son of thy love, that our souls may bless thee, and "all that is within us may praise thy holy name."

And O that we may find the joy of the Lord to be our strength; to defend us from all our sins, and to make us more zealous of every good work; that herein we may "exercise ourselves, to have a conscience void of offence, both toward God and toward men." O help us "to walk circumspectly; not as fools, but as wise," carefully "redeeming the time," improving all those seasons and means of grace which thou art pleased to put into our hands. Sanctify to us all our employments in the world; our crosses also, and our comforts; all the estates we go through, and all the events that befall us; till, through the merits of thy Son, and the multitude of thy mercies, we are conducted safe to "be ever with the Lord."

Thou "hast laid help for us upon One that is mighty;" that is "able to save unto the uttermost all those who come unto God through him." Through him thou hast encouraged us to come boldly, that we "may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Help us, we

beseech thee, to demean ourselves as becomes the children of God, the redeemed of the Lord, the members of Christ. Put thy Spirit within us, causing us to walk in thy statutes, and to keep thy judgments, and do them. Yea, let it be our meat and drink to do thy will, and to run the way of thy commandments.

O gracious Father, keep us, we pray thee, this day in thy fear and favour, and teach us, in all our thoughts, words, and works, to live to thy glory. If thou guide us not, we go astray; if thou uphold us not, we fall. O let thy good providence be our defence, and thy good Spirit our guide, and counsellor, and supporter in all our ways. And grant that we may do always what is acceptable in thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose holy name and words we close these our imperfect prayers: "Our Father," &c.

Let thy grace, O Lord Jesus, thy love, O heavenly Father, and thy comfortable fellowship, O blessed Spirit, be with us, and with all that desire our prayers, this day and for evermore.

THURSDAY EVENING.

O Lord our God, thy glory is above all our thoughts, and thy mercy is over all thy works. We are still living monuments of thy mercy: For thou hast not cut us off in our sins, but still givest us a good hope and strong consolation through grace. Thou hast sent thy only Son into the world, "that whosoever believeth in him should not perish" in his sins, "but have everlasting life." O Lord, we believe; help our unbelief; and give us the true "repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," that we may be in the number of those who do indeed repent and "believe to the saving of the soul. Being justified by faith," let us "have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ;" let us "rejoice in him through whom we have now redemption in his blood;" and let "the love of God be shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."

And as we pray that thou wilt be to us a Father of mercies and a God of consolation, so that thou wilt make us "followers of God as dear children," ever jealous over our hearts, and watchful over our ways; continually fearing to offend, and endeavouring to please thee. Thou knowest, O Lord, all our temptations, and the sin that doth so easily beset us. Thou knowest the devices of the enemy, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts. We pray thee, good Lord, that thou wilt arm us with the whole armour of God. Uphold us with thy free Spirit, and watch over us for good evermore.

Let our supplications also ascend before thee for the whole race of mankind. Send thy word unto all the ends of the earth, and let it be the savour of life unto all that hear it. Be gracious to this our native land. O do thou rule all our rulers, counsel all our counsellors, teach all our teachers, and order all the public affairs to thy glory. Turn from us the judgments which we feel or fear; continue thy blessings to our souls and bodies; and, notwithstanding all our provocations, be thou still our God, and let us be thy people. Have compassion on all the children of affliction, and sanctify thy fatherly corrections to them. Be

gracious to all our friends and neighbours. Reward our benefactors. Bless our relations with the best of thy blessings, with thy fear and love. Preserve us from our enemies, and reconcile them both to us and to thyself. O that all the habitations of Christians may be houses of prayer! And be thou especially kind to the several families where thy blessed name is called upon. Let thy blessing rest upon us of this family. Bless all our present estates to us; and fit us all for whatsoever thou shalt be pleased to call us to. O teach us how "to want and how to abound." In every condition secure our hearts to thyself; and make us ever to approve ourselves sincere and faithful in thy service.

And now, O Father of mercies, be pleased to accept our evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. O that thou wouldest imprint and preserve upon our hearts a lively sense of all thy kindness to us; that our souls may bless thee, and all that is within us may praise thy holy name. Yea, let us give thee thanks from the ground of the heart, and praise our God while we have our being: for all thy patience with us, thy care over us, and thy continual mercy to us, blessed be thy name, O Lord God, our heavenly Father; and unto thee, with the Son of thy love, and Spirit of grace, be all thanks and praise, now and for evermore.

FRIDAY MORNING.

"O Lord God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth; thou keepest mercy for thousands; thou pardonest iniquity and transgression and sin. How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! The children of men shall put their trust under the shadow of thy wings." And therefore do we still look up to that bountiful hand, from whence we have received all our good things. O Lord our God, be favourable unto us, as thou usest to be unto those that love thy holy name! O look not upon the sin of our nature, nor the sins of our hearts and lives, which are more than we can remember, and greater than we can express. It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because thy compassions fail not. But thou lookest upon the face of thine Anointed, who was manifested to take away our sins; by whom it is that we have the access unto the Majesty on high.

O God, be merciful to us miserable sinners, for his sake whom "thou hast exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance" unto thy people, "and forgiveness of sins." Be merciful, O God, be merciful unto our souls, which have greatly sinned against thee. O heal our backslidings; renew us to repentance; establish our hearts in thy fear and love; and establish our goings in thy way, that our footsteps slip not. Let us waver no more; let us never more be weary or faint in our minds; let us not revolt from thee, or turn to folly again, after thou hast spoken peace to our souls; but may we go on conquering and to conquer all the enemies of our souls, and all the hinderances of our salvation, till thou hast bruised Satan under our feet.

Seeing there is in Christ Jesus an infinite fulness of all that we can want or wish, O that we may all receive of his fulness, grace upon grace; grace to pardon our sins, and subdue our iniquities; to justify our persons and to sanctify our souls; and to complete that holy change, that

renewal of our hearts, whereby we may be transformed into that blessed image wherein thou didst create us. O make us all meet to be partakers of the inheritance of thy saints in light.

And teach us, O God, to use this world without abusing it; and to receive the things needful for the body, without losing our part in thy love, which is better than life itself. Whatever we have of this world, O may we have the same with thy leave and love; sanctified to us by the word of God and by prayer; and by the right improvement thereof to thy glory. And whatever we want of worldly things, leave us not destitute of the "things that accompany salvation;" but adorn our souls with all such graces of thy Holy Spirit, that we may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.

And now that thou hast renewed our lives and thy mercies to us this morning, help us to renew our desires and resolutions, and endeavours to live in obedience to thy holy will. O restrain us from the sins into which we are most prone to fall, and quicken us to the duties we are most averse to perform; and grant that we may think and speak, and will and do, the things becoming the children of our heavenly Father; and so find the strong consolation of thy gracious acceptance in Jesus Christ our Saviour, who, when we pray, hath taught us to say, "Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY EVENING.

O Lord, thou wast before all, thou art above all, and thy years shall not fail. Thou art the Searcher of our hearts; thou knowest the dulness and hardness, the vanity and deceitfulness, of them: we were born sinners, and so have we lived. We have added sin to sin; we have abused thy great and manifold mercies, tempted thy patience, and despised thy goodness; and justly mightest thou have cast us into outer darkness, where is wailing and gnashing of teeth.

But of thy loving-kindnesses there is no number. Thou still callest us to return to thee; and "whosoever cometh to thee, thou wilt in nowise cast out." O meet us with thy heavenly grace, that we may be able to come to thee. Be thou graciously pleased to stretch forth thy hand, and loose the chains wherewith our souls are entangled. O free us from every weight of sin, from every yoke of bondage. O help us to feel, and bewail, and forsake all our sins; and let us never want the comfortable assurance of thy forgiveness of them, thy acceptance of us, and thy love to us, in the blessed Son of thy eternal love.

Thou art never weary, O Lord, of doing us good: let us never be weary of doing thee service. But, as thou hast pleasure in the prosperity of thy servants, so let us take pleasure in the service of our Lord, and abound in thy work, and in thy love and praise evermore. O fill up all that is wanting, reform whatever is amiss, in us, and perfect the thing that concerneth us. Let the witness of thy pardoning love ever abide in all our hearts. O speak into every one of our souls the peace which passeth all understanding; and let us always look upon thee as our Father, reconciled to us in Jesus Christ.

In his great name we cry unto thee in the behalf of the whole race of mankind. O that all the ends of the earth may see the salvation of our

God. Continue thy mercies to this sinful land; teach us at length to know thy will concerning us; and O turn thou all our hearts unto thee, as the heart of one man. Bless the king; O Lord, prolong his days and prosper his government; make him always a "terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well:" and grant unto all magistrates and ministers of thy word, a continual supply of all the needful gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. Be thou a Father to the fatherless, a Husband to the widow, a Refuge to the oppressed, a Physician to the sick, a Helper of the friendless, a God of consolation to the sorrowful and distressed. Bless to us whatsoever thou art pleased to allot us, and every thing that befalls us. Make all work for our good, to build us up in thy grace, and to help us on to thy glory.

Continue thy fatherly care over us this night. O preserve and defend, and bless and keep us, that no evil may befall us, "nor any plague come nigh our dwelling." Give us comfortable sleep to strengthen us for thy service; and whenever thou callest us to the sleep of death, let us cheerfully resign our spirits into thy hands, through the riches of thy grace, and the worthiness of thy Son, in whose merits and mediation alone we put our trust. And for all that he hath done and suffered for us, to thy name, O blessed God of our salvation, be the praise, and honour, and glory, given by us and all thy people, now and for evermore. "Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY MORNING.

We present ourselves before thee, O Lord our God, to pay our tribute of prayer and thanksgiving; desiring thee mercifully to accept us and our services at the hands of Jesus Christ. In his great name we come to beg thy pardon and peace, the increase of thy grace, and the tokens of thy love; for we are not worthy of the least of thy mercies: but worthy is the Lamb that was slain to take away the sin of the world; for whose sake thou wilt give us all things; for he hath fulfilled those holy laws which we had broken, and perfectly satisfied for our offences; and in him thou art a God gracious and merciful to those who deserve nothing but punishment.

O merciful Father, regard not what we have done against thee; but what our blessed Saviour hath done for us. Regard not what we have made ourselves, but what He is made unto us of thee our God. O that Christ may be to every one of our souls, "wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption;" that his precious blood may cleanse us from all our sins; and that thy Holy Spirit may renew and sanctify our souls. May He crucify our flesh with its affections and lusts, and mortify all our members which are upon earth. O let not "sin reign in our mortal bodies, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof;" but, "being made free from sin, let us be the servants of righteousness." Let us approve our hearts to thee, and let all our ways be pleasing in thy sight.

O teach us to know thee our God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent; and enable us to do thy will on earth, as it is done in heaven. Give us to fear thee and to love thee, to trust and delight in thee, and to cleave to thee with full purpose of heart, that no temptations may draw

us or drive us from thee; but that all thy dispensations to us, and thy dealings with us, may be the messengers of thy love to our souls. Quicken us, O Lord, in our dulness, that we may not serve thee in a lifeless and listless manner; but may abound in thy work, and be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. And make us faithful in all our intercourse with our neighbour, that we may be ready to do good and bear evil, that we may be just and kind, merciful and meek, peaceable and patient, sober and temperate, humble and self-denying, inoffensive and useful in the world; that so glorifying thee here, we may be glorified with thee in thy heavenly kingdom.

Day by day we magnify thee, O Lord, who makest every day an addition to thy mercies. We bless thee for preserving us the night past, and for the rest thou gavest us therein. O cause us to hear thy loving-kindness in the morning; for in thee do we trust. Cause us to know the way wherein we shall go, for we lift up our souls unto thee. O take not thy Holy Spirit from us; but direct all our ways to please thee our God. Help us to see thy power, to own thy presence, to admire thy wisdom, and to love thy goodness in all thy creatures; and by all, draw our hearts still nearer to thee. Such thy mercy and grace we beg for ourselves, and all ours and thine every where in our great Mediator's blessed words:—"Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY EVENING.

O Lord our God, thou art infinitely good, and thou hast showed us what is good. Thou sendest out thy light and thy truth, that they may guide us, and makest plain thy way before our face. Thou givest us many opportunities and advantages, to quicken and farther us in thy service. We have "line upon line," and "precept upon precept;" thy messengers early and late to open and apply thy word, to call and warn, to direct and exhort us, with all long suffering. But how little have we improved all the precious talents, which thou hast put into our hands!

O Lord, thou mightest justly take away the Gospel of thy kingdom from us, and give it unto another people, who would bring forth the fruits thereof. Because thou hast called, and we refused; thou hast stretched forth thy hands, and we have not regarded; thou mightest leave us to our own perverseness and impenitence, till our iniquities became our ruin.

But, O Lord God, enter not thus into judgment with thy servants. Pardon all our contempt of thy word, and our not profiting thereby. And help us for the time to come better to improve the blessed opportunities set before us. "As the rain descends from heaven and returns not thither, but waters the earth and maketh it fruitful; so let not thy word return unto thee void, but prosper in the work whereunto thou sendest it." O make it effectual to build us all up, in the true fear and love of God, and in the right knowledge and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

O gracious God, may thy Spirit cause thy word to work thoroughly and successfully in all our hearts. And as we daily receive how we ought to walk and to please thee our God; so help us to "walk worthy

of the Lord unto all well-pleasing;" increasing in the knowledge and love of thee, and abounding more and more in every good work which is pleasing in thy sight through Jesus Christ.

At his hands, O Lord our God, we beg thy gracious acceptance of our humble praise and thanksgiving for all thy blessings, spiritual and temporal, so freely conferred upon us. We praise thee for all the comforts and conveniences of this life, and for all the means and hopes of a better; particularly for what we have received this day; the food of our souls set before us, the word of salvation sounding in our ears, and the Spirit of God striving with our hearts. O withdraw not thy tender mercies from us, but still continue thy accustomed goodness, and increase thy grace and heavenly blessings upon us, and rejoice over us to do us good.

In mercy pass by all which thy most pure and holy eyes have seen amiss in us this day. Forgive the iniquities of our holy things; overlook all our sins and failings through our great Mediator and Redeemer, who ever lives at thy right hand to make intercession for us. And for Jesus Christ, and all which thou art pleased to give us together with him, "not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name" be all the praise, and honour, and glory, humbly ascribed by us, and all thy Church, now and for evermore! "Our Father," &c.

PRAYERS FOR CHILDREN.

PREFACE.

My dear Child,—A lover of your soul has here drawn up a few prayers, in order to assist you in that great duty. Be sure that you do not omit, at least morning and evening, to present yourself upon your knees before God. You have mercies to pray for, and blessings to praise God for. But take care that you do not mock God, drawing near with your lips, while your heart is far from him. God sees you, and knows your thoughts; therefore, see that you not only speak with your lips, but pray with your heart. And that you may not ask in vain, see that you forsake sin, and make it your endeavour to do what God has shown you ought; because God says, "The prayers of the wicked are an abomination unto the Lord." Ask then of God for the blessings you want, in the name, and for the sake, of Jesus Christ, and God will hear and aswer you, and do more for you than you can either ask or think.

John Wesley.

LORD'S DAY MORNING.

O Almighty God, Maker of all mankind, in whom we live, and move, and have our being, who makest the outgoings of the morning and the evening to rejoice, suffer me now to approach thy divine Majesty with all reverence and godly fear. I desire to adore thy sacred name, who hast in thy goodness brought me in safety to behold the beginning of a new day and another Sabbath. I bless thee, who hast in love to my soul, and for the glory of thy name, set apart this day for holy uses, to engage me in thy service, wherein consists my honour and happiness. This is thy day: O Lord, enable me to rejoice and be glad in it. May

I ever remember to keep it holy, not doing my own works, nor finding my own pleasure, nor speaking my own words; but so delight in thee, that thou mayest give me my heart's desire. Bless to me thy word, O my heavenly Father, and all the means of grace, that I may not use them in vain or to my own hurt, but for the instructing my mind, reforming my life, and the saving my soul. Save me from all hardness of heart and contempt of thy word; increase my love to it, and enable me to hear it meekly, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth fruit unto good living. Open my understanding to receive thy truth in the love thereof. Set it so powerfully upon my heart, and root it so deep in my soul, that the fruits thereof may be seen in my life, to thy glory and praise. May I always so hear, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest thy word, that it may be a savour of life to my soul. O let me not offer vain oblations unto the Lord, drawing nigh with my lips, while my heart is far from thee. But do thou enable me to worship thee with holy worship, with joy and delight, with profit and pleasure. Fill me with a comfortable sense of thy presence, that I may serve thee with reverence and godly fear, to the comfort of my soul and the glory of thy name. O Lord God, do thou clothe thy priests with righteousness, and let thy saints rejoice and sing. Break the bread of life to all our souls, that we may eat and live for ever. O Lord, hear my prayers, and let my cry come unto thee. Do more and better for me than I can either desire or deserve, for the sake of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer. Jesus Christ; to whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghost. be all praise and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

LORD'S DAY EVENING.

Merciful God, permit me to pay thee, now, my evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, for all the blessings and favours to my body and soul, so freely bestowed, and so long continued unto me. Thou hast dealt graciously with me, O Lord God, and hast been exceedingly good and kind to me, beyond all that I had reason to expect, or am able to express. I bless thee, O Lord, for every help which I enjoy to the promoting my present and eternal good. I desire to ascribe all praise and glory to thee, to whom alone it is due. O Lord, I bless thee that thy house is open to me, the bread of life offered me, the word of salvation preached, and thy Spirit striving with me. O suffer me not to receive thy grace in vain, nor let thy word be lost upon me. Do thou apply it to my heart, and fix it in my memory, that it may prove a blessing to my soul. In mercy, O Lord, pass by all things which in thy pure and holy eyes have been amiss this day past; pardon my neglects, and the guilt of my misdoings. And as I have heard how to walk and to please thee, O my God, help me to walk more worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing, that I may be built up in thy true fear and love, and in the right

knowledge and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. Be thou pleased to second every word of instruction that I have received with the power of thy grace and Holy Spirit; and above all, O blessed God, do thou give me a heart filled with thy love, and lifted up in thy praise, and devoted to thy honour and glory all the days of my life. Take me, O Lord God, my Saviour, into thy gracious care and protection. Preserve me from all dangers in the night season. Let me lay down and sleep in thy arms, and when the trumpet shall sound, and at last call me from the sleep of death, let me be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so for ever be with the Lord. All these mercies, O my God, I most humbly ask, for the alone sake of Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY MORNING.

O Lord God Almighty, Father of angels and men, I praise and bless thy holy name for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to me and all mankind. I bless thee for my creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all, for thy great love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ. I bless thee for preserving me in the night past, and bringing me safe to the beginning of a new day. Defend me in the same with thy mighty power, and grant that this day I fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but let all my doings be so ordered by thy governance, that I may do always that which is righteous in thy sight, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Grant me such grace, that I may be able to withstand the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and with a pure heart and mind to follow the steps of my gracious Redeemer. Keep me, I beseech thee, O Lord, from all things hurtful to my soul or body, and grant me thy pardon and peace, that, being cleansed from all my sins, I may serve thee with a quiet mind, bring forth plenteously the fruit of good works, and continue in the same unto my life's end, through Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

MONDAY EVENING.

Almighty God, who art the gracious Preserver of all mankind, I desire now to offer unto thee my praise and thanksgivings, for all the blessings thou hast this day bestowed upon me. I confess, O my God, that I am unworthy of the least of all thy mercies; for I have gone astray like a lost sheep. I have followed too much the devices and desires of my own heart. I have offended against thy holy laws. I have left undone those things which I ought to have done, and have done those things which I ought not to have done; and there is no health in me. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, a miserable offender. Spare me, O Lord, who now confess my faults unto thee. Enable me to bewail my manifold sins and offences, which I have from time to time most grievously committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty. Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, most merciful Father; for my Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, forgive me all that is past, and grant me thy grace, that I may ever hereafter serve and

please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Take me under thy gracious care and keeping this night; save and defend me from all dangers. Grant unto my body rest in my bed, and unto my soul rest in thyself; and be thou my God and my guide, my hope and my help, my joy and my comfort, now and for evermore, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY MORNING.

O THOU Father of all mercies, and God of all goodness, I praise and bless thy name for thy mercies and favours unto me in the night past, and for bringing me safe to behold the light of a new day. Send down thy heavenly grace into my soul, that I may be enabled to worship thee and serve thee as I ought to do. Enable me to believe in thee, to fear thee, and to love thee with all my heart, and mind, and soul, and strength; that I may honour thy holy name and word, and serve thee truly, this, and all the days of my life. Give me thy grace, that I may love all mankind as myself, and do unto all, as I would they should do unto me. Enable me to love and honour my parents, obey my superiors, and submit to all my teachers. Suffer me not to hurt any body by word or deed. Make me just and honest in all my dealings. Let me not bear any malice or hatred in my heart. Keep my hands from picking and stealing, my tongue from evil speaking, lying, and slandering; keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity; that I may not covet any person's goods, but learn and labour to get my own living, and to do my duty in the state of life wherein it shall please thee to place me. Direct me so to pass through things temporal, that I may not finally lose the things which are eternal, but at last be received into thy presence, where is fulness of joy, and be seated at thy right hand, where are pleasures for evermore, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

TUESDAY EVENING.

O LORD God, the gracious Giver of all good things, I praise and adore thee for thy goodness, which has been so plentiful toward me an unworthy child of man. Thou hast, in thy mercy, not only preserved me this day from all dangers, but bestowed upon me all things needful, for which I desire entirely to praise thy fatherly goodness, and with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, to laud and magnify thy holy name. Bless, then, the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name; for the Lord is gracious, and his mercy is everlasting toward them that fear him. And now, Lord, I most humbly implore thy fatherly goodness to forgive me whatever has this day, in my heart or life, offended the eyes of thy glory. O Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, receive my prayer. Prevent me, O Lord, in all my doings for the time to come, and farther me with thy continual help, that, in all my thoughts, words, and works, I may continually glorify thy holy name. Grant me thy grace, that I may follow thy blessed saints in all righteousness and holy living, that I may at last come to be a partaker with them of glory ever-

lasting. Do thou enable me, gracious Lord, to adorn thy Gospel in all holy conversation, and to do whatever I do to the glory of thy name. Cleanse the thoughts of my heart, by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that I may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy name. Let thy fatherly hand be ever over me, and thy Holy Spirit be ever with me; and do thou so lead me in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that, in the end, I may obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ my Lord. And now, O Lord, as the night is come upon me, and as I am ready to betake myself to rest, I desire to commit myself to thy protection, who neither slumberest nor sleepest, but hast still a watchful eye over me: O watch over me for good, that none of the evils I deserve may fall upon me. Preserve me from all terrors and dangers in the night. Remove my sin out of thy sight, and show me the light of thy countenance, and refresh me with the sense of thy favour, through Jesus Christ my Redeemer; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and praise for ever and ever. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

O Lord God Almighty, Fountain of all goodness, and Father of all mercies, I desire again to bow my knee before thy holy Majesty, humbly beseeching thee to accept my praise and thanksgivings for thy mercies to me in the night season. I laid me down and slept, and rose up again in safety; for it was thou only, O Lord, that sustainedst me. And now, O my soul, return unto thy rest. Look upon me, O Lord, in thy rich mercy, and, for thy dear Son's sake, be gracious unto my soul. Lighten my darkness, I beseech thee, O Lord, and let the dayspring from on high visit me. Enable me to cast away all the works of darkness, and to put upon me the armour of light, that I may be able to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil; to keep thy holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of my life. Give me, O Lord, wisdom to know the things that belong to my peace, before I go hence, and am no more seen. Graft in my heart the love of thy name, increase in me true religion, and nourish me with all goodness. Give me the spirit to think and do always such things as be rightful. Teach me to ask and seek only such things as shall please thee and profit my soul. Give me such a measure of thy grace, that I may run the way of thy commandments, obtain thy gracious promises, and be made a partaker of thy heavenly treasures. Pour down upon me the abundance of thy mercy. Give me more than I can either desire or deserve. O give me the increase of faith, hope, and love; and keep me ever by thy help from all things hurtful, and lead me to all things useful. Let thy grace always prevent and follow me, that I may be continually given to all good works, and may always glorify my Father which is in heaven. These, and every other blessing, for me, and for thy whole Church, I humbly beg in the name, and for the sake of the merits, of Jesus Christ my Redeemer; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, &c. "Our Father," &c.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

O God, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, I most humbly beseech thee now to accept my sincere praise and thanksgiving for all

the blessings and mercies that I have enjoyed this day. It is thou, O Lord, alone, who hast preserved me from dangers; and from thy gracious bounty have I received all things needful to promote my present and eternal happiness. Not unto me, O Lord, not unto me, but unto thy name, be the praise. O Lord, I am unworthy, through my manifold sins, to offer thee any sacrifice; yet, as thy property is to have mercy and to forgive, I beseech thee to accept this my bounden duty; not dealing with me according to my deserving, but after thy mercy, and the merits of thy dear Son Jesus Christ. I confess unto thee, O my God, that I am tied and bound with the chain of my sins; yet, let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose me. I have no power of myself to help myself; O do thou keep me by thy grace, both outwardly in my body, and inwardly in my soul, that I may be enabled to present both body and soul a holy and pleasing sacrifice unto thee, through my Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Grant me, O my God, grace, that I may love what thou hast commanded, and earnestly desire what thou hast promised. Enable me, amidst the many changes of this world, to fix my heart constantly upon things above. May I, both in heart and mind, constantly thither ascend, whither my Saviour Jesus Christ, is gone before, to prepare a place for me. Bring me up, O Lord, in thy fear and love. Keep me under the protection of thy good providence. Hide me under the shadow of thy wings; keep me from the evils of this world, and land me safe at last on that blissful shore, where all is quietness and assurance for ever.

Into thy hands, O my God, I this night commend my soul and body. Give thy angels charge over me, and grant me such rest and sleep as may fit me for the duties of the following day. And, O my God, do thou prepare me for my last sleep in death, my departure out of this mortal state; that, before I go hence, I may finish the work thou hast given me to do, and at last finish my course with joy through Jesus Christ my Lord. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY MORNING.

O THOU eternal Fountain of all wisdom, whom I cannot see or know but by the means of thy own light, vouchsafe to manifest thyself to my soul, and teach me to know aright thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. O blessed Sun of Righteousness, arise upon me with healing in thy wings, to scatter all the clouds of folly and ignorance that overspread my soul. Open my eyes to see the wondrous things thy love has wrought. Suffer me not to remain in darkness concerning any thing that is needful for me to know in order to my present peace and my eternal glory. O Lord, incline mine ears to wisdom, and my heart to understanding, that I may follow on to know the Lord, and increase in the knowledge and love of God. Give me, O Lord, that highest learning, to know thee; and that best wisdom, to know myself. Command a blessing on my studies and endeavours; and bless me, and help me, Lord, in my learning all such things as shall stand me in stead, and do me good. Let my soul and body, and all their powers, be under thy conduct, and employed to thy glory. Show me thy ways, O Lord, and lead me into truth; and whatever I am ignorant of, unto me let it be given to know the mysteries of thy kingdom; and let me count all things

but dung and dross for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen. Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep me this day from all sin. Bless my going out and coming in, now and for evermore. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

THURSDAY EVENING

O MY heavenly Father, who tookest me out of my mother's womb, who wast my hope when I hanged yet upon my mother's breast, I have been preserved by thee ever since I was born; O go not from me in this my youth, but send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me to thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling place. Teach me thy way, O Lord, and enable me to walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name; and give me understanding in the way of godliness. Lord, I am young, and cannot discern between good and evil: O let me not go out of the way of thy commandments. Learn me true understanding and knowledge. Teach me to do the thing that pleaseth thee; for thou art my God. Let thy loving Spirit lead me forth into all the paths of righteousness. Let my study day and night be in thy word, that I may become wise unto salvation. Make thy word a light unto my feet, and a lamp to my path: guide me here with thy counsel, and after that receive me into glory. Withdraw not thou thy mercy from me, O my God; but let thy loving kindness and thy truth always preserve me. Give thy blessing to me, and with thy favourable kindness defend me, as with a shield. Show me the path of life, and enable me to walk therein, till I come into thy presence, where is fulness of joy, and to thy right hand, where are pleasures for evermore. As thou hast been pleased to preserve me this day, and hast bestowed upon me all things needful, I desire to bless thy name for the same. Take care of me this night, O Lord, and visit me with thy mercies. Preserve me, O Lord, from every thing hurtful, and let thy merciful arms for ever surround me, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY MORNING.

O LORD my God, I am taught by thy word, that I am by nature born in sin and a child of wrath, and that except I am born again I cannot see the kingdom of God. O Lord, do thou teach me the meaning of the new birth, that I, a child of wrath, may become a child of grace. Lord, take away the veil from my heart, that I may know my sinful nature. Make the remembrance of my sins grievous unto me, and the burden of them intolerable. Lead me then to the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, that I may there wash and be cleansed. Suffer me not to rest till I find redemption in thy blood, even the forgiveness of all my sins. It has pleased thee, O Lord, to hide these things from the wise and prudent, and to reveal them unto babes. Reveal then, O Lord, thy love in my soul. Let me taste and see how good and gracious thou art. Suffer a child to come unto thee, and forbid me not. I am unworthy; but receive me as thou didst the little children of old into thy gracious

arms, and adopt me thine for ever. Shed abroad in my heart thy love, and fill me with all peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Let every thought, word, and deed, be henceforth to the glory of thy great name through Jesus Christ, and at last grant me an abundant entrance into thy everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Be thou with me, O Lord, this day, to bless and keep, guide and govern me, and let me be thine, and only thine, for ever. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

FRIDAY EVENING.

O THOU ever blessed God, the Author and Giver of life, I desire with all humility to draw near unto thy gracious majesty, to offer up unto thee my evening sacrifice of prayer and praise. Thou alone, O God, art worthy to be praised, and to be had in everlasting remembrance. Glory be to thee, O most adorable Lord God. Glory be to thy name for all thy mercies and goodness bestowed on me thy most unworthy servant, in the day that is now past. Give me a due sense of all thy mercies, that my heart may be unfeignedly thankful, and grant me thy grace, that I may show forth thy praise not only with my lips but in my life. Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness. According to the multitude of thy mercies, do away mine offences. Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from all my sins. Turn thy face from my sins, and put out all my misdeeds. Create in me a clean heart, O my God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, neither withdraw thy loving-kindness from me. "Spare me, O Lord, whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with me for ever." For the glory of thy name, turn from me those evils that I have most righteously deserved, and enable me to walk before thee henceforth in holiness and righteousness to thy praise and glory. Let thy mercy and goodness follow me all the days of my life, and be thou my guide unto death, and my portion for ever. Give me thy grace, that I may duly consider my latter end and the fewness of my days, that I may seriously apply my heart unto wisdom, and work out my salvation with fear and trembling, before the night of death cometh upon me, wherein no man can work. Enable me so to live, that I may not only be looking but also longing for my Saviour's appearing; that when he shall come, I may also appear with him in glory. And now, O Lord my God, I beseech thee, take me under thy protection this night, and preserve me from all evil. I will lay me down in peace and take my rest; for it is thou, Lord, only that makest me dwell in safety. In thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. These and all other mercies I humbly beg in the name of my Mediator Jesus Christ. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY MORNING.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, I bless thee, that of thy infinite goodness thou hast preserved me this night past, and brought me in safety to this morning. Withdraw not, I humbly beseech thee, thy protection from me, but take me under the care of thy providence this day. Watch

over me with the eyes of thy mercy, direct my soul and body according to the rule of thy will, that I may pass this and all my days to thy glory. O Lord, I am but a child, and know not how to go out or come in; and I am in the midst of a sinful world. Give therefore unto thy servant an understanding heart, that I may know and choose the good, and abhor and shun that which is evil. According to thy mercy, think upon me, O Lord, for thy goodness. Make me to remember thee in the days of my youth. O learn me true wisdom, and let the law of thy mouth be dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver, and let my whole delight be therein. O let me be devoted to thee from my childhood. Keep out of my heart all love of the world, of riches, or any other created thing, and fill it with the love of God. Thou knowest how many and powerful are the enemies of my soul, that seek to destroy it, the flesh and the devil. O Lord, help; O Lord, save; O Lord, deliver me from them. Give me grace to renounce them all, and to keep thy holy will and commandments all the days of my life. Show me and make me what I must be before I can inherit thy kingdom. Teach me the truth as it is in Jesus. Save me from my own will, and let thine be done in me and by me. O make me thy child by adoption and grace. Renew me daily with thy Holy Spirit, and guide me in all my ways, till thou hast perfected me for thy heavenly kingdom. Make me dutiful to my parents, affectionate to my relations, obedient to my superiors, and loving toward all mankind. And grant that as I grow in stature, I may grow in wisdom and in thy favour, till thou shalt take me to thine everlasting kingdom, there to dwell with thee for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

SATURDAY EVENING.

I DESIRE to offer unto thee, O Lord, my evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all thy mercies bestowed upon me. I bless thee for my creation, preservation, and above all, for my redemption by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I bless thee for bringing me safely to the conclusion of this day, and humbly implore the pardon of all the sins I have been guilty of, whether in thought, word, or deed. Have mercy upon me, O God, and do thou free me from all the sins I have committed, and deliver me from the punishment I have deserved. O thou blessed Guide of my youth, give me thy grace to seek after thee in my early years, that thou mayest not be unmindful of me in the time of age. Keep me from the evil of the world, and carry me safe through it to thy kingdom. Take care of me, and provide for me, and dispose of me in the world, as shall be most for thy glory and my good. Leave me not to myself, in the hands of my own counsel, but let me be taught of God. Take thou, O Lord, the gracious charge, and guidance, and government of me, and fix in my heart thy fear and love, and direct all my ways to please not myself but thee. O redeem me from the power of my sins by thy grace, and from the punishment of them by thy blood, and by both bring me to thy glory. I desire, O my God, to give up myself wholly to thee. I would be thine, and only thine, for ever. O my God, my Saviour, turn not away thy face from a poor child that seeks thee.

Give me to know that I am nothing, and can do nothing, of myself; and that if ever I am thine, I must be wholly indebted to thee for it. Let me be entirely devoted unto thee, and do thou make me obedient and faithful unto the end. Make me to remember thee in my bed, and think upon thee when I am waking; thou hast preserved me from the dangers of the day past, thou hast been my support ever since I was born. Under the shadow of thy wings let me pass this night in comfort and peace. Keep me both in body and soul, and give me such rest as my body has need of. And grant, O Lord, that when I lay down my body in the grave, my soul may rise to life immortal, through the merits and intercession of thy dear Son, my Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen. "Our Father," &c.

A Prayer for Relations, Friends, &c, to be used after Morning and Evening Prayer.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to bless my father and mother, and all my relations, with the fear of thy name. Bless them in their souls and bodies; perfect them in every good word and work, and be thou their guide unto death. Bless my friends, forgive my enemies; and grant unto all mankind the knowledge and love of thee. Have mercy upon all who are afflicted in mind, body, or estate. Give them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions; and receive them and me at last into thy blessed kingdom, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

Grace before Meat.

O Lord, I beseech thee, give thy blessing with what thy mercy has here provided me with, that whether I eat or drink, or whatsoever I do, I may do all to thy glory and praise, through Jesus Christ my Lord. Amen.

After Meals.

O Lord my God, I bless thy holy name for this mercy, which I have now received from thy bounty and goodness. Feed now my soul with thy grace, that I may make it my meat and drink to do thy gracious will, through Jesus Christ my Saviour. Amen.

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN FLETCHER.

Sequor, non passibus æquis! [I follow, at a slower pace!]

TO THE READER.

No man in England has had so long an acquaintance with Mr. Fletcher as myself. Our acquaintance began almost as soon as his arrival in London, about the year 1752, before he entered into holy orders, or, I believe, had any such intention; and it continued uninterrupted between thirty and forty years, even till it pleased God to take him to himself. Nor was ours a slight or ordinary acquaintance; but we were of one heart and of one soul. We had no secrets between us for many years; we did not purposely hide any thing from each other. From time to time he consulted me, and I him, on the most important occasions; and he constantly professed, not only much esteem, but, what I valued far more, much affection. He told me in one of his letters,—I doubt not from his heart,

Tecum vivere amem; tecum obeam lubens.

"With thee I gladly would both live and die."

I therefore think myself obliged by the strongest ties to pay this small tribute to his memory. But you may easily observe, that, in doing this, I am little more than a compiler; for I owe a great, if not the greatest, part of the ensuing tract to a few friends, who have been at no small pains in furnishing me with materials; and, above all, to my dear friend, (such she has been almost from her childhood,) Mrs. Fletcher. I could easily have altered both her's and their language, while I retained their sentiments; but I was conscious I could not alter it for the better; and I would not alter for altering' sake; but judged it fairest to give you most of their accounts, very nearly in their own words.

AMSTERDAM, September 12, 1786.

CHAPTER I.

OF HIS PARENTAGE AND YOUTH.

1. JOHN WILLIAM DE LA FLECHERE (this was properly his name) was born at Nyon, in Switzerland, a town about fifteen miles north of Geneva, on September the twelfth, in the year 1729. His father was an officer in the French service, till he left the army in order to marry; but after a time he returned to the army, and was a colonel in the militia of his own country.

2. In his early childhood he had much of the fear of God, and great tenderness of conscience. One day, having offended his father, who threatened to correct him, he did not dare to come into his presence, but retired into the garden; and when he saw him coming toward him, he ran away with all speed. But he was presently struck with deep remorse, and said to himself, "What! do I run away from my father? Perhaps I shall live to have a son that will run away from me." And it was several years before the impression which he then received was worn off.

3. Another instance of his tenderness of conscience occurred when he was about seven years of age: he was one day reproved by the nursery maid, saying, "You are a naughty boy. Do you not know, that the devil is to take away all naughty children?" He was no sooner in bed, than he began to reflect very deeply upon her words: he thought, "I am a naughty boy; and how do I know but God may let the devil take me away this night?" He then got up and wrestled with God in prayer for a considerable time; and he would not go to bed again till he believed God had forgiven him.

4. The following accounts Mr. Fletcher himself gave to Mr. Samuel Webb, of London, then residing at Madeley:—

'When I was a lad, I had a design to get some fruit out of my father's garden: the door being locked, I could not get in, but by climbing over the wall. This was very high; but with some difficulty I got to the top of it. As I was walking upon it, my foot slipped, and I fell down to the bottom. But just where I fell a large quantity of fresh-made mortar was laid. I fell exactly upon it. This broke my fall, or it might have cost me my life.

5. "Once, as I was swimming by myself in a deep water, one end of a strong riband which bound my hair, getting loose I know not how, and twisting about my leg, tied me as it were neck and heels. I strove with all my strength to disengage myself; but it was to no purpose. No person being within call, I gave myself up for lost. But when I had given over struggling, the riband loosed of itself.

6. "Another instance of the tender care which God had over me was as follows:—One evening I and four young gentlemen, in high spirits, made a solemn agreement with each other to swim the next day to a rocky island, five miles distant from the shore. But this foolish adventure was within a very little of costing us all our lives. I and another indeed did with great difficulty and hazard swim to the island; but when we came thither, the rock was so steep and smooth, that we could not possibly climb up. After swimming round several times, and making many ineffectual efforts, we thought we must perish there; but at length one of us found a place, where he made a shift to crawl up. He then helped his companion after him. The others swam about half way. A boat then took them up, when they were just sinking. Another boat, which we had ordered to follow us, afterward came and took us home."

7. A still more remarkable deliverance it is of which he gave an account in the year 1760: "Some years since, I lived at a place very near the river Rhine. In that part, it is broader than the Thames at London Bridge, and extremely rapid. But, having been long practised in swimming, I made no scruple of going into it at any time; only I was always careful to keep near the shore, that the stream might not carry me away. Once, however, being less careful than usual, I was unawares drawn into the mid channel. The water there was extremely rough, and poured along like a galloping horse. I endeavoured to swim against it, but in vain, till I was hurried far from home. When I was almost spent, I rested upon my back, and then looked about for a landing place, finding I must either land or sink. With much difficulty I got near the shore; but the rocks were so ragged and sharp, that I saw, if I attempted to land there, I should be torn in pieces; so I was constrained to turn again to the mid stream. At last, despairing of life, I was cheered by the sight of a fine smooth creek, into which I was swiftly carried by a violent stream. A building stood directly across it, which I did not then know to be a powder mill. The last thing I can remember was, the striking of my breast against one of the piles whereon it stood. I then lost my senses, and knew nothing more, till I rose on the other side of the mill. When I came to myself, I was in a calm, safe place, perfectly well, without

any soreness or weariness at all. Nothing was amiss but the distance of my clothes, the stream having driven me five miles from the place where I left them. Many persons gladly welcomed me on shore; one gentleman in particular, who said, 'I looked when you went under the mill, and again when you rose on the other side; and the time of your being immerged among the piles, was exactly twenty minutes.'"

But some will say, "Why, this was a miracle!" Undoubtedly it was. It was not a natural event; but a work wrought above the power of nature, probably by the ministry of angels.

8. When he was yet very young, his father sent him to the university of Geneva. After he had gone through the usual course of study, it was the desire of his parents that he should be a clergyman. But it was his own desire and resolution to be an officer in the army. Not being able to gain their consent to this, he, without their consent, went away to Lisbon. Here he gathered a company of his own countrymen, accepted of a captain's commission, and engaged to serve the king of Portugal, on board a man-of-war, which was just then getting ready with all speed in order to sail to Brazil. He then wrote to his parents, begging them to send him a considerable sum of money. Of this he expected to make a vast advantage. But they refused him roughly: unmoved by this, he determined to go without it, as soon as the ship sailed. But in the morning, the maid, waiting on him at breakfast, let the tea-kettle fall, and so scalded his leg that he kept his bed for a considerable time after. During that time, the ship sailed for Brazil. But it was observed, that ship was heard of no more.

9. But how is this reconcilable with the account which has been given of his piety when he was a child? Very easily: it only shows, that his piety declined while he was at the university. (And this is too often the case of other youths in our own universities.) But it pleased God at or before his journey to England to lift up his head again.

10. His desire of being an officer in the army continued after he returned from Lisbon. And when he was informed, that his uncle, then a colonel in the Dutch service, had procured a commission for him, he joyfully set out for Flanders. But just at that time the peace was concluded; and his uncle dying quickly after, his hopes were blasted, and he gave up all thoughts of going into the army; and, being disengaged from all business, he thought it would not be amiss to spend a little time in England.

11. Coming to the custom house in London, with some other young gentlemen, none of whom could speak any English, they were treated with the utmost surliness and ill manners by some brutish custom house officers. These not only took out and jumbled together all the things that were in their portmanteaus, but took away their letters of recommendation; telling them, "All letters must be sent by the post." They are such saucy and ill-mannered wretches as these that bring up an evil report on our nation. Britons might well be styled, *hospitibus feri*, [cruel to strangers,] if they were all like these vermin.

12. From hence they went to an inn; but here they were under another difficulty. As they spoke no English, they could not tell how to exchange their foreign into English money; till Mr. Fletcher going to the door, heard a well dressed Jew talking French. He told him the

difficulty they were under, with regard to the exchange of money. The Jew replied, "Give me your money, and I will get it changed in five minutes." Mr. Fletcher without delay gave him his purse, in which were ninety pounds. As soon as he came back to his company, he told them what he had done. They all cried out with one voice, "Then your money is gone. You need never expect to see a crown or a doit of it any more. Men are constantly waiting about the doors of these inns, on purpose to take in young strangers." Seeing no remedy, no way to help himself, he could only commend his cause to God. And that was enough;—before they had done breakfast, in came the Jew, and brought him the whole money.

13. Inquiring for a person who was proper to perfect him in the English tongue, (the rudiments of which he had begun to learn before he left Geneva,) he was recommended to Mr. Burchell, who then kept a boarding school at South Nimms in Hertfordshire. And when Mr. Burchell removed to Hatfield, he chose to remove with him. All the time he was both at South Nimms and at Hatfield, he was of a serious and reserved behaviour; very different from that of the other young gentlemen who were his fellow-students. Here he diligently studied both the English language, and all the branches of polite literature. Meantime his easy and genteel behaviour, together with his eminent sweetness of temper, gained him the esteem as well as the affection of all that conversed with him. He frequently visited some of the first families in Hatfield, who were all fond of his conversation; so lively and ingenious at the same time, evidencing both the gentleman and the scholar. All this time he had the fear of God deeply rooted in his heart. But he had none to take him by the hand, and lead him forward in the ways of God. He stayed with Mr. Burchell about eighteen months, who loved him as his own son.

14. Afterward, one Mr. Dechamps, a French minister, to whom he had been recommended, procured him the place of tutor to the two sons of Thomas Hill, Esq., at Tern Hall, in Shropshire. In the year 1752, he removed into Mr. Hill's family, and entered upon the important province of instructing the young gentlemen. He still feared God, but had not yet an experimental sense of his love. Nor was he convinced of his own fallen state, till one Sunday evening, a servant came in to make up his fire while he was writing some music, who, looking at him with serious concern, said, "Sir, I am sorry to see you so employed on the Lord's day." At first his pride was alarmed, and his resentment moved, at being reproved by a servant. But upon reflection, he felt the reproof was just. He immediately put away his music, and from that very hour became a strict observer of the Lord's day.

15. I have heard two very different accounts of the manner wherein he had the first notice of the people called Methodists. But I think it reasonable to prefer to any other, that which I received from his own mouth. This was as follows:—

When Mr. Hill went up to London to attend the parliament, he took his family and Mr. Fletcher with him. While they stopped at St. Alban's, he walked out into the town and did not return till they were set out for London. A horse being left for him, he rode after, and overtook them in the evening. Mr. Hill asking him why he stayed behind, he said

"As I was walking, I met with a poor old woman who talked so sweetly of Jesus Christ, that I knew not how the time passed away." "I shall wonder," said Mrs. H., "if our tutor does not turn Methodist by and by." "Methodist, madam," said he, "pray, what is that?" She replied, "Why, the Methodists are a people that do nothing but pray; they are praying all day and all night." "Are they?" said he; "then, by the help of God, I will find them out, if they be above ground." He did find them out not long after, and was admitted into the society. And from this time, whenever he was in town, he met in Mr. Richard Edwards's class. This he found so profitable to his soul, that he lost no opportunity of meeting. And he retained a peculiar regard for Mr. Edwards till the day of his death.

CHAPTER II.

OF HIS CONVERSION TO GOD.

1. It will be most satisfactory to the serious reader, to give an account of this in his own words. They run thus: "The 12th of January, in the year 1755, I received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though my heart was as hard as a stone. The following day, I felt the tyranny of sin more than ever, and an uncommon coldness in all religious duties. I felt the burden of my corruptions heavier than ever; there was no rest in my flesh. I called upon the Lord, but with such heaviness as made me fear it was lost labour. Many a time did I take up the Bible to seek comfort; but not being able to read, I shut it again. The thoughts which engrossed my mind were these: 'I am undone. I have wandered from God more than ever. I have trampled under foot the frequent convictions which God has wrought in my heart. Instead of going straight to Christ, I have wasted my time in fighting against sin by the sole use of the means of grace; as if the means would do me good without the blessing of God. I never had faith; and without faith it is impossible to please God: therefore all my thoughts, words, and works, however specious before men, are utterly sinful before God. And if I am not changed before I go hence, I am lost to all eternity.'

2. "When I saw that all my endeavours availed nothing against my conquering sin, I almost gave up all hope, and resolved to sin on and go to hell. Yet I had a strange thought, 'If I do go to hell, I will praise God there. And since I cannot be a monument of his mercy in heaven, I will be a monument of his justice in hell.' But I soon recovered my ground. I thought, 'Christ died for all; therefore he died for me. He died to pluck such sinners as I am out of the devil's teeth. And as I sincerely desire to be his, he will surely take me to himself. He will surely let me know before I die, that he has died for me. If he leaves me for awhile in this dreadful state, it is only to show me the depth he draws me out of.' But then I thought, 'Perhaps he will do it only at my dying hour. And must I sin on till then? How can I endure this?' But I thought again, 'My Saviour was above three-and-thirty years on earth. Let me wait for him as many years, and then I may have some excuse for my impatience. Does God owe me any thing? Is he bound to time or place? Do I deserve any thing at his hands but damnation?' Yet anger was always one of the sins which I could not overcome. I went on sinning and repenting, and sinning again; but still calling on God's mercy through Christ.

3. "I was now beat out of all my strong holds. I felt my helplessness, and lay at the feet of Christ. I cried, 'Save me, Lord, as a brand plucked out of the fire! Give me justifying faith; for the devil will surely reign over me, till thou takest me into thy hand. I shall only be an instrument in his

hand to work wickedness, till thou stretch out thy almighty hand, and save thy lost creature by free, unmerited grace.' I seldom went to private prayer, but this thought came into my mind, 'This may be the happy hour, when thou wilt prevail with God!' But still I was disappointed. I cried to God; but my heart did not go with my lips. I prayed, but often could hardly keep awake. When overcome with heaviness, I went to bed, beseeching God to spare me till the next day, that I might renew my wrestling with him, till I should prevail.

4. "On Sunday the 19th, in the evening, I heard an excellent sermon on these words, 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.' I heard it attentively, but my heart was not moved. I was only still more convinced, that I was an unbeliever, and that till I had faith, I should never have peace. The hymn after sermon suited the subject; but I could not join in singing it. So I sat mourning, while others rejoiced. I went home, still resolving to wrestle with the Lord, like Jacob, till I should become a prevailing Israel.

5. "I begged of God, the following day, to show me the wickedness of my heart. I besought him to increase my convictions; for I was afraid, I did not mourn enough for my sins. But I found relief in Mr. Wesley's Journal, where I learned, that we should not build on what we feel, but go to Christ with all our sins, and all our hardness of heart. On the 21st, I wrote down part of what filled my heart; namely, a confession of my sins, misery, and helplessness, together with a resolution to seek Christ even unto death. In the evening, I read the Scriptures, and found a sort of pleasure in seeing a picture of my own wickedness exactly drawn in the third of the Romans, and that of my present condition in the seventh. I often wished to be acquainted with somebody who had been in my condition; and resolved to seek for one to whom I might unbosom my whole soul. On Thursday, Satan beset me hard: I sinned, and grievously too. And now I almost gave up all hope; I was on the brink of despair; and nevertheless continued to fall into sin as often as I had temptation. But I must observe, that though I frequently thought hell would be my portion, yet I never was much afraid of it: whether this was owing to a secret hope, or to hardness of heart, I know not. But I was continually crying out, 'What stupidity! I see myself hanging over hell, as it were by a single thread! And yet I am not afraid, but sin on! O what is man without the grace of God! A very devil in wickedness, though inferior to him in power!' In the evening I went to a sincere friend, and told him something of my state. He endeavoured to administer comfort; but it was not suited to my state. When we parted, he gave me some advice which was better suited to my condition. 'God,' said he, 'is merciful; God loves you; and if he denies you any thing, it is for your good. You deserve nothing at his hands; but wait patiently for him, and never give up your hope.' I went home, resolved to follow his advice, though I should stay till death.

6. "I proposed to receive the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday. I therefore returned to my room, and looked out a sacramental hymn. I learned it by heart, and prayed it over many times, intending to repeat it at the table. Then I went to bed with rather more hope and peace than I had felt for some time. But Satan waked, though I slept. I dreamed I had committed a grievous and abominable sin. I awaked amazed and confounded, but fell upon my knees and prayed with more faith than usual; and afterward went about my business with an uncommon cheerfulness. It was not long before I was tempted by my besetting sin; but I found it had no power. My soul was not even ruffled. I took no notice of this at first. But having withstood the temptation again and again, I perceived it was the Lord's doing. Afterward it was suggested, 'It is presumption for such a sinner to hope for so great a mercy.' I prayed, that I might not be in a delusion; and the more I prayed, the more clearly I saw it was real. For though sin stirred all the day long, I always overcame it in the name of the Lord.

7. "In the evening I read the experiences of some of God's children, and found mine agreed with theirs. Hereby my faith was strengthened, and my hope considerably increased: I intreated the Lord to deal with his servant according to his mercy, and take all the glory to himself. I prayed earnestly, and was persuaded I should have peace with God and dominion over sin; not doubting but the full assurance also would be given in God's good time. I continued calling on him for an increase of faith; (for still I had some fear of being in a delusion;) and having continued my supplication till near one in the morning, I opened my Bible on those words: 'Cast thy burden on the Lord, and he shall sustain thee. He will not suffer the righteous to be moved.' Filled with joy, I fell upon my knees, to beg of God that I might always cast my burden upon him. My hope was now greatly increased; and I thought I saw myself conqueror over sin, hell, and all manner of affliction.

8. "With this comfortable promise I shut up my Bible, being now perfectly satisfied. As I shut it, I cast my eyes on that word, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will do it.' So, having asked grace of God to serve him till death, I went cheerfully to bed."

9. So far we have Mr. Fletcher's own account, under his own hand. From this time he "had the witness in himself;" he knew that he had "redemption through the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of sins." But he still continued pleading with the Lord, to take a fuller possession of his heart; till, one day, as he was in earnest prayer, lying prostrate on his face before God, he saw, as it were, our blessed Lord, hanging and bleeding on the cross: and, at the same time, those words were spoken with power to his heart:—

Seized by the rage of sinful men,
I see him bound, and bruised, and slain.
'Tis done! The Martyr dies!
His life to ransom ours is given;
And, lo! the fiercest fire of heaven
Consumes the sacrifice!

He suffers both from men and God!
He bears the universal load
Of guilt and misery!
He suffers to reverse our doom,
And, lo! my Lord is here become
The bread of life to me!

10. I believe this was in January, 1754, in the second year after he removed to Tern. Now all his bonds were broken; he breathed a purer air, and was able to say with confidence, "The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." By means of this faith, sin was under his feet. Knowing in whom he had believed, he could continually triumph in the Lord, and praise the God of his salvation.

11. From this time he walked cheerfully, as well as valiantly, in the ways of God. He closely followed his Master, denying himself, and taking up his cross daily. And, thinking he had not leisure in the day for the great work which he had in hand, he made it an invariable rule to sit up two whole nights in a week. These he dedicated to reading, meditation, and prayer, in order to enter more deeply into that communion with the Father and the Son which was the delight of his soul. Meantime, he lived entirely on vegetable food, and for some time on bread, with milk and water. None can doubt, if these austerities were well intended: but it seems they were not well judged. It is probable, they gave the first wound to an excellent constitution, and laid the foundation of many infirmities, which nothing but death could cure.

CHAPTER III.

FROM HIS CONVERSION TO HIS SETTLING AT MADELEY.

1. It was not long after he had himself "tasted the powers of the world to come," that he was pressed in spirit to exhort others to seek after the same blessing. And he was the more strongly excited to this, by seeing the world all around him "lying in wickedness." Being deeply sensible of the goodness of God on the one hand, and the misery of mankind on the other, he found an earnest longing

To pluck poor brands out of the fire,
To snatch them from the verge of hell.

This he began to do a considerable time before he was admitted into holy orders. And even his first labours of love were far from being in vain. For though he was by no means perfect in the English tongue, particularly with regard to the pronunciation of it; yet the earnestness with which he spoke, (seldom to be found in English preachers,) and the unspeakably tender affection to poor, undone sinners, which breathed in every word and gesture, drew multitudes of people to hear him; and, by the blessing of God, his word made so deep an impression on their hearts, that very few went empty away.

2. From this time, till he undertook the direct care of souls, he used to be in London during the sitting of the parliament, and the rest of the year at Tern Hall, (as it was then called,) instructing the young gentlemen. Every Sunday he attended the parish church at Atcham. But when the service was ended, instead of going home in the coach, which was always ready, he usually took a solitary walk by the Severn side, and spent some time in meditation and prayer. A pious domestic of Mr. Hill's having frequently observed him, one Sunday desired leave to walk with him, which he constantly did from that time. The account which he (Mr. Vaughan, still living in London) gives of Mr. Fletcher is as follows:—

"It was our ordinary custom, when the Church service was over, to retire into the most lonely fields or meadows, where we frequently either kneeled down, or prostrated ourselves upon the ground. At those happy seasons I was a witness of such pleadings and wrestlings with God, such exercises of faith and love, as I have not known in any one ever since. The consolations which we then received from God induced us to appoint two or three nights in a week, when we duly met after his pupils were asleep. We met also constantly on Sunday between four and five in the morning. Sometimes I stepped into his study on other days. I rarely saw any book before him besides the Bible and the 'Christian's Pattern.' And he was seldom in any other company, unless when necessary business required, besides that of the unworthy writer of this paper."

3. When he was in the country, he used to visit an officer of excise at Atcham, to be instructed in singing. On my desiring him to give me some account of what he recollected concerning Mr. Fletcher, he answered thus: "As to that man of God, Mr. Fletcher, it is but little that I remember of him; it being above nine-and-twenty years since the last time I saw him. But this I well remember, his conversation with me was always sweet and savoury. He was too wise to suffer any of his precious moments to be trifled away. When there was company to dine at Mr. Hill's, he frequently retired into the garden, and

contentedly dined on a piece of bread, and a few bunches of currants. Indeed, in his whole manner of living, he was a pattern of abstemiousness. Meantime, how great was his sweetness of temper and heavenly-mindedness! I never saw it equalled in any one. How often, when I parted with him at Tern Hall, have his eyes and hands been lifted up to heaven to implore a blessing upon me, with fervour and devoutness unequalled by any I ever saw! I firmly believe, he has not left in this land, or perhaps in any other, one luminary like himself. I conclude, wishing this light may be so held up, that many may see the glory thereof, and be transformed into its likeness. May you and I, and all that love the Lord Jesus Christ, be partakers of that holiness which was so conspicuous in him!"

4. "Our interviews for singing and conversation," continues Mr. Vaughan, who was often present on these occasions, "were seldom concluded without prayer; in which we were frequently joined by her that is now my wife; (then a servant in the family;) as likewise by a poor widow in the village, who had also known the power of God unto salvation, and who died some years since, praising God with her latest breath. These were the only persons in the country, whom he chose for his familiar friends. But he sometimes walked over to Shrewsbury, to see Mrs. Glynne, or Mr. Appleton, (who likewise now rests from his labours, after having many years adorned the Gospel;) he also visited any of the poor in the neighbourhood, that were upon a sick bed; and when no other person could be procured, performed even the meanest offices for them."

5. It was in the year 1757, that he was ordained both deacon and priest. He was ordained at Whitehall; and the same day, being informed that I had no one to assist me at West-street chapel, he came away as soon as ever the ordination was over, and assisted me in the administration of the Lord's Supper. He was now doubly diligent in preaching, not only in the chapels at West-street and Spitalfields, but wherever the providence of God opened a door to proclaim the everlasting Gospel. This he frequently did, not only in English, but likewise in French, his native language; of which he was allowed, by all competent judges, to be a complete master.

6. "The first time," says Mr. Vaughan, "he preached in the country, was at Atcham church, on June 19, 1757. His text was, (a very bold beginning!) "Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of this world is enmity with God?" James iv, 4. The congregation stood amazed, and gazed upon him as if he had been a monster; but to me he appeared as a messenger sent from heaven."

7. It was not soon that he was invited again to preach in Atcham church. But he was invited to preach in several other churches in the neighbourhood. He was first invited to preach at Wroxeter, and afterward at the Abbey church in Shrewsbury; but not being yet perfect in the English tongue, he wrote down all the sermons he preached in churches. But I doubt whether he preached above six times in the six months while he stayed in the country. On my telling him I wished he had more opportunities of preaching in this unenlightened part of the land, he answered, "The will of God be done: I am in his hands; and if he does not call me to so much public duty, I have the more time for study, prayer, and praise."

8. In the year 1758, there were many French prisoners on their parole at Tunbridge. Being desired to preach to them in their own

anguage, he readily complied. Many of them appeared to be deeply affected, and earnestly requested that he would preach to them every Lord's day. But some advised them, first, to present a petition to the bishop of London for leave. They did so; and (who would believe it?) the good bishop peremptorily rejected their petition! If I had known this at the time, King George should have known it; and I believe he would have given the bishop little thanks. An odd incident followed: A few months after, the bishop died of a cancer in his mouth. Perhaps some may think this was a just retribution for silencing such a prophet, on such an occasion! I am not ashamed to acknowledge this is my own sentiment; and I do not think it any breach of charity to suppose that an action, so unworthy a Christian bishop, had its punishment in this world.

9. When he returned from London in the same year, he was more frequently invited to preach in several of the neighbouring churches. And before his quitting the country, he gave me a few printed papers, entitled, "A Christmas-box for Journeymen and Apprentices." I mention it the rather because I suppose this was the first thing which he ever published.

10. It was in the beginning of June, 1759, that he returned the last time from London to Tern Hall; and being now less frequently called to public duty, he enjoyed his beloved retirement, giving himself up to study, meditation, and prayer, and walking closely with God. Indeed his whole life was now a life of prayer; and so intensely was his mind fixed upon God, that I have heard him say, "I would not move from my seat, without lifting up my heart to God." Wherever we met, if we were alone, his first salute was, "Do I meet you praying?" And if we were talking on any point of divinity, when we were in the depth of our discourse, he would often break off abruptly, and ask, "Where are our hearts now?" If ever the misconduct of an absent person was mentioned, his usual reply was, "Let us pray for him."

11. It was, as I remember, about the close of this summer, that he was frequently desired, sometimes to assist, at other times to perform the whole service for, Mr. Chambers, then vicar of Madeley. On these occasions it was, that he contracted such an affection for the people of Madeley, as nothing could hinder from increasing more and more to the day of his death. While he officiated at Madeley, as he still lived at the Hall, ten miles distant from it, a groom was ordered to get a horse ready for him every Sunday morning. But so great was his aversion for giving trouble to any one, that if the groom did not wake at the time, he seldom would suffer him to be called, but prepared the horse for himself.

12. In answer to some queries concerning him, a gentleman who was intimately acquainted with him for many years wrote to me as follows:—

Dear Sir,—"My aversion to writing letters increases with my declining years. And yet I most willingly pay this debt to the precious memory of an old friend. I dwelt near him only two or three years; but our intimacy was great. And perhaps I may be able to present you with some particulars which you have not seen before.

13. "About the year 1760, he showed me, at his lodgings, a rope with pulleys, which he used for exercise; and added, with a smile, that the devil

often tempted him to hang himself therewith. I said, 'The desire of women is a temptation far more dangerous than this.' He answered with surprise, (or rather, as it seemed to me, with a degree of contempt,) 'In all my life I never felt that temptation; no, not in any degree.' But it is dangerous for a Christian, how great or good soever he may be, to despise another for being tempted. When we met again, he acknowledged he had been plagued, like other men, with that formerly unknown temptation."

14. In the same year, the living of Madeley fell vacant, and Mr. Fletcher was presented to it; which he accepted in preference to another, that was of double the value. He embraced it as his peculiar charge, the object of his most tender affection. And he was now at leisure to attend it, being fully discharged from his former employment; for his pupils were removed to Cambridge. The elder of them died about the time of his coming of age; the younger first represented the town of Salop, as his father had done, and afterward the county; till he took his seat in the house of peers, as Baron Berwick, of Atcham House: this is now the name that is given to what was formerly called Tern Hall.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM HIS SETTLING AT MADELEY, TO HIS LEAVING TREVECKA.

1. He settled at Madeley, according to his desire, in the year 1760. And from the beginning he was a laborious workman in his Lord's vineyard. At his first settling there, the hearts of several were unaccountably set against him; insomuch that he was constrained to warn some of these, that if they did not repent, God would speedily cut them off. And the truth of those predictions was shown over and over, by the signal accomplishment of them. But no opposition could hinder him from going on in his Master's work, and suppressing vice in every possible manner. Those sinners who endeavoured to hide themselves from him, he pursued to every corner of his parish; by all sorts of means, public and private, early and late, in season and out of season, entreating and warning them to flee from the wrath to come. Some made it an excuse, for not attending the Church service on a Sunday morning, that they could not awake early enough, to get their families ready. He provided for this also: taking a bell in his hand, he set out every Sunday at five in the morning, and went round the most distant parts of the parish, inviting all the inhabitants to the house of God.

2. Yet notwithstanding all the pains he took, he saw for some time little fruit of his labour; insomuch that he was more than once in doubt, whether he had not mistaken his place; whether God had indeed called him to confine himself to one town, or to labour more at large in his vineyard. He was not free from this doubt, when a multitude of people flocked together at a funeral. He seldom let these awful opportunities slip without giving a solemn exhortation. At the close of the exhortation which was then given, one man was so grievously offended, that he could not refrain from breaking out into scurrilous, yea, menacing language. But, notwithstanding all his struggling against it, the word fastened upon his heart. At first, indeed, he roared like a lion; but he soon wept like a child. Not long after, he came to Mr. Fletcher

in the most humble manner, asking pardon for his outrageous behaviour, and begging an interest in his prayers. This was such a refreshment as he stood in need of; and it was but a short time before this poor broken-hearted sinner was filled with joy unspeakable. He then spared no pains in exhorting his fellow sinners "to flee from the wrath to come."

3. It was not long after, when, one Sunday evening, Mr. Fletcher, after performing the usual duty at Madeley, was about to set out for Madeley-wood, to preach and catechise as usual. But just then notice was brought (which should have been given before) that a child was to be buried. His waiting till the child was brought, prevented his going to the wood. And herein the providence of God appeared. For at this very time many of the colliers, who neither feared God nor regarded men, were baiting a bull, just by the preaching-house; and having had plenty of drink, they had all agreed, as soon as he came, to bait the parson. Part of them were appointed to pull him off his horse, and the rest to set the dogs upon him. One of these very men afterward confessed that he was with them when this agreement was made; and that afterward, while they were in the most horrid manner cursing and swearing at their disappointment, a large china punch-bowl, which held above a gallon, without any apparent cause (for it was not touched by any person or thing) fell all to shivers. This so alarmed him, that he forsook all his companions, and determined to save his own soul.

4. From the beginning he did not confine his labours to his own parish. For many years he regularly preached at places, eight, ten, or sixteen miles off; returning the same night, though he seldom got home before one or two in the morning. At a little society which he had gathered about six miles from Madeley, he preached two or three times a week, beginning at five in the morning. As for visiting the sick, this was a work for which he was always ready: if he heard the knocker in the coldest winter night, his window was thrown open in a moment. And when he understood either that some one was hurt in the pit, or that a neighbour was likely to die, no consideration was ever had of the darkness of the night, or the severity of the weather; but this answer was always given: "I will attend you immediately."

5. But in one respect Mr. Fletcher has frequently been blamed; namely, for deserting a place where God had eminently owned him; I mean Trevecka, in Wales. I believe it is therefore my bounden duty to clear up the whole affair. And I cannot do this better than by transcribing the substance of an account which I have received from Mr. Benson, in answer to my inquiries:—

6. "My acquaintance with him," says he, "commenced when I was at Kingswood,—I think in the year 1768. As he now and then made a short excursion from Madeley to Bath or Bristol, in one of those excursions we invited him to give us a sermon at Kingswood. He was peculiarly assisted while he was applying those encouraging words: 'Him that cometh unto me, I will in nowise cast out.' The people were exceedingly affected; indeed, quite melted down. The tears streamed so fast from the eyes of the poor colliers, that their grisly, black faces were washed by them, and almost universally streaked with white. And as to himself, his zealous soul had been carried out so far beyond his strength, that, when he concluded, he put off a shirt which was as wet as if it had been dipped in water. But this was nothing strange; whenever he preached, it was generally the case. From

this time I conceived a particular esteem for him, chiefly on account of his piety; and wished much for a greater intimacy with him; a blessing which I soon after obtained.

7. "For, about this time, the Countess of Huntingdon erected a seminary at Trevecka, in Wales, in order to educate pious young men, of whatever denomination, for the ministry. She proposed to admit only such as were converted to God, and resolved to dedicate themselves to His service. They were at liberty to stay there three years; during which they were to have their education gratis, with every necessary of life, and a suit of clothes once a year: afterward those who desired it might enter into the ministry, either in the established Church of England, or among Protestants of any other denomination. From the high opinion which the Countess had of Mr. Fletcher's piety, learning, and abilities for such an office, she invited him to undertake the direction of that seminary. Not that he could promise to be chiefly resident there; much less constantly. His duty to his own flock at Madeley would by no means admit of this. But he was to attend as often as he conveniently could; to give advice, with regard to the appointment of masters, the admission or exclusion of students; to oversee their studies and conduct; to assist their piety, and judge of their qualifications for the work of the ministry.

8. "As Mr. Fletcher greatly approved of the design, especially considering, first, that none were to be admitted but such as feared God; and, secondly, that when they were prepared for it, they might enter into the ministry wherever Providence opened a door; he readily complied with the invitation, and undertook the charge. This he did without fee or reward, from the sole motive of being useful in the most important work of training up persons for the glorious office of preaching the Gospel. And some months after, with the same view, through his means, and in consequence of your recommendation to her ladyship, I was made head master of the school, or, as it was commonly called, the college; though I could very ill be spared from Kingswood, where I had acted in that capacity about four years.

9. "As yet I was greatly wanted at Kingswood. I had likewise a term to keep at Oxford; so that I could only pay them a short visit in January, 1770. But in spring I went to reside there; and for some time things went on excellently well. The young men were serious, and made a considerable progress in learning. And many of them seemed to have a talent for preaching. Mr. Fletcher visited them frequently, and was received as an angel of God. It is not possible for me to describe the veneration in which we all held him. Like Elijah in the schools of the Prophets he was revered; he was loved; he was almost adored; and that, not only by every student, but by every member of the family. And indeed he was worthy.

"Forgive me, my dear sir, if you think I exceed. My heart kindles while I write. Here it was that I saw,—shall I say, an angel in human flesh? I should not far exceed the truth if I said so. But here I saw a descendant of fallen Adam, so fully raised above the ruins of the fall, that though by the body he was tied down to earth, yet was his whole 'conversation in heaven;' yet was his life, from day to day, 'hid with Christ in God.' Prayer, praise, love, and zeal, all ardent, elevated above what one would think attainable in this state of frailty, were the element in which he himself continually lived. And as to others, his one employment was, to call, entreat, and urge them to ascend with him to the glorious Source of being and blessedness. He had leisure comparatively for nothing else. Languages, arts, sciences, grammar, rhetoric, logic, even divinity itself, as it is called, were all laid aside, when he appeared in the school room among the students. His full heart would not suffer him to be silent. He must speak; and they were readier to hearken to this servant and minister of Jesus Christ, than to attend to Sallust, Virgil, Cicero, or any Latin or Greek historian, poet, or philosopher they were reading. And they seldom hearkened long, before they were all in tears, and every heart catched fire from the flame that burned in his soul.

10. "These seasons generally terminated in this: Being convinced that to be 'filled with the Holy Ghost' was a better qualification for the ministry of the Gospel than any classical learning, (though that too may be useful in its place,) after speaking awhile in the school room, he used frequently to say, 'As many of you as are athirst for this fulness of the Spirit, follow me into my room.' On this, many of us have instantly followed him, and there continued till noon, wrestling like Jacob for the blessing, praying one after another, till we could bear to kneel no longer. This was not done once or twice, but many times. And I have sometimes seen him on these occasions, once in particular, so filled with the love of God, that he could contain no more; but cried out, 'O my God, withhold thy hand, or the vessel will burst.' But he afterward told me, he was afraid he had grieved the Spirit of God; and that he ought rather to have prayed that the Lord would have enlarged the vessel, or have suffered it to break; that the soul might have no farther bar or interruption to its enjoyment of the supreme good."

This is certainly a just remark. The proper prayer on such an occasion would have been,—

Give me the enlarged desire,
And open, Lord, my soul,
Thy own fulness to require,
And comprehend the whole!

Stretch my faith's capacity
Wider, and yet wider still;
Then with all that is in thee
My ravish'd spirit fill!

11. "Such was the ordinary employment of this man of God while he remained at Trevecka. He preached the word of life to the students and family, and as many of the neighbours as desired to be present. He was 'instant in season, out of season;' he 'reproved, rebuked, exhorted, with all long suffering.' He was always employed, either in discovering some important truth, or exhorting to some neglected duty, or administering some needful comfort, or relating some useful anecdote, or making some profitable remark or observation upon any thing that occurred. And his devout soul, always burning with love and zeal, led him to intermingle prayer with all he said. Meanwhile his manner was so solemn, and at the same time so mild and insinuating, that it was hardly possible for any who had the happiness of being in his company not to be struck with awe and charmed with love, as if in the presence of an angel or departed spirit. Indeed I frequently thought, while attending to his heavenly discourse and divine spirit, that he was so different from, and superior to, the generality of mankind, as to look more like Moses or Elijah, or some Prophet or Apostle come again from the dead, than a mortal man dwelling in a house of clay. It is true, his weak and long afflicted body proclaimed him to be human. But the graces which so eminently filled and adorned his soul, manifested him to be divine. And long before his happy spirit returned to God that gave it, that which was human seemed in a great measure to be 'swallowed up of life.' O what a loss did Trevecka sustain, what an irreparable loss, when he left it!

12. "But why then did he leave it? Why did he give up an office, for which he was so perfectly well qualified? which he executed so entirely to the satisfaction of all the parties wherewith he was concerned, and in which it had pleased God to give so manifest a blessing to his labours? Perhaps it would be better, in tenderness to some persons, eminent for piety and usefulness, to let that matter remain still under the veil which forgiving love has cast over it. But if it be thought that justice to his character, and to the cause which from that time he so warmly espoused and so ably defended, requires some light to be cast upon it, it may be the most inoffensive way to do it in his own words."

It will be proper to observe here, for the better understanding of the following letter, that some time before Mr. Fletcher quitted Trevecka, Mr. Benson had been discharged from his office there; not for any defect of learning or piety, or any fault found with his behaviour; but

wholly and solely because he did not believe the doctrine of absolute predestination.

13. "The following is an exact copy of all that is material in a letter he wrote to me, in consequence of my dismission from the office I had been in:

"'June 7, 1771.

"'DEAR SIR,—The same post brought me yours, and two from my Lady, and one from Mr. Williams, the new master. Those contained no charges but general ones, which with me go for nothing. If the procedure you mention is fact, and your letter is a fair account of the transaction and words relative to your discharge, a false step has been taken. I write this post to her ladyship on the affair, with all possible plainness. If the plan of the college is overthrown, I have nothing more to say to it. I will keep to my text, for one. I trust I shall ever be a servant of all: the confined tool of any one party I never was, and never will be. If the blow that should have been struck at the dead spirit, is struck (contrary to the granted liberty of sentiment) at dead Arminus, or absent Mr. Wesley; if a master is turned away without any fault; it is time for me to stand up with firmness, or to withdraw.'

14. "The following paragraphs are transcribed from Mr. Fletcher's letter to my Lady:—

"'Mr. Benson made a very just defence when he said, he did hold with me the possibility of salvation for all men. If this is what you call Mr. Wesley's opinion and Arminianism, and if *every Arminian must quit the college*, I am actually discharged. For in my present view of things, I must hold that sentiment, if I believe that the Bible is true, and that God is love.

"'For my part, I am no party man. In the Lord I am your servant, and that of your every student. But I cannot give up the honour of being connected with my old friends, who, notwithstanding their failings, are entitled to my respect, gratitude, and affection. Mr. Wesley shall always be welcome to my pulpit, and I shall gladly bear my testimony in his as well as Mr. Whitefield's. If you forbid your students to preach for the one, and offer them to preach for the other; and if a master is discarded for believing that Christ died for all; then prejudice reigns, charity is cruelly wounded, and party spirit shouts, prevails, triumphs.'

15. "Two days after," continues Mr. Benson, "he writes, 'I am determined to stand or fall with the liberty of the college. As I entered it a free place, I must quit it the moment it is a harbour for party spirit.'

"This he was soon constrained to do, as appears from the following letter, wrote about two months after:—

"'MY DEAR FRIEND,—On my arrival at the college, I found all very quiet, I fear through the enemy's keeping his goods in peace. While I preached the next day I found myself as much shackled as ever I was in my life. And after private prayer, I concluded I was not in my place. The same day, I resigned my office to my Lady, and on Wednesday, to the students and the Lord.

"'Mr. Shirley has sent my Lady a copy of part of the Minutes of the last Conference, viz. of the year 1770. They were called *horrible* and *abominable*. My Lady told me, *she must burn against them; and that whoever did not fully disavow them must quit the college*. She accordingly ordered the master and all the students to write their sentiments upon them without reserve. I did so; explained them according to Mr. Wesley's sentiments; and approved the doctrine, though not cautiously worded. I concluded by observing, that as, after such a step on my part, and such a declaration on my Lady's, I could no longer, as an honest man, stay in the college, I took my leave of it; wishing my Lady might find a minister to preside over it less insufficient than

"'JOHN FLETCHER.'

16. "These were his reasons for resigning his charge at Trevecka. As

the Circular Letter now went abroad, under the name of Mr. Shirley, inviting the clergy of all denominations to assemble in a body at Bristol to oppose you and the preachers met in conference, and oblige you to revoke the dreadful heresies contained in those Minutes; and as Mr. Fletcher thought the Churches throughout Christendom to be verging very fast toward Antinomianism, he thought the propositions contained in those Minutes ought rather to be confirmed than revoked. And as he was now retired to his parish, he had more leisure for such a work than before. So, after much prayer and consideration, he determined to write in defence of them. In how able a manner he did this, I need not tell any that have read those incomparable writings. I know not how to give the character of them better, than in the words of Dr. D——, to whom I sent Mr. Fletcher's Checks, with a recommendatory letter. He answered me,—

"'Dear Sir,—When I first read yours, I must own, I suspected your friendship for Mr. Fletcher had made you too lavish in your commendation of his writings; and that when I came to read them, I should find some abatements necessary to be made. But now I have read them, I am far from thinking you have spoken extravagantly; or indeed, that too much can be said in commendation of them. I had not read his first letter, before I was so charmed with the spirit as well as abilities of the writer, that the gushing tear could not be hindered from giving full testimony of my heart-felt satisfaction. Perhaps some part of this pleasure might arise from finding my own sentiments so fully embraced by the author. But sure I am the greatest share of it arose from finding those benevolent doctrines so firmly established, and that with such judgment, clearness, and precision, as are seldom, very seldom to be met with. What crowns the whole is, the amiable and Christian temper, which those who will not be convinced must however approve, and wish that their own doctrines 'may be constantly attended with the same spirit.'"

17. How much good has been occasioned by the publication of that Circular Letter! This was the happy occasion of Mr. Fletcher's writing those "Checks to Antinomianism;" in which one knows not which to admire most, the purity of the language, (such as scarce any foreigner wrote before,) the strength and clearness of the argument, or the mildness and sweetness of the spirit that breathes throughout the whole; insomuch that I nothing wonder at a serious clergyman, who, being resolved to live and die in his own opinion, when he was pressed to read them, replied, "No; I will never read Mr. Fletcher's Checks, for if I did, I should be of his mind."

18. A short extract from another of his letters will show what was his state of mind at this crisis. "How much water," says he, "may at last rush out from a little opening! What are our dear L—'s jealousies come to? Ah, poor college! Their conduct, among other reasons, has stirred me up to write in defence of the Minutes. Methinks I dream, when I reflect I have wrote controversy! the last subject I thought I should meddle with. I expect to be roughly handled on the account. Lord prepare me for every thing thou callest me to!

"J. F."

CHAPTER V.

FROM HIS LEAVING TREVECKA TO HIS GOING TO BRISTOL.

1. The frequent journeys he took to and from Trevecka, while he presided over the college, in all weathers, and at all seasons of the year, farther impaired the firmness of his constitution; and in some of those

journeys, he had not only difficulties, but dangers likewise, to encounter. One day, as he was riding over a wooden bridge, just as he got to the middle thereof, it broke in. The mare's forelegs sunk into the river, but her breast and hinder parts were kept up by the bridge. In that position she lay, as still as if she had been dead, till he got over her neck, and took off his bags, in which were several manuscripts, the spoiling of which would have occasioned him much trouble. He then endeavoured to raise her up; but she would not stir, till he went over the other part of the bridge. But no sooner did he set his foot upon the ground, than she began to plunge. Immediately the remaining part of the bridge broke down, and sunk with her into the river. But presently she rose up again, swam out, and came to him.

2. About this time, Mr. Pilmoor being desirous to see the inside of a coal pit, Mr. Fletcher went with him to the bottom of a sloping pit, which was supposed to be near a mile under the ground. They returned out of it without any inconvenience. But the next day, while several colliers were there, a damp took fire, which went off with a vast explosion, and killed all the men that were in it.

3. In February, 1773, I received from him the following letter:—

"Rev. and Dear Sir,—I hope the Lord, who has so wonderfully stood by you hitherto, will preserve you to see many of your sheep, and me among them, enter into rest. Should Providence call you first, I shall do my best, by the Lord's assistance, to help your brother to gather the wreck, and keep together those who are not absolutely bent to throw away the Methodist doctrines and discipline, as soon as he that now letteth is removed out of the way. Every help will then be necessary, and I shall not be backward to throw in my mite. In the meantime, you sometimes need an assistant to serve tables, and occasionally to fill up a gap. Providence visibly appointed me to that office many years ago. And though it no less evidently called me hither, yet I have not been without doubt, especially for some years past, whether it would not be expedient that I should resume my office as your deacon; not with any view of presiding over the Methodists after you, but to ease you a little in your old age, and to be in the way of recovering, perhaps doing, more good. I have sometimes thought, how shameful it was, that no clergyman should join you, to keep in the Church the work God has enabled you to carry on therein. And as the little estate I have in my own country is sufficient for my maintenance, I have thought I would one day or other, offer you and the Methodists my free service. While my love of retirement made me linger, I was providentially led to do something in Lady Huntingdon's plan. But being shut out there, it appears to me I am again called to my first work. Nevertheless, I would not leave this place without a fuller persuasion that the time has quite come. Not that God uses me much here, but I have not yet sufficiently cleared my conscience from the blood of all men. Meantime, I beg the Lord to guide me by his counsel, and make me willing to go any where or no where, to be any thing or nothing.

"Help, by your prayers, till you can bless by word of mouth, Reverend and dear Sir, your willing, though unprofitable, servant in the Gospel.

"J. F.

"Madeley, February 6, 1773."

4. "Providence," says he, "visibly appointed me to that office many years ago." Is it any wonder, then, that he should now be in doubt, whether he did right in confining himself to one spot? The more I reflect upon it, the more I am convinced, he had great reason to doubt of

this. I can never believe it was the will of God, that such a burning and shining light should be "hid under a bushel." No; instead of being confined to a country village, it ought to have shone in every corner of our land. He was full as much called to sound an alarm through all the nation as Mr. Whitefield himself: nay, abundantly more so; seeing he was far better qualified for that important work. He had a more striking person, equal good breeding, an equally winning address; together with a richer flow of fancy, a stronger understanding; a far greater treasure of learning, both in languages, philosophy, philology, and divinity; and, above all, (which I can speak with fuller assurance, because I had a thorough knowledge both of one and the other,) a more deep and constant communion with the Father, and with the Son Jesus Christ.

5. And yet, let not any one imagine that I depreciate Mr. Whitefield, or undervalue the grace of God, and the extraordinary gifts which his great Master vouchsafed unto him. I believe he was highly favoured of God; yea, that he was one of the most eminent ministers that has appeared in England, or perhaps in the world, during the present century. Yet I must own, I have known many fully equal to Mr. Whitefield, both in holy tempers and holiness of conversation; but one equal herein to Mr. Fletcher I have not known, no, not in a life of fourscore years.

6. However, having chosen, at least for the present, this narrow field of action, he was more and more abundant in his ministerial labours, both in public and private; not contenting himself with preaching, but visiting his flock in every corner of his parish. And this work he attended to, early and late, whether the weather was fair or foul; regarding neither heat nor cold, rain nor snow, whether he was on horseback or on foot. But this farther weakened his constitution; which was still more effectually done by his intense and uninterrupted studies; in which he frequently continued, without scarce any intermission, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen hours a day. But still he did not allow himself such food as was necessary to sustain nature. He seldom took any regular meals, except he had company; otherwise, twice or thrice in four-and-twenty hours he ate some bread and cheese, or fruit. Instead of this, he sometimes took a draught of milk, and then wrote on again. When one reproved him for not affording himself a sufficiency of necessary food, he replied, "Not allow myself food! Why, our food seldom costs my housekeeper and me together less than two shillings a week."

7. "On the 10th of May, 1774," says Mr. Vaughan, to whom we are indebted for several of the preceding anecdotes, "he wrote to me thus: 'My brother has sent me the rent of a little place I have abroad, eighty pounds, which I was to receive from Mr. Chauvet and Company, in London. But instead of sending the draught for the money, I have sent it back to Switzerland, with orders to distribute it among the poor. As money is rather higher there than here, that mite will go farther abroad than it would in my parish.'"

8. To show in how great a degree he was disengaged from

> Wealth, honour, pleasure, or what else
> This short enduring world could give,

Mr. Vaughan gives us another little memoir, which fell within his own knowledge: "After he had published two or three small political pieces,

in reference to our contest with the Americans, 'I carried one of them,' says he, in a letter to me, 'to the Earl of D. His lordship carried it to the lord chancellor, and the lord chancellor handed it to the king.' One was immediately commissioned to ask Mr. Fletcher, whether any preferment in the Church would be acceptable; or whether he (the chancellor) could do him any service. He answered, 'I want nothing, but more grace.'

9. "In 1776, he deposited with me a bill of one hundred and five pounds, being (as I understood) the yearly produce of his estate in Switzerland. This was his fund for charitable uses; but it lasted only a few months before he drew upon me for the balance, which was twenty-four pounds, to complete the preaching house in Madeley Wood."

10. In the same year, his health being more than ever impaired by a violent cough, accompanied with spitting of blood, of which I had had large experience myself; having frequently seen the surprising effects of constant exercise, together with change of air; I told him, nothing was so likely to restore his health as a long journey. I therefore proposed his taking a journey of some months with me, through various parts of England and Scotland; telling him, "When you are tired, or like it best, you may come into my carriage; but remember, that riding on horseback is the best of all exercises for you, so far as your strength will permit." He looked upon this as a call from Providence, and very willingly accepted of the proposal. We set out (as I am accustomed to do) early in the spring, and travelled, by moderate journeys, suited to his strength, which gradually increased, eleven or twelve hundred miles. When we returned to London, in the latter end of the year, he was considerably better. And I verily believe, if he had travelled with me, partly in the chaise and partly on horseback, only a few months longer, he would have quite recovered his health. But this those about him would not permit; so, being detained in London, by his kind but injudicious friends, while I pursued my journeys, his spitting of blood, with all the other symptoms, returned, and rapidly increased, till the physicians pronounced him to be far advanced in a true pulmonary consumption.

11. It being judged quite improper for him to remain in London, on December 16, 1776, he retired to the house of a friend, Mr. Charles Greenwood, (now with God,) to Stoke-Newington. Here he had the advice of the most eminent physicians that London could afford. He was also in a good air, and had every convenience and every help which art could bestow. One of the family, of whom I inquired concerning this part of his life, gave me the following information:—

12. "Agreeably to your desire, I endeavour to recollect some particulars of Mr. Fletcher, during his abode at Newington.

"When he first came, he was, by Dr. Fothergill's advice, under the strictest observance of two things,—rest and silence. These, together with a milk diet, were supposed to be the only probable means of his recovery. In consequence of these directions, he spoke exceeding little. If ever he spoke more than usual, it did not fail to increase his spitting of blood; of which, indeed, he was seldom quite clear, although it was not violent: therefore a great part of his time was spent in being read to. But it was not possible to restrain him altogether from speaking. The fire which continually burned in his heart many waters could not quench. It often burst out unawares. And then how

did we wonder (like those who formerly heard his Lord) 'at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth!' He could not have sustained life without sometimes giving vent to his heart. No penance could have appeared so severe a cross to him, as to be debarred from speaking of or to God. His natural vivacity, with his intense love of Jesus, continually impelled him to speak. But, on being reminded of his rule, with a cheerful smile, he was all submission; consenting by signs only to stir up those about him to pray and praise!

13. "Whoever has read Mr. Fletcher's Last Check to Antinomianism, and has had the privilege of observing his spirit and conduct, will not scruple to say that he was a living comment on his own account of Christian perfection. It is an alarming word which our Lord speaks 'to the Angel of the Church of Sardis:' 'I have not found thy works perfect before God.' But, as far as man is able to judge, from the whole tenor of his behaviour, he did possess perfect humility, perfect resignation, and perfect love. Suitable to this was the testimony concerning him which was given in Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bristol, even by Mr. V., a gentleman strongly attached to those opinions which Mr. Fletcher thought it his duty to oppose: 'I have enjoyed the privilege of being several weeks under the same roof with dear Mr. Fletcher: and, during that time, I have been greatly edified by his perfect resignation to the will of God; and by being a witness to his exemplary conduct and uncommon grace.'

14. "When he was able to converse, his favourite subject was, 'the promise of the Father, the gift of the Holy Ghost,' including that rich, peculiar blessing of union with the Father and the Son, mentioned in that prayer of our Lord which is recorded in the seventeenth chapter of St. John. Many were the sparks of living fire which occasionally darted forth on this beloved theme. 'We must not be content,' said he, 'to be only cleansed from sin; we must be filled with the Spirit.' One asking him, what was to be experienced in the full accomplishment of the promise; 'O,' said he, 'what shall I say? All the sweetness of the drawings of the Father, all the love of the Son, all the rich effusions of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost;—more than ever can be expressed, are comprehended here! To attain it, the Spirit maketh intercession in the soul, like a God wrestling with a God!'

15. "It was in these favoured moments of converse that we found, in a particular manner, the reward which is annexed to the 'receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet.' And in some of these he occasionally mentioned several circumstances, which (as none knew them but himself) would otherwise have been buried in everlasting oblivion.

"One of those remarkable passages was, 'In the beginning,' said he, 'of my spiritual course, I heard the voice of God in an articulate, but inexpressibly awful, sound, go through my soul in those words: *If any man will be my disciple, let him deny himself.*' He mentioned another peculiar manifestation of a later date, 'in which,' said he, 'I was favoured, like Moses, with a supernatural discovery of the glory of God, in an ineffable converse with him, face to face; so that, whether I was then in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell.'

16. "At another time he said, 'About the time of my entering into the ministry, I one evening wandered into a wood, musing on the importance of the office I was going to undertake. I then began to pour out my soul in prayer; when such a feeling sense of the justice of God fell upon me, and such a sense of his displeasure at sin, as absorbed all my powers, and filled my soul with the agony of prayer for poor, lost sinners. I continued therein till the dawn of day; and I considered this as designed of God to impress upon me more deeply the meaning of those solemn words: *Therefore knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men.*'

17. "The blessed state of his soul continually manifested itself, by its overflowing good-will to all that came in his way. And yet his spirit was so deeply impressed with those words, 'not as though I had already attained

that the vehemence of his desire for a fuller manifestation of God, seemed sometimes to border upon unhappiness. But his ardent soul only felt the full impression of those words of the Apostle: 'Forgetting the things that are behind, and reaching forth unto those that are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.'

18. "One end of his retiring to Newington was, that he might hide himself from company. But this design was in nowise answered; for company came from every side. He was continually visited by high and low, and by persons of various denominations; one of whom being asked, when he went away, what he thought of Mr. Fletcher, said, 'I went to see a man that had one foot in the grave, but I found a man that had one foot in heaven.' Among them that now visited him were several of his beloved and honoured opponents; to whom he confirmed his love (however roughly they had treated him) by the most respectful and affectionate behaviour. But he did not give up any part of the truth, for which he had publicly contended; although some (from whom one would have expected better things) did not scruple to affirm the contrary. Those of his particular friends who visited him here will not easily forget how he exhausted his whole soul in effusions of thankfulness: Mrs. Cartwright and Cavendish in particular, with his faithful and affectionate friend Mr. Ireland, will remember their interviews with him. And those of the family were almost oppressed by the outpourings of his love and gratitude, whenever they showed their love and care in the most inconsiderable instance; yea, so thankful, in proportion, would he be to even the meanest servant.

19. "It was not without some difficulty that Mr. Ireland at length prevailed upon him to sit for his picture. While the limner was drawing the outlines of it, he was exhorting both him and all that were in the room, not only to get the outlines drawn, but the colourings also, of the image of Jesus on their hearts. He had a very remarkable facility in making allusions of this kind; in raising spiritual observations from every accidental circumstance; in turning men's employments, pleasures, and pains, into means of edification: This he did, in order to engage the attention of the thoughtless, the more deeply to fix the attention of the thoughtful, and to prevent the trifling away of time in unprofitable conversation. And such little incidents as used to pass away unnoticed by almost any other person, acquired from Mr. Fletcher's fine imagination a kind of grace and dignity. To give an instance: Being ordered to be let blood, while his blood was running into the cup, he took occasion to expatiate on the precious blood-shedding of the Lamb of God. And even when he did not speak at all, the seraphic spirit which beamed from his languid face, during those months of pain and weakness, was

A lecture silent, yet of sovereign use."

20. But it is necessary to be observed, that this facility of raising useful observations from the most trifling incidents was one of those peculiarities in him which cannot be proposed to our imitation. In him it partly resulted from nature, and was partly a supernatural gift. But what was becoming and graceful in Mr. Fletcher, would be disgustful almost in any other.

21. "One of those who visited him at Newington was Mr. William Perronet; a pious, sensible, and amiable young man, who was snatched hence in the bloom of youth. He often said, the first sight of Mr. Fletcher fixed an impression upon his mind which never wore off till it issued in a real conversion to God; ever accompanied with a most affectionate regard for the instrument of that happy change."

Soon after he left Newington, he wrote the following letter:—

"May 28, 1777.

"TO MY VERY DEAR FRIENDS AND BENEFACTORS, CHARLES AND MARY GREENWOOD.

"My prayer shall always be, that the merciful may find mercy, and that the great kindness I have found under your quiet roof, may be showed you every where under the canopy of heaven. I think with grateful joy on the days of calm retreat I have been blessed with at Newington, and lament my not having improved better the precious opportunity of sitting, Mary-like, at the feet of my great Physician. May he requite your kind care of a dying worm, by abundantly caring for you and yours, and making all your bed in your sickness! May you enjoy full health! May you hunger and thirst after righteousness, and be abundantly filled therewith! May you sweetly rest in Christ! May his protection be as a wall of fire round about you and yours! May his rod and staff comfort you under all the troubles of life, the decays of the body, the assaults of the enemy, and the pangs of death! May you stand in the clefts of the Rock of Ages, and be safely sheltered there, when all the storms of justice blow around! And may you always have such spiritual and temporal helps, friends, and comforts, as I have found in your pleasing retreat! You have received a poor Lazarus; (though his sores were not visible;) you have had compassion, like the good Samaritan; you have admitted me to the enjoyment of your best things; and now what can I say? what but, 'Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift;' and thanks to my dear friends for all their favours? They will, I trust, be found faithfully recorded in my breast, when the great Rewarder of them that diligently seek him will render to every man according to his works; and a raised Lazarus shall then appear in the gate, to testify of the love of Charles and Mary Greenwood, and their godly sister!

"I was a little better; but I now spit blood, more than I had done for weeks before. Glory be to God for every providence! His will be done in me, by health or sickness, life or death. All from him is, and I trust, will be, welcome to

"Your obliged pensioner,

"John Fletcher."

CHAPTER VI.

FROM HIS LEAVING NEWINGTON, TILL HIS RETURN FROM SWITZERLAND TO MADELEY.

1. He continued with Mr. Greenwood at Newington, upwards of fifteen months. The physicians then advised him to make a trial of the Hot-Well water, near Bristol. "I was desired by Mr. and Mrs. Ireland," (who took him down in April, 1777,) says Miss Thornton, "to bear them company thither; which I willingly did. Indeed I looked upon it as a call from God; nor could I desire a greater honour, than to share in the employment of angels, in ministering to a distinguished heir of salvation. At Brislington, near Bristol, he continued in the same holy, earnest course as at Newington. Every day he drank the Hot-Well water, and it agreed with him well. So that he appeared to gather a little strength; though not so swiftly as was expected. And all the strength which he received, he laid out in labours of love, for the benefit of all those, rich or poor, whom providence cast in his way.

2. "Whenever he was in company, it was his general method, so far as his strength would admit, to pray particularly for every person present. And from his habitual prayer resulted that life and energy in his words, which every one that was blessed with his society felt more or less. Now and then

likewise he adventured to pray in the family. But he was not wary enough in this. He more than once so much exerted himself, that he was brought very low. As soon as he was well enough to write, he was intent upon finishing two treatises for the press. The plan of reconciliation, in particular, lay very near his heart. He longed to conclude it before he died, which he wished to do, breathing peace to Jerusalem, and pointing out to the children of God the most probable means of effecting it; of uniting together, in the bonds of peace and love, all the true ministers and followers of Jesus."

3. From Bristol he wrote to a friend thus: "I thank God I am not afraid of any evil tidings: My heart standeth fast, believing in the Lord, and desiring him to do with me just what pleases him. With respect to my body, my physician hopes I shall do well. And so I hope and believe too. For health or sickness, life or death, is best when the Lord sends it.

"I am in hopes of seeing you soon; though my friends talk of detaining me, to make a farther trial of the waters. I am forbid preaching; but, blessed be God, I am not forbid by my heavenly Physician to pray, believe, and love. This is a sweet work, which heals, strengthens, and delights: Let us do it. till we have recovered our spiritual strength. And then, whether we shall be seen on earth or not, it will be all alike.

"O be hearty in the cause of religion! Be either hot or cold. It is a fearful thing to be lukewarm, and thereby fall into the hands of the living God. Be humbly zealous for your own salvation and for God's glory. And forget not to care for each other's salvation. The case of wicked Cain is very common; the practice of many says, with that wretch, "Am I my brother's keeper?' O pray God to keep you by his mighty power through faith unto salvation! Keep yourselves in the love of God, and keep one another by example, reproof, exhortation, encouragement, social prayer, and a faithful use of all the means of grace. Use yourselves to bow at Christ's feet as your prophet. Go to him continually for the holy anointing of his Spirit, who will be a teacher always near, always with you and in you. If you have that inward Instructer, you will suffer no material loss, though your outward teachers should be removed.

"While you have the light of God's word, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light, fitted for the kingdom of eternal light; where, I charge you, prepare to meet with joy

"Your affectionate, though unworthy brother and minister,

"JOHN FLETCHER."

4. I subjoin part of a letter wrote some time before, in the same spirit, to his parishioners at Madeley:—

"DECEMBER 28, 1776

"MY DEAR PARISHIONERS,—The weakness of my body confining me from you, I humbly submit to the Divine dispensation. And I ease the trouble of my absence from you, by being present with you in spirit, and by reflecting on the pleasure I have felt in years past, in singing with you, 'Unto us a Child is born; unto us a Son is given.' This truth let us receive with all readiness, and we shall meet in Christ, the centre of lasting union. And our hearts shall be full of the song of angels, 'Glory be unto God in the highest! On earth peace, good will toward men!' In order to this, may the eyes of your understanding be more and more opened to see the need of a Redeemer, and to behold the suitableness, freeness, and fulness of the redemption wrought out by the Son of God! This wish glows in my soul so ardently, that it brings me down upon my knees while I write. And in that posture I entreat you all to consider and improve the day of your visitation; and to prepare in good earnest to meet with joy your God and your unworthy pastor in another world! Weak as I was when I left you, I hear that many who were then healthy and strong, have got the start of me; and that some have been hurried into eternity without a moment's warning. May this awful event strike a deeper consideration into all our souls! May the

sound of their bodies, dashed in pieces at the bottom of the pit, rouse us to a speedy conversion, that we may never, through carelessness or delay, fall into the bottomless pit! Tottering as I stand on the brink of the grave, some of you also may drop into it before me. Let us all, then, prepare for our approaching change, and never rest till we are assured it will be a happy one. Let the long-suffering of God toward us, who survive the hundreds that I have buried, lead us all to repentance. Embrace Jesus Christ, who wept for you in the manger, agonized for you in the garden, bled for you on the cross, and now pleads for you on his mediatorial throne. Meet me not at the great day in your sins and in your blood. Meet me in the robe of Christ's merits, and in 'the white linen' (the purity of heart and life) 'which is the righteousness of the saints.' Let all wickedness be gone for ever with the old year; and with the new year begin a new life; a life of renewed devotion to God, and increasing love to our neighbour.

"Though I hope to see much more of the goodness of God in the land of the living than I do see, yet, blessed be the Divine mercy, I see enough to keep my mind at all times unruffled, and to make me calmly willing to resign my soul into the hands of my faithful Creator. I desire your public thanks for all the favours which he continually showeth me. May our thankfulness crown the new year, as the Lord's patience and goodness have renewed our life. Permit me to beseech an interest in your prayers also. Ask that I may be willing to receive all that God is willing to bestow. Ask that I may meekly suffer and zealously do all the will of God in my present circumstances; and that, living or dying, I may say, 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.' If God calls me soon, I beg he may, in his good providence, appoint a more faithful shepherd over you. You need not fear but he will. For these many months you have had no famine of the word. And what God hath done for months, he can do for years; yea, all the years of your life. Only pray. Ask, and you shall have. Meet me at the throne of grace, and you shall meet at the throne of glory

"Your affectionate, obliged, unworthy minister,

"J. F."

5. To a friend, meantime, he wrote thus: "With respect to my soul, I calmly wait, in unshaken resignation, for the full salvation of God; ready to trust him, to venture on his faithful love, and on the sure mercies of David, either at midnight, noon-day, or cock-crowing. For my time is in his hand; and his time is best, and shall be my time. Death hath lost his sting; and I thank God I know not what hurry of spirits is, or unbelieving fears, under the most trying circumstances. Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift!"

6. He now spent part of his time at Bristol, but the greatest part at Brislington. In one place or the other, as well as at Newington, he was visited by many respectable persons. Many of these were Calvinists; several of whom bore witness to his deep piety and exalted spirit. But a dissenting minister, after pressing him hard, with regard to some of his opinions, told him, with great warmth, "Mr. Fletcher, you had better have been gasping for life with an asthma, or have had all your limbs unstrung by a palsy, than to have wrote those Checks." Mr. Fletcher replied, "Sir, I then wanted more love, and I do so still:" and in his highest fervours of divine love, he always acknowledged his want of more.

7. Here, also, he missed no opportunity of instructing servants and children, suiting his discourse, in a manner peculiar to himself, to their capacity or their business. And what would have appeared low in another, did not appear so when spoken by him. Thus, he advised the cook to stir up the fire of Divine love in his heart, that it might burn up

all the rubbish therein, and raise a flame of holy affection; to which, with the greatest cordiality, he would subjoin a short prayer. Thus, to the housemaid he said, "I entreat you to sweep every corner of your heart, that it may be fit to receive your heavenly Guest." To a poor man, who came there in a deep consumption, but little concerned for his soul, he said, in a very solemn manner, (laying one hand on his own breast, and the other on the poor man's,) "God has fixed a loud knocker at your breast and mine. Because we did not regard, as we ought to have done, the gentle knocks and calls of his Holy Spirit, his word, and his providences, he has taken fast hold here, and we cannot get out of his hand. O let this knocker awaken you, who are just dropping into eternal sleep!"

8. When one or another occasionally mentioned any unkind thing which had been said of him or his writings, if the person who had said it was named, he would stop the speaker immediately, and offer up the most fervent prayer for the person of whom he spoke. He did not willingly suffer any one to say any thing against his opponents; and he made all the allowances for them, which, on a change of circumstances, he would have wished them to make for him.

9. He continued at Brislington till the 1st of December, 1777. All other means having now been fairly tried, with very little effect, most of the symptoms being nearly the same as they were several months ago, it was determined, by the most skilful physicians, that nothing could save his life but a sea voyage. When this was fixed, Mr. Ireland (a friend in need) carried him back to Newington. While he was here, preparing for his voyage, he wrote as follows to one of his flock at Madeley:—

"I HEARTILY thank you for your kind letter. May the God of all grace and love, our common Father and our All, bless you all with all spiritual blessings, and with such temporal favours, as will best serve the end of your growing in grace.

"My desire is, if I should be spared to minister to you again, to do it with more humility, diligence, love, and zeal. But as matters are, you must take the will for the deed. And let us all praise God for all that is past, and trust him for all that is to come. The Lord enable you all to cleave to Christ, and in him to abide in one mind, 'striving together for the hope of the Gospel,' the fulness of the Spirit! Of this we have often discoursed together; but we have not pressed into it with sufficient ardour and violence. God give us the humble and violent faith which inherits the promises, that we may always triumph in Christ, in life and in death! I beg you would help me to thank the Author of all good for every blessing of this life; but above all, for the lively hope of the next, and for Christ, our common hope, peace, joy, wisdom, righteousness, and salvation. In him I meet and embrace you all. God bless you, and crown you with loving-kindness and tender mercies! I live, if you stand. Do not let me want the reviving cordial of hearing that you stand together firm in the faith, deep in humility, and rejoicing in loving hope of the glory to come. Bless God much for the gift of his only-begotten Son. Be much in private prayer. Do not forget the assembling yourselves together, in little companies, as well as in public. Walk humbly, as in the sight of death and eternity; and pray still for

"Your unworthy servant,

"J. F.

"Let none of your little companies want. If any do, you are welcome to

my house. Take any part of the furniture there, and make use of it for their relief. And this shall be your full title for so doing.

"Witness my hand, JOHN FLETCHER."

10. In the beginning of December, he set out with Mr. Ireland and his family, beside some other company. A little account of the former part of his journey is given by Mr. Ireland, in a letter to a friend:—

"WE left Calais, December 12. The north wind was very high, and penetrated us even in the chaise. We put up at Bretzul, and the next day got to Abbeville; whence we were forced, by the miserable accommodations we met with, to set out, though it was Sunday. Mr. Fletcher and I used to lead the way; but now the other chaises got before us. Nine miles from Abbeville our axletree gave way through the hard frost, and we were both left to the piercing cold, on the side of a hill, without any shelter. After waiting an hour and half, we sent the axletree and wheels back to be repaired; and, leaving the body of the chaise under a guard, procured another to carry us to the next town. On the 15th our chaise arrived in good repair. Travelling steadily forward, (though the country was all covered with snow,) on the 27th we reached Dijon. During the whole journey, Mr. Fletcher showed visible marks of a recovery. He bore both the fatigue and piercing cold as well as the best of us. On the 31st we put up at Lyons, and solemnly closed the year; bowing our knees before the throne, which indeed we did not fail to do, all together, every day. January 4, 1778, we left Lyons, and came on the 9th to Aix. Here we rest; the weather being exceeding fine and warm. Mr. Fletcher walks out daily. He is now able to read, and to pray with us, every morning and evening. He has no remains of his cough, or of the weakness in his breast. His natural colour is restored, and the sallowness quite gone. His appetite is good, and he takes a little wine."

11. In another letter Mr. Ireland writes thus: "Soon after our arrival here, I rode out most days with my dear and valuable friend. He now and then complained of the uneasiness of the horse, and there were some remains of soreness in his breast. But this soon went off. The beginning of February was warm, which, when he walked in the fields, relaxed him too much. But when the wind got north or east, he was braced again. His appetite is good; his complexion as healthy as it was eleven years ago. As his strength increases, he increases the length of his rides. Last Tuesday he set out on a journey of a hundred and twelve miles. The first day he travelled forty miles without feeling any fatigue. The third day he travelled fifty-five. He bore his journey as well as I did; and was as well and as active at the end of it as at the beginning. During the day he cried out, 'Help me to praise the Lord for his goodness: I never expected to see this day.' He now accepted a pressing invitation to preach to the Protestants here. He did so on Sunday morning, on these words: 'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith.' For some days before, he was afraid he had done wrong in accepting the invitation. But O how shall I be able to express the power and liberty which the Lord gave him! Both the French and English were greatly affected; the word went to the heart both of saints and sinners. If the Lord continues his strength and voice, (which is now as good as ever it was,) he has an earnest invitation to preach where we are going, near Montpelier. You would be astonished at the entreaties of pastors as well as people. He has received a letter from a minister in the Levine mountains, who intends to come to Montpelier, sixty miles, to press him to go and preach to his flock. Soon after this, his brother came to fetch him to Switzerland. He purposes to spend the next summer in his own country, and the following winter in these parts, or in some part of the south of France.

12. "His brother conducted him from Montpelier to Nyon, the place of his nativity. Here he lived in that which was his father's house, in the midst

of his affectionate relations, who took care that he should neither want the best advice, perhaps equal to any in Europe, nor any thing that could possibly contribute to the full recovery of his health."

13. About this time a letter was wrote to that venerable old man, Mr. Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, informing him, that there was a valuable estate at his native place, which properly belonged to him, and which might easily be recovered, if he sent one of his sons to claim it. All his friends whom he consulted on the occasion judged this information was not to be slighted; and his youngest son, Mr. William Perronet, was willing to undertake the journey. But before he set out, he wrote to Mr. Fletcher, desiring his advice. Part of his answer was as follows:—

"NYON, June 2, 1778.

"WHILE I write to you to make your title clear to a precarious estate on earth, permit me to remind you of the heavenly inheritance entailed upon believers. The will (the New Testament) by which we can recover it is proved; the court is equitable, the Judge loving and gracious. To enter on the possession of part of the estate here, and of the whole hereafter, we need only to believe, and prove evangelically that we are believers. Let us set about it now with earnestness, with perseverance, and with full assurance, that through grace we shall carry our point. Alas, what are estates or crowns, to grace and glory? The Lord grant we may all choose the better part!

"Since I wrote last, in order to shorten my journey, I ventured to cross the mountains, which separate France from this country. But on the third day, I found an unexpected trial; a hill, which we were to ascend by a winding road, but so steep, that the horses were hardly able to draw the empty chaise. This obliged me to walk, in the steepest places, for several hours together. The sun was hot. I perspired violently, and the next day I spat blood again. But having kept to asses' milk ever since, I am (blessed be God) much better.

"This country is delightful. I invite you to come and see it, and share a delightful apartment. I design to try this fine air some months longer. We have a fine shady wood near the lake, where I can ride in the cool all the day, and enjoy the singing of a multitude of birds. But this, though sweet, does not come up to the singing of my dear friends in England. There I meet them in spirit several hours in the day. God bless my dear friends!"

14. About the same time he wrote to Dr. Turner as follows:—

"SHOULD I gather strength, I should, under God, acknowledge you, dear Sir, as the instrument of that blessing, as you were above twenty years ago. Ten thousand thanks I render to you, Sir, and to Mr. Perronet, for your kind and generous care and attendance. May God reward you both, by bestowing upon you all the blessings which can make life happy, death comfortable, and eternity delightful and glorious! May the richest cordials of Divine love, and the balm of Gilead, a Saviour's precious blood, revive your souls and comfort your hearts! And in your every want and extremity, may you both find such tender helpers and comforters, as have been found in you by, dear Sir,

"Your most obliged, though most unworthy, servant and patient,

"JOHN FLETCHER."

15. In the latter end of the year, Mr. William Perronet set out for Switzerland. In a letter he wrote from thence to Mr. Greenwood, he gives a little farther account of Mr. Fletcher. And this letter I the rather insert, as I believe it is all that remains of that amiable young man, who

never more saw his native land, being called hence while he was on his journey to England.

There is something in the beginning of his letter which is a little humorous; but this the candid reader will easily excuse. It runs thus:—

"NYON, January 18, 1779.

"DEAR SIR,—As you desire me to send you some account of my journey, now I am a little settled, I will do it in the best manner I am able.

"I set out from London, on Tuesday, November 17th. We arrived at Dover about three on Wednesday morning; embarked on Thursday, and arrived at Calais in about three hours.

"Though it was in war time, yet we did not meet with the least incivility, either here or in any part of France. But the badness of the inns makes the travelling through this country disagreeable. The rooms in general are so dirty, as to be fitter for swine than men. Each room, both above and below stairs, is provided with two, three, or four beds; and they are so high as to require steps to get up to them. For there is on each bed, first, a monstrous canvas bag, stuffed with a huge quantity of straw; over this a feather bed, and on this as many mattresses as the host can furnish. But the worst is, the sheets are not damp, but rather downright wet. Yet the good woman would constantly scold us, if we attempted to dry them even at our own fire; insisting upon it that it was impossible they should be damp at all.

"At table, every one is furnished with a spoon and a fork, but with no knives. And in general they are not needful; for both flesh and vegetables are so stewed down, as to be properly termed spoon-meat. However, at the meanest inn every one is provided with a clean napkin; and both after dinner and after supper there is a fine dessert of fruit.

"We travelled early and late; yet, having but one set of horses, we were a whole week in getting to Paris. In Paris all is gaiety and finery; but without the least idea of neatness. The scarcity of water is one excuse for the general want of cleanliness, both in their persons and houses.

"On Tuesday, December 8, we dined at Portallier; the prettiest town in all France: the reason of which is, being burnt down some years ago, it was rebuilt by the late king. The next morning we entered Switzerland, stepping over a brook, which divides Switzerland from France. On the French side of the brook is a cross; on the other, a pillar with the arms of Switzerland. In the evening we arrived at Lausanne, a famous old town. Here I remained the next day, and on Friday, the 11th, went on to Nyon, where I had the pleasure of finding our dear friend in pretty good health and spirits. Mr. Fletcher's house is a fine large building, agreeably situated. It is in the form of a castle, and is supposed to have been built five hundred years ago.

"In passing through France, how bitterly did I regret the want of the Sunday service! And it was not much better with me when I came into Switzerland. For I understood so little of their language, that I could not profit much by the public service. Indeed this loss is in some measure made up by the company and conversation of Mr. Fletcher; who, however engaged he is the greater part of the day, is generally so kind as to spend a little time with me in the evening, in prayer and conversation.

"His chief delight seems to be in the meeting of his little society of children. And as he is exceeding fond of them, they appear to be altogether as fond of him. He seldom either walks abroad or rides out, but some of them follow him; singing the hymns they have learned, and conversing with him, by the way. But you must not suppose that he is permitted to enjoy this happiness unmolested. Not only the drunkards make songs upon him and his little companions, but many of the clergy loudly complain of such irregular proceedings. However, he is upon good terms with the three ministers of the place; all of whom are not only serious men, but desirous of promoting true religion.

"He is certainly stronger, and in better health, than he was when he left England. But as soon as ever he ventures to preach, his spitting of blood returns. Whenever this happens, his strength and spirits decay surprisingly, which he cannot in anywise recover but by lying by for some days.

"Whether I succeed in my temporal business or not, I shall ever remember with pleasure and thankfulness the opportunities I have been blessed with of spending so much time in company with our inestimable friend; who, wherever he goes, preaches the Gospel, both by his words and example, nay, by his very looks, not only to his friends, but to all he meets with. So that on the top of the frozen Alps, and in the dreary vale of Chateau d'Oex, some good seed has been sown.

"When my business constrained me to go to Chateau d'Oex, Mr. Fletcher bore me company. And here also he was visited by some of the principal inhabitants of the town; who stood round him in deep attention for almost an hour, while he both exhorted and prayed. I am, dear Sir,

"Your very sincere friend and servant,

"WILLIAM PERRONET."

16. Mr. Fletcher adds upon the same paper: "Thanks to our kind Preserver, I am yet in the land of faith and hope, and want to find and make it a land of happiness and love. The Lord Jesus is alone sufficient for this. And till the great outpouring of his love is come, we ought faithfully to stir up the gift of God, which is in ourselves and others, and to supply by the depth of our humility, and the ardour of our expectation, what is yet wanting to our experience. Well; God is good; Jesus is faithful; the Spirit is truth and love. Come, Lord! and we shall experience the power of that God, who turns death to life, darkness to light, weakness to strength; and 'calleth the things that are not as though they were.'"

17. Mr. Perronet in another letter to Mr. Greenwood, dated May 22, writes thus:—

"My dear friend is much better in health now than he was in the winter. He preached last Sunday se'nnight in the church. He spoke with a strong, clear voice, for above three quarters of an hour; and did not find himself hurt by it. But when he rode out in the afternoon, his horse dropped down, as if he had been shot, and cut both his knees, as well as his head. Yet Mr. Fletcher was no way hurt.

"On Good-Friday, there being no service here, Mr. Fletcher and I crossed the lake into Savoy, in order to hear a celebrated Capuchin, who was to preach that day. He made a very good discourse; and afterward he and his brethren invited us to dine with them. This we declined; but after dinner paid our respects to them; and we spent two or three agreeable hours in serious and friendly conversation."

18. About this time Mr. Fletcher wrote to a friend thus:—

"Let us bear with patience the decays of nature: let us see without fear the approach of death. We must put off this sickly, corruptible body, in order to put on the immortal and glorious garment.

"I have some hopes that my poor sister will yet be my sister in Christ. Her self-righteousness, I trust, breaks as fast as her body. I am come hither to see death make havoc among my friends. I wear mourning for my father's brother, and for my brother's son. The same mourning will serve me for my dying sister, if I do not go before her. She lies on the same bed where my father and mother died, and where she and I were born. How near is life to death! But, blessed be God, Christ the resurrection is nearer to the weak, dying believer. Death works through the body, and the resurrection through the soul. And our soul is our real self."

19. I believe it was about the same time that a remarkable passage occurred, which was related to me some years ago. I may possibly have forgot some circumstances; but the substance of it was this: Mr. Fletcher having heard of a minister in the country, as an eminently pious man, had a great desire to see him; and for that purpose one morning set out very early. When he had walked several miles, he saw a great crowd gathered together at the door of a house. He asked what was the matter; and was answered, "A poor woman and her child lie a dying." He went in, and found a woman, who had not long been delivered, in appearance very near death. Little better was the case of the infant, which was convulsed from head to foot. The room was filled with people. He took occasion to show them, from that melancholy spectacle, the dreadful effects of sin; and afterward spoke largely of the miserable state we are all in, through the sin of our first parent. He then expatiated on the Second Adam, and the blessings we may receive through him; adding, "He is able to raise the dead. He is able to save you all from sin, as well as save these two poor objects from death. Come, let us ask Him to save both us and them." He found remarkable liberty in prayer. Presently the child's convulsions ceased; and the mother was easy, lively, and strong. The people were utterly amazed, and stood speechless and almost senseless. While they were in this state, he silently withdrew. When they came to themselves, he was gone. Many of them asked who it could be; and some said, "Certainly it was an angel."

20. When he had a little recovered his strength, he made a tour through Italy, and paid a visit to Rome. While he was here, as Mr. Ireland and he were one day going through one of the streets in a coach, they were informed, the Pope was coming forward; and it would be required of them to come out of the coach, and kneel while he went by, as all the people did: if they did not, in all probability the zealous mob would fall upon them and knock them on the head. But this, whatever might be the consequence, they flatly refused to do; judging the paying such honour to a man was neither better nor worse than idolatry. The coachman was exceedingly terrified, not knowing what to do. However, at length he made shift to turn aside into a narrow way. The Pope was in an open landau. He waved his hands as if he had been swimming; and frequently repeated these words, "God bless you all!" Mr. Fletcher's spirit was greatly stirred, and he longed to bear a public testimony against Antichrist; and he would undoubtedly have done it, had he been able to speak Italian. He could hardly refrain from doing it in Latin, till he considered that only the priests could have understood him. One to whom he related this, saying, if he had done this the multitude would have torn him in pieces; he answered, "I believe the Pope himself would have prevented; for he was a man of sense and humanity."

21. While he was at Paris, he was desired to visit and pray with a sick woman. Information of this was quickly given to a magistrate, with abundance of aggravation. In consequence of this an order was procured from the king himself for the apprehending him. This might not improbably have cost him his life, or, at least, a long and expensive imprisonment. When the officer came to the door of the house where he lodged, Mr. Ireland stepped out, and said, "Sir, have you a warran

for me?" He (supposing him to be Mr. Fletcher) answered, "I have; you must come with me." Mr. Ireland went very quietly with him. But when they came before the magistrate, the accuser said, "This is not the man; I know nothing of this gentleman." Another messenger was then sent; but before he came to the house, Mr. Fletcher was too far off to be overtaken.

22. While he was at Nyon, he wrote (among many other letters) to good old Mr. Perronet as follows:—

"February 8, 1779.

"Honoured and dear Father in Christ,—I have had the pleasure of accompanying your son to your father's birth place. It is a charming country for those who have a taste for highland prospects. But what is it to our heavenly Father's hill of Sion? Thither may we all travel, summer and winter, and there may we all have a happy meeting, and an eternal inheritance!"

23. September 7. Mr. William Perronet wrote a little farther account of him: "Mr. Fletcher," says he, "has preached here" (at Nyon) "in the church, and might have preached much oftener, if his health would have permitted; for his friendly and prudent behaviour has won upon all the three ministers, so that they are now on the best terms with him. But a new difficulty has lately arisen. He has been summoned before the Seigneur Bailiff, who sharply reprehended him (noble bailiff indeed; worthy of his office!) for preaching against Sabbath breaking, which, he said, implied a censure of the magistrates, as if they neglected their duty. He reprimanded him also for preaching against stage-plays, which he considered as a reflection on himself, as he had just then sent for a company of French comedians to Nyon. In consequence of this, he forbid his exercising the function of a minister in this country. A blessed instance of republican liberty! Who would not wish for the same in England? However, one of the ministers has ventured to give him a room in his own house. Here he preaches two or three times a week, to a few serious persons and abundance of children. His lordship has not yet thought proper to interfere, although the thing is no secret. And not only the seriousness, but also the number, of the congregation increases daily."

24. In the next year, 1780, Mr. Fletcher fully intended to return to England. But not long after he wrote as follows, to one of his parishioners at Madeley:—

"I have the more readily complied with the request of my friends, to stay here" (at Nyon) "a little longer, as it was so earnestly backed by the little society which is gathered in this place. About three weeks ago they got about me, and besought me on their knees, with many tears, to stay till they were a little stronger, and able to stand alone. Nor would they be persuaded to rise, till they had got me to comply. Happy would it be for us all, if we prayed so earnestly to Him who can give substantial blessings!

"Two days ago I went to Geneva, and spoke to a carrier, to take me back to London; but his coach was full. Yesterday another came, and said he would take us at a fortnight's notice. The Lord is always ready to give us a lift to the kingdom of grace, through which we must pass to the kingdom of glory. The comfort of this journey is, that we may travel all together, though our bodies are far asunder. For Christ the way is every where, and faith is (like his word) one and the same in every age and place. So is holiness; for in all places we may love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. I hope you and all your brethren travel thus; and that you journey like St. Paul, who travelled so hard, that he was running a race for a prize, a crown of life."

25. In spring, 1781, he set out for England. But Mr. Perronet was

then exceeding ill, having all the symptoms of an approaching consumption. He could not therefore keep pace with Mr. Fletcher; who, being on his journey, wrote to him as follows:—

"LYONS, April 6, 1781.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—We are both weak and both afflicted; but Jesus careth for us. He is every where. He has all power to deliver us; and perhaps by ways we little think of. It was of the Lord that you did not come with me; you would have been sick as I am. I am overdone with riding and preaching; indeed twice I preached in the fields. I carry home with me much weakness: the Lord's will be done. I know I am called to suffer and die. Let us believe and rejoice in the Lord Jesus."

He returned to England in summer in tolerable health, being quite recovered from his consumption. Calling at London, he preached at the New chapel, slept at Newington, and the next day set out for Bristol. He stayed there only a short time, and then retired to Mr. Ireland's, at Brislington; who, as soon as he was capable, willingly accompanied him to his beloved Madeley.

26. But he did not find such cause of rejoicing here as he had fondly expected. This may be easily gathered from the letter he then wrote to his friend at Newington. It runs thus:—

"MADELEY, June 12, 1781.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I stayed longer at Brislington than I designed. Mr. Ireland was ill, and would nevertheless come hither with me; so that I was obliged to stay till he was better. And indeed it was well that I did not come without him; for he has helped me to regulate my outward affairs, which were in great confusion. Mr. Greaves leaves me; and I will either leave Madeley, or have an assistant able to stir among the people; for I had much rather be gone than stay here to see the dead bury their dead. Well, we shall soon remove out of all, and rest from our little cares and labours. You do not forget, I hope, that you have need of patience, as well as I, to inherit the promises; the best and greatest of which are not sealed, but to such as keep the word of Christ's patience, and such as persevere with him in his temptations. Hold on, then, patient faith and joyful hope! If I were by you, I would preach to your heart and my own, a lecture on this text, 'We are saved by hope,' and by a faith which is never stronger than when it is contrary to all the feelings of flesh and blood.

"Pray what news of the glory? Does the glory of the Lord fill the temple, your house, your heart? A cloud is over my poor parish; but, alas! it is not the luminous cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night. Even the few remaining professors stared at me the other day, when I preached to them on these words: 'Ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost; for the promise is unto you.' Well, the promise is unto us: if others depise it, still let us believe and hope. Nothing enlarges the heart and awakens the soul more than that believing, loving expectation. Let us wait together, until we are all endued with power from on high."

CHAPTER VII.

OF HIS MARRIAGE.

1. ALTHOUGH the great Apostle has ranked the "forbidding to marry" among the "doctrines of devils," and has expressly declared, "Marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled;" yet a kind of prejudice hangs on the minds of many even of those that love God, inclining them to disapprove of the marriage of persons eminent in religion. Yea

many are of opinion that it is not consistent with high degrees of holiness; and that when any who have deep experience in the things of God marry, they are in some measure fallen from grace. Hence many were surprised that so eminent a Christian as Mr. Fletcher should take this step. And they could hardly help thinking that he had lost some degree of his excellent piety, and that he was not so unreservedly devoted to God as he had been some time before.

2. In order to satisfy every reasonable person that he had not sustained any loss at all, that his entire self devotion was in nowise impaired, either before or at the time of his marriage, I believe the most convincing way will be to give as particular an account as possible of what occurred at that time. The account is given by one that was an eye and ear witness of what she relates; and whoever seriously considers this account will easily perceive that his soul was at that time all alive, and wholly devoted to God. And I cannot but recommend this whole transaction to the imitation of all Christians who enter the holy state of matrimony.

3. As I think it highly expedient to premise some account of the person whom Mr. Fletcher chose as his companion for life, I am glad to find this done to my hand in the letter which I shall now subjoin:—

"Reverend Sir,—I think it my privilege, and have often found it a blessing, to comply with the request of my honoured father, which I now do also in great love to my valuable and much-esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher. I will therefore endeavour, with the assistance of my gracious Lord, to recollect and acquaint you with some particulars of the life and character of these truly devoted servants of God, with whose intimate acquaintance I have been favoured for near thirty years. But, indeed, I feel my great insufficiency to relate what might be said with the strictest truth of these worthies.

"My acquaintance with Mrs. Fletcher began when she was about seventeen years of age. She had from her early childhood been strongly drawn to seek the Crucified, and was now athirst for a clean heart, and longed to have a right spirit renewed within her. Nor did her desire to love God with all her heart lessen, but increase, her love to her neighbour; as I, the most unworthy, am well able to testify, to whom she has been a tried friend, even to the present hour.

"To give you a clear view of this, I need only transcribe part of a letter, which she wrote to me, May 23, 1757:—

"'My Dearest Friend,—The Lord has been indeed merciful, above all we can ask or think. I found a greater blessing the last time I was with you than ever. I am more enabled to prayer, and to an earnest seeking after holiness. But what most stirs me up is, I seem to hear the Lord calling upon me, *Depart ye, depart ye; go ye out thence; touch not the unclean thing; be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord.* For some time, these words have been much in my mind, with both pleasure and profit. But within this day or two, the Lord has more clearly shown me the way wherein I ought to walk. He seems to call me out to more activeness; so that I am ready to cry out, *What wouldest thou have me to do?* Then I consider, Can I do any more for the souls or bodies of the poor about me? But this does not seem to be the thing. What I am now led to wish for is, with both soul and body to serve those who are in Christ. And as soon as the Lord has prepared me for his work, and set me at liberty, my firm resolution is, by the grace of God, to be wholly given up to the Church. I plainly see, I have no more to do with the world, than to allow myself the necessaries of life. And though it has pleased God that I have no need to work for my living, yet

surely that is no reason my hand should be idle. I would be like those described, 1 Timothy v, 10, to bring up children, to lodge strangers, to be ready to do the meanest offices for the saints, to relieve the afflicted, to visit the fatherless and widow, and diligently to follow every good work. O pray for me, that the Lord may shorten his work in me, and quickly make an end of sin! O that he would say to my soul, *Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee!* O when shall I be wholly given up, both body and soul, to Him who gave himself for me?'

"I admired the spirit of this letter; but little expected to see these good desires brought so fully into practice, as they were in a few years after. And this may suffice as a clear proof that God fulfils the desire of them that fear him; yea, and shows unto them the path wherein he would have them to walk. That her light given before was not delusive, is plain; as it is well known, how many years she has 'brought up children, lodged strangers,' relieved the afflicted, and 'diligently followed every good work.'

"With regard to the dear saint that is now swallowed up in his beloved employment, praise and adoration, it is eight or nine-and-twenty years since I was first favoured with his heavenly conversation, in company with Mr. Walsh and a few other friends, most of whom are now in the world of spirits At these seasons, how frequently did we feel

The o'erwhelming power of saving grace!

How frequently were we silenced thereby, while tears of love our eyes o'erflowed! It sweetly affects my soul while I recollect the humility, fervour of spirit, and strength of faith, with which dear Mr. Fletcher so often poured out his soul before the great Three-One, at whose feet we have lain in holy shame and divine silence, till it seemed earth was turned to heaven! With what delight does my soul recal those precious moments! Yet a little while, and we shall all magnify His name together.

"This heavenly minded servant of the Lord resembled him likewise in his love to precious souls. I heard him preach his first sermon at West-street chapel. I think his text was, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' His spirit appeared in his whole attitude and action, though he could not well find words in the English language to express himself: but he supplied that defect by offering up prayers, tears, and sighs abundantly. Nearly about this time he saw Miss Bosanquet, and began his acquaintance with her. But although they had a particular esteem for each other, yet they had no correspondence for above twenty years. It was not till the yearly conference drew near, in July 1781, that he paid her a visit at her own house near Leeds. They had much conversation together, and contracted an intimate acquaintance. After a few days, Miss Bosanquet asked Mr. Wesley's advice concerning Mr. Fletcher's proposal, who approved it entirely; being persuaded, it would be much to the glory of God. He spent much of his time at Cross Hall, till the following January. His general conversation was praising God, and speaking of the love of our dear Redeemer. He took opportunities likewise of speaking to every one in the family concerning the state of their souls, and giving them from time to time such directions as were suitable thereto. At other times he met us all together, and gave us proper exhortations and directions. Our daily meals were as a sacrament. When he drank to any one it was, 'Heavenly health,' or, 'The cup of salvation.' At or after the meal, he generally begun, or called us to begin, that verse,—

'Still, O my soul, prolong
The never-ceasing song!
Christ my theme, my hope, my joy,
His be all my happy days!
Praise my every hour employ;
Every breath be spent in praise!'

After dinner he often sung several verses of 'Primitive Christianity;' particularly that,—

O that my Lord would count me meet
To wash his dear disciples' feet!

Sometimes he read many of those verses with tears streaming down his face. Thus did he walk with God, filled with the Spirit of his beloved Lord; confirming his love to all the family, and caring both for their spiritual and temporal concerns.

"My soul was much affected, when he asked each of us, in a sweet, humble manner, 'Can you give me your friend?' To think of parting, was indeed, grievous to us all. Yet we did not dare to withhold her from him; as we all believed the union was of God, and would be to their present and eternal benefit. The first sermon which he preached in Leeds, on the Sunday morning before the Conference, will never be forgotten by any that heard it, who desire to be perfected in love. He preached in many places while in Yorkshire, and to numerous congregations. I have heard of many who were greatly blessed thereby; some convinced, others set at liberty. And whenever he either preached or conversed, the comforts of the Holy Ghost were multiplied.

Monday, November 12, was the day appointed for the outward uniting of those whose hearts were before united by the Holy Spirit. On the morning of this day, several friends met together on this solemn occasion; who can all, as well as me, truly say, 'I have been at one Christian wedding.' Jesus was invited, and truly he was at our Cana. We reached Cross-Hall before family prayers. Mr. Fletcher was dressed in his canonicals; and after giving out one of Mr. Wesley's marriage hymns, he read the seventh, eighth, and ninth verses of the nineteenth chapter of the Revelation; and spoke from them in such a manner as greatly tended to spiritualize the solemnities of the day. He said, 'We invite you to our wedding; but the Holy Ghost here invites you to the marriage of the Lamb. The Bride, the Lamb's wife, has made herself ready. This Bride consists of the whole Church triumphant and militant united together. Ye may all be the Bride, and Jesus will condescend to be the Bridegroom. Make yourself ready by being filled with the Spirit.' He was very solemn in prayer, and said, 'Lord, thou knowest, we would not take this step, if we had not eternity in view, and if we were not as willing to be carried into the church yard as to go into the church.' At breakfast he reminded us, 'The postilions are now ready to carry us to the church, in order to see our nuptials solemnized; but death will soon be here, to transport us to the marriage of the Lamb.'

"On the way to the church, (Batley Church, which was near two miles off,) he spoke much of the mystery which is couched under marriage, namely, the union between Christ and his Church. 'The first Adam,' said he, 'received his wife from his side; our heavenly Adam purchased his Bride by a fountain opened in his pierced side.' They were married in the face of the congregation; the doors were opened, and every one came in that would. We then returned home, and spent a considerable time in singing and prayer. We were near twenty of us. I then presented Mrs. Fletcher with some wedding hymns. She looked them over, and gave them to Mr. Fletcher. He read the Scripture at the top, namely, 'Husbands, love your wives;' and added, 'As Christ loved the Church.' Then turning to us, he said, 'My God, what a task! Help me, my friends, by your prayers to fulfil it. *As Christ loved the Church!* He laid aside his glory for her! He submitted to be born into our world; to be clothed with a human body, subject to all our sinless infirmities. He endured shame, contempt, pain, yea, death itself, for his Church! O my God, none is able to fulfil this task without thine almighty aid. Help me, O my God! Pray for me, O my friends!'

"He next read, 'Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands.' Mrs. Fletcher added, 'As unto the Lord.' 'Well, my dear,' returned Mr. Fletcher, 'only in the Lord; and if ever I wish you to do any thing otherwise, resist me with all your might.' From dinner, which was a spiritual meal, as well

as a natural one, until tea-time, our time was spent chiefly in fervent prayer or singing. After singing the covenant hymn, Mr. Fletcher went to Mrs. Fletcher, and said to her, 'Well, my dearest friend, will you join with me in joining ourselves in a perpetual covenant to the Lord? Will you with me serve him in his members? Will you help me to bring souls to the blessed Redeemer; and, in every possible way this day, lay yourself under the strongest ties you can, to help me to glorify my gracious Lord?' She answered, like one that well knew where her strength lay, 'May my God help me so to do!'

"In the evening Mr. Valton preached in the hall, from those most suitable words: 'What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord.' His words did not fall to the ground: many were greatly refreshed. After preaching there was a sweet contest among us; every one thought, 'I in particular owe the greatest debt of praise;' till we jointly agreed to sing,

'I'll praise my Maker, while I've breath;
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, or thought, or being last,
Or immortality endures.'

"On the Wednesday following the select society met; and it was a precious season. Among other things, Mr. Fletcher said, 'Some of you perhaps may be a little surprised at the step my dearest friend and I have taken. But I assure you, it was the result of much prayer and mature deliberation. Five-and-twenty years ago, when I first saw my dear wife, I thought, if I ever married, she should be the person. But she was too rich for me to think of; so I banished every thought of the kind. For many years after, I had a distaste to a married life, thinking it impossible to be as much devoted to God in a married as in a single life. But this objection was removed, by reading, *Enoch begat sons and daughters. And Enoch walked with God, and was not; for God took him.* I then saw, if Enoch at the head of a family might walk with God, and be fit for translation; our souls under the Gospel dispensation might attain the highest degree of holiness in a similar state, if too great an attachment, leading the soul from God rather than to him, did not take place; instead of that, which should be a means of increasing its union with Jesus. Yet still many obstacles stood in my way; but at length they were all removed. Every mountain became a plain; and we are both well assured, that the step we took had the full approbation of God.'

"On January 2, 1782, we had a very solemn parting. But in the midst of all the sorrow which we felt, was a sweet assurance that we should meet again, not only in this world, but

Where death shall all be done away,
And bodies part no more.

This brings to my mind a sentence which he wrote to us, a little before his death: 'Time is short. It remains, that we die daily. Stand fast in Christ, the resurrection and the life. That we may have a happy meeting is the wish and prayer of

'Your affectionate friends,

'JOHN and MARY FLETCHER.'

"To repeat all the precious sayings of this servant of God would require many volumes; for his mouth was always opened with wisdom, tending to minister grace to the hearers. My earnest prayer is, that the spirit of faith, and love, and heavenly wisdom, may rest upon you also, and guide you in all your extensive labours, till they are swallowed up in eternal rest. I remain, Reverend Sir,

"Your unworthy child and servant,

"S. C."

4. I cannot help subjoining a reflection here, which at this time affected me much. Although I could in nowise condemn this marriage, yet on one account it gave me pain. When I was young, I was exceedingly affected with a relation in Mr. Herbert's Life,—an account of Mr. Ferrar's family, at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire; a very particular description of which is given in the "Arminian Magazine." I longed to see such another family, in any part of the three kingdoms. At length I had my desire; I did see exactly such another family: I saw a family full as much devoted to God, full as regular in all their exercises of devotion, and at least as exemplary in every branch of Christian holiness. This I saw, by the peculiar providence of God, settled at Leytonstone. O that it had continued there! The removal of it into Yorkshire I did not advise nor approve of. However, I rejoiced to see it settled somewhere; namely, at Cross-Hall, near Leeds. Again I did all that was in my power to perpetuate this glorious institution. It was now totally dissolved; and yet by a means which I did not dare to oppose. "O God, how unsearchable are thy judgments; and thy ways past finding out!"

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO THE BEGINNING OF HIS LAST ILLNESS.

1. FROM the time of his settling at Madeley with Mrs. Fletcher, he had no return of his consumptive disorder. On the contrary, by the blessing of God on her peculiar care and tenderness, not only his health was confirmed, but his strength restored as in the days of his youth. In the mean time he took care to employ all his returning strength in the work of faith and the labour of love: More particularly in that which he had always found to be one of the most difficult parts of his duty. We have in this parish, through the lenity of the magistrates, no less than eight public houses. These are well known to have been continual nurseries for sin, particularly on Sunday evenings. It had been for many years his unwearied endeavour to put an end to these abuses. Yet as he very seldom had a churchwarden who was heartily willing to second him therein, his endeavours were almost ineffectual, producing very little fruit. But for two years God was now pleased to favour him with a church warden who was resolved to act according to his oath: He then cheerfully renewed his endeavours, visiting several of these houses every Sunday; all of them in their turn. In every one he bore a faithful testimony; and in some it has been attended with much good. O that no one of those who have been at any time within the reach of his voice, may finally inherit that curse, "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish!"

2. For many years he had felt with the deepest sensibility the disconsolate condition of poor uninstructed children; and some years ago he began a school, wherein he taught them himself every day. After pursuing this method for some time, he erected a school in Madeley-Wood; but afterward his thoughts were much employed concerning the Sunday schools; especially since they were recommended to him in a letter from Mrs. Derby, a person whom he always found ready to promote every good work. He then earnestly set about promoting them in his own parish. Three hundred children were soon gathered together, whom he took every opportunity of instructing, by regular meetings, for

some time before the schools were opened. These meetings he attended, with the utmost diligence, to the very Thursday before his illness. In order to encourage the children, his method was to give them little hymn books, pointing them to some friend or neighbour, who would teach them the hymns, and instruct them to sing. The little creatures were greatly taken with this new employment; insomuch that many of them would scarce allow themselves time to eat or sleep, for the desire they had of learning their lessons. At every meeting, after inquiring who had made the greatest proficiency, he distinguished them by some little reward.

3. In the instructing of children, one great difficulty is, to draw and fix their attention. He had a singular gift for doing this, by making advantage of any incident that offered. One day, while he had a considerable number of children before him in the preaching house, as he was persuading them to mind what they were about, and to remember the text which he was going to mention, just then a robin flew into the house, and their eyes were presently turned after him. "Now," said he, "I see you can attend to that robin. Well, I will take that robin for my text." He then gave them a useful lecture on the harmlessness of that little creature, and the tender care of its Creator.

4. When he observed that the number of children, instead of falling off, as was expected, increased continually, he wrote some proposals to the parish, which were received with the greatest unanimity. Many of the rich, as well as the trading people, lent a helping hand, not only to defray the expense of teachers, but also to raise a convenient house in Coalbrook Dale for the instruction of the numerous children that were on that side of the parish.

5. The proposal was as follows:—"Our national depravity turns greatly on these two hinges, the profanation of the Lord's day, and the neglect of the education of children. Till some way is found of stopping up these two great inlets of wickedness, we must expect to see our workhouses filled with aged parents forsaken by their prodigal children, with wives forsaken by their faithless husbands, and with the wretched offspring of lewd women and drunken men. Nay, we may expect to see the gaols, and even the gallows, largely stocked, to the perpetual reproach of our nation, with unhappy wretches ready to fall a sacrifice to the laws of their country. 'It is a common observation,' says Dr. Gibson, late bishop of London, 'that public criminals, when they come to their unhappy end, and make their dying declarations to the world, generally charge the sinful courses in which they have lived, to the neglect and abuse of the Lord's day, as the first occasion of leading them into all other wickedness. And, considering how frequently these declarations are repeated, and how many other instances of the same kind, though less public, are notorious enough to those who will observe them, they may well be a warning to us, to consider a religious observation of the Lord's day as the best preservative of virtue and religion, and the neglect and profanation of it as the greatest inlet to vice and wickedness."

6. A pious clergyman farther observes: "The want of education in children is one of the principal causes of the misery of families, cities, and nations; ignorance, vice, and misery being constant companions. The hardest heart must melt at the melancholy sight of such a number of children, both male and female, who live in gross ignorance, and habitual profanation of the Lord's day. What crowds fill the streets and fields, tempting each other to idleness, lewdness, and every other species of wickedness! Is it any wonder we should have so many undutiful children, unfaithful appren-

tices, disobedient servants, untrusty workmen, disloyal subjects, and bad members of society? Whence so much rapine, fornication, and blasphemy? Do not all these evils centre in ignorance and contempt of the Lord's day? And shall we do nothing to check these growing evils?

7. "Persons concerned for the welfare of the next generation, and well-wishers to Church and State, have already set us a fair example in Stroud, Gloucester, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, and many country parishes. They have attempted to remedy these evils by setting up Sunday schools, which, by keeping children from corrupting one another, by promoting their attendance on divine worship, and by planting the first principles of useful knowledge in their minds, and of piety in their hearts, bid fair for a public reformation of manners, and for nipping in the bud the ignorance and impiety which is every where so common among the lower and more numerous classes of people."

8. The proposals concerning Sunday schools in the parish of Madeley, were as follows:—

"I. It is proposed that Sunday schools be set up in this parish, for such children as are employed all the week, and for those, whose education has been hitherto totally neglected.

"II. That the children admitted into these be taught reading, writing, and the principles of religion.

"III. That there be a school for boys and another for girls, in Madeley, Madeley Wood, and Coalbrook Dale, six in all.

"IV. That a subscription be opened, to pay each teacher one shilling per Sunday, and to buy tables, forms, books, pens, and ink.

"V. That two treasurers be appointed to ask and receive the contributions of the subscribers.

"VI. That whoever subscribes one guinea a year shall be a governor.

"VII. That three or four inspectors be appointed, who are to visit the schools once a week, to see that the children attend regularly, and the masters do their duty.

"VIII. That a book be provided, for setting down all receipts and expenses; and another for the names of the teachers and the scholars.

"IX. That the schools be solemnly visited once or twice a year; and a premium given to the children that have made the greatest improvement."

9. As to the success of his unwearied labours, although he was much discouraged when he first returned from abroad, finding so many of those who had once run well, grown weary and faint in their mind; yet it was not long before he found fresh cause to rejoice, and to know that God was with him of a truth. It was not long before he observed that a general reformation had taken place in the parish. And it was not only an outward reformation, even of many that had been notorious for all manner of wickedness; but an inward also; many both young and old having learned to worship God "in spirit and in truth." A considerable number of these still mourn, as sheep bereaved of their shepherd. And yet one cannot doubt, but a still larger company of his own children have hailed him on the celestial shore. But the season is coming when all secrets shall be laid open; and all the jewels of his crown shall be made manifest in that day.

10. One instance of the success of his ministry he mentioned some years since at Bristol: "One Sunday," said he, "when I had done reading prayers at Madeley, I went up into the pulpit, intending to preach a sermon, which I had prepared for that purpose. But my mind was so confused, that I could not recollect either my text or any part of my sermon. I was afraid I should be obliged to come down without saying any thing. But having recollected

myself a little, I thought I would say something on the First Lesson, which was the third chapter of Daniel, containing the account of the three children cast into the fiery furnace: I found in doing it such an extraordinary assistance from God, and such a peculiar enlargement of heart, that I supposed there must be some peculiar cause for it. I therefore desired, if any of the congregation found any thing particular, they would acquaint me with it in the ensuing week.

"In consequence of this, the Wednesday after, a woman came, and gave me the following account:—'I have been for some time much concerned about my soul. I have attended the church at all opportunities, and have spent much time in private prayer. At this my husband (who is a butcher) has been exceedingly enraged, and threatened me severely what he would do, if I did not leave off going to John Fletcher's church; yea, if I dared to go any more to any religious meetings whatsoever. When I told him I could not in conscience refrain from going at least to our parish church, he grew quite outrageous, and swore dreadfully, if I went any more, he would cut my throat as soon as I came home. This made me cry mightily to God, that he would support me in the trying hour. And though I did not feel any great degree of comfort, yet having a sure confidence in God, I determined to go on in my duty, and leave the event to him. Last Sunday, after many struggles with the devil and my own heart, I came down stairs ready for church. My husband asked me, whether I was resolved to go thither. I told him, I was. Well then, said he, I shall not (as I intended) cut your throat; but I will heat the oven, and throw you into it the moment you come home. Notwithstanding this threatening, which he enforced with many bitter oaths, I went to church, praying all the way that God would strengthen me to suffer whatever might befall me. While you was speaking of the three children whom Nebuchadnezzar cast into the burning fiery furnace, I found it all belonged to me, and God applied every word to my heart. And when the sermon was ended, I thought, if I had a thousand lives, I could lay them all down for God. I felt my whole soul so filled with his love, that I hastened home, fully determined to give myself to whatsoever God pleased; nothing doubting, but that either he would take me to heaven, if he suffered me to be burned to death, or that he would some way deliver me, even as he did his three servants that trusted in him. When I got almost to our own door, I saw the flames issuing out of the mouth of the oven. And I expected nothing else, but that I should be thrown into it immediately. I felt my heart rejoice, that if it were so, the will of the Lord would be done. I opened the door, and, to my utter astonishment, saw my husband upon his knees, wrestling with God in prayer for the forgiveness of his sins. He caught me in his arms, earnestly begged my pardon, and has continued diligently seeking God ever since.' I now know why my sermon was taken from me; namely, that God might thus magnify his mercy."

11. Many were the dangers he went through in the course of his ministry; but the Lord delivered him out of all. One of these Mrs. Fletcher relates in the following words:—

"My husband having appointed to preach one Sunday at a church, about fourteen miles off, I felt some concern for his riding so far, and doing the whole Sunday's duty twice; especially as it was necessary for him to return home the same night. The evening being exceeding dark and wet, I was strongly led to commend him to God in prayer. While I was doing this, it was suggested to me, that his horse was fallen, and had thrown him over his head; and the whole scene appeared to be clearly represented before my eyes. 'My God,' said I, 'he is thine. His life, his limbs, his health, are all thine. I commit him to thee by faith.' Immediately that word was impressed on my heart, 'The righteous is in the hand of the Lord; and there shall no evil touch him.' And it empowered my soul with such a sweetness, that I could

feel no fear. The night was uncommonly bad, which occasioned many friends to continue with me. And while they expressed their great uneasiness at his staying two hours longer than we could well account for, I was obliged to hide the calmness I felt by silence, lest some should have supposed it insensibility.* At last he came well, and praising God; but asked for water to wash himself, because his horse had fallen, and thrown him with great force over his head. Yet, glory be to God, he was no way hurt, except having a little skin grazed from one of his fingers. As he set the Lord always before him, so he found his help in every time of need."

12. The laying the foundation of the Sunday schools at Madeley was the last public work in which he was employed. But as the liberal man is ever devising liberal things, he had several plans in his mind for preserving a great number of desolate children, brought up only to beg and steal. Such this populous parish (and indeed most others) affords in great abundance. He had likewise proposed writing various little tracts,† for the use of the schools. But he who cannot err saw good to call his servant hence to enjoy, rather than leave him here to do and suffer

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CHAPTER IX.

HIS CHARACTER.

1. I AM sensible, it is the method of almost all writers, to place the character of a man at the conclusion of his life. But there seems to be a particular reason for varying from the usual practice in this place. The death of Mr. Fletcher (hardly to be paralleled in the present century) was so uncommon a display of the power and goodness of God in behalf of his highly favoured servant, that it is not proper for any thing to come after it. It must needs therefore close the whole account.

2. From even the imperfect account which has been given of this great and good man, any discerning person may with very little difficulty extract his character. In general, it is easy to perceive, that a more excellent man has not appeared in the Church for some ages. It is true, in several ages, and in several countries, many men have excelled in particular virtues and graces But who can point out, in any age or nation, one that so highly excelled in all? one that was enabled in so large a measure to "put on the whole armour of God?" yea, so to "put on Christ," as to "perfect holiness in the fear of God?"

3. Yet there is a peculiar difficulty in giving a full account of either his life or character, because we have scarce any light from himself. He was upon all occasions very uncommonly reserved in speaking of himself, whether in writing or conversation. He hardly ever said any thing concerning himself, unless it slipped from him unawares. And among the great number of papers which he has left, there is scarce a page (except that single account of his conversion to God) relative either to his own inward experience, or the transactions of his life. So that the most of the information we have is gathered up, either from short hints

* Nay, I would have proclaimed it aloud, giving the glory to God, for the comfort of all that were present.

† I do not regret his not living to write those tracts; because I despair of seeing any in the English tongue superior to those extracts from Abbé Fleury and Mr. Poiret, published under the title of "Instructions for Children." I have never yet seen any thing comparable to them, either for depth of sense, or plainness of language.

scattered up and down in his letters, from what he had occasionlly dropped among his friends, or from what one and another remembered concerning him. In writing the lives and characters of eminent men, the Roman Catholics have a great advantage over us. The pious members of the Church of Rome make a conscience of concealing any thing from their directors, but disclose to them all the circumstances of their lives, and all the secrets of their hearts: whereas very few of the Protestants disclose to others, even their most intimate friends, what passes between God and their own souls; at least not of set purpose. Herein they forget, or at least disregard, that wise remark of the ancient writers: (exactly agreeable to various passages that occur in the canonical Scriptures:) "It is good to conceal the secrets of a king, but to declare the loving-kindness of the Lord."

4. This defect was indeed in some measure supplied by the entire intimacy which subsisted between him and Mrs. Fletcher. He did not willingly, much less designedly, conceal any thing from her. They had no secrets with regard to each other, but had indeed one house, one purse, and one heart. Before her it was his invariable rule, to think aloud; always to open the window in his breast. And to this we are indebted for the knowledge of many particulars which must otherwise have been buried in oblivion.

5. But whatever the materials were, however complete our informations, yet I am thoroughly sensible of my own inability to draw such a portrait as Mr. Fletcher deserves. I have no turn at all for panegyric: I have never accustomed myself to it. It gives me therefore no small satisfaction to find, that this is in a great measure done to my hands. The picture is already drawn; and that by no mean pencil. All then which I shall attempt is, to retouch Mrs. Fletcher's observations, and now and then to add a few articles, either from my own knowledge, or from the information of others.

6. The following are mostly her own words,—for where they are clear and expressive, as they generally are, I do not think it right to alter them for altering' sake:—

"Whatever he might be with regard to charity," said she, "he was no less eminent for his spirit of faith. Indeed he was not so much led by sights or impressions (which many mistake for faith) as abundance of people have been; but by a steady, firm reliance upon the love and truth and faithfulness of God. His ardent desire was, so to believe, as to be a partaker of all the great and precious promises; to be a witness of all that mind which was in Christ Jesus. And being conscious that he must be crucified with his Master, or never reign with him, he gave himself up to him, whom he continually set before him, to lie in his hand as the passive clay. He would often say, 'It is my business in all events, to hang upon the Lord, with a sure trust and confidence, that he will order all things in the best time and manner. Indeed it would be nothing to be a believer, nay, in truth, there would be no room for faith, if every thing were seen here. But against hope to believe in hope, to have a full confidence in that unseen power, which so mightily supports us in all our dangers and difficulties,—this is the believing which is acceptable to God.' Sometimes when I have expressed some apprehension of an approaching trial, he would answer, 'I do not doubt but the Lord orders all; therefore I leave every thing to him.' In outward dangers, if they were ever so great, he seemed to know no shadow of fear. When I was speaking once, concerning a danger to which we were then particularly exposed

he answered, 'I know God always gives his angels charge concerning us: therefore we are equally safe every where.'

"Not less eminent than his faith was his humility. Amidst all his laying himself out for God, and for the good of souls, he ever preserved that special grace, the making no account of his own labours. He held himself and his own abilities in very low esteem; and seemed to have that word continually before his eyes, 'I am an unprofitable servant.' And this humility was so rooted in him, as to be moved by no affront. I have seen many, even of the most provoking kind, offered him; but he received them as his proper portion; being so far from desiring the honour which cometh of men, that he took pleasure in being little and unknown. Perhaps it might appear from some passages of his life, that in this he even leaned to an extreme; for genuine humility does not require, that any man should desire to be despised. Nay, we are to avoid it, so far as we possibly can, consistently with a good conscience; for that direction, 'Let no man despise thee,' concerns every man as well as Timothy.

"It is rare to meet with an eminent person that can bear an equal. But it was his choice and his delight to prefer every one to himself. And this he did in so free and easy a manner, that in him it appeared perfectly natural. He never willingly suffered any unkindness shown to him to be mentioned again; and if it was, he generally answered, 'O let it drop; we will offer it in silence to the Lord.' And indeed the best way of bearing crosses is, to consecrate all in silence to God.

"From this root of humility sprung such a patience as I wish I could either describe or imitate. It produced in him a most ready mind, which embraced every cross with alacrity and pleasure. For the good of his neighbour, nothing seemed hard, nothing wearisome. Sometimes I have been grieved to call him out of his study two or three times in an hour; especially when he was engaged in composing some of his deepest works; but he would answer, with his usual sweetness, 'O, my dear, never think of that. It matters not, if we are but always ready to meet the will of God.' It is conformity to the will of God that alone makes an employment excellent. He never thought any thing too mean, but sin; he looked on nothing else as beneath his character. If he overtook a poor man or woman on the road, with a burden too heavy for them, he did not fail to offer his assistance to bear part of it; and he would not easily take a denial. This therefore he has frequently done.

"In bearing pain he was most exemplary, and continued more and more so to the last. Nor was it least remarkable in the most humbling part of the ministry, the coming down to the capacities of the ignorant. Nevertheless, he had a most resolute courage in the reproving of sin. To daring sinners he was a son of thunder; and no worldly considerations were regarded, whenever he believed God had given him a message to deliver to any of them.

"One considerable part of humility is, to know our own place, and stand therein. Every member has its peculiar appointment in the human body, where the wise Master-builder has placed it; and it is well while each continues in its place. But, as every dislocated bone gives pain, and must continue so to do till it is replaced in its proper socket, so every dislocated affection must give pain to the soul till it is restored to its own place, till it is totally fixed in God, till we resign our whole selves to the disposal of infinite wisdom. This is the proper place of every rational creature; and in this place he invariably stood. Whatever he believed to be the will of God, he resolutely performed, though it were to pluck out a right eye, to lay his Isaac on the altar. When it appeared that God called him to any journey, he immediately prepared for it, without the least hesitation; although, for the last years of his life, he hardly ever travelled to any considerable distance, without feeling some tendency to a relapse into his former distemper; and it was usually some weeks after his return, before he recovered his usual strength."

Humility continually produces meekness, and the latter bears an exact proportion to the former. I received a letter on this head but a few days since, which it may not be improper to subjoin:—

"'Rev. Sir,—I was yesterday in company with several clergymen, who, among other things, mentioned Mr. Fletcher, and seemed particularly anxious that in the account of his life a proper degree of caution should be observed, in the panegyric that may be applied to his character. They say he was extremely passionate; and that there was in many instances an austere severity and rigour in his conduct to the young people under his care, particularly at Trevecka. As this information comes from a gentleman eminent for his knowledge of mankind, and universally esteemed as one of the greatest geniuses of the age, and one whose veracity has never been questioned, it will have no small weight in the learned world.'"

7. I am glad this information came to my hands in time, as it may now receive so sufficient an answer as will probably satisfy every candid and impartial reader.

Two things are here asserted concerning Mr. Fletcher: the first, that he was extremely passionate: the second, that there was an austere severity and rigour in his conduct toward the young persons under his care, particularly at Trevecka. The former assertion is unquestionably true; such he was by nature. The latter I question much, with regard to his conduct at Tern, as well as at Trevecka. None can be a more competent witness of his conduct at Tern, than Mr. Vaughan, who lived so long in the same house; and whose testimony concerning him has been so largely given in the preceding pages. But, waiving this, can it possibly be supposed, that either Mr. Hill, or his sons, then verging toward manhood, would have borne the austere rigour and severity of a young man that received his bread from them? yea, and that year after year? Surely the supposition shocks all credibility.

8. Equally incredible is the assertion of his "austere severity and rigour" toward the young men at Trevecka. This is inconsistent with the whole account given by Mr. Benson, an eye and ear witness of all his conduct. Had it been true in any degree, would it have been possible that he should have been so esteemed and beloved by those very young men? I cannot form the least conjecture whence such an assertion could arise, unless it was invented by some young man after Mr. Fletcher was dismissed, in order to ingratiate himself with his patroness.

9. The farther account which Mr. Benson gives of him from personal knowledge is this: "Mr. Fletcher," says he, "was naturally a man of strong passions, and prone to anger in particular; insomuch that he has frequently thrown himself on the floor, and laid there most of the night bathed in tears, imploring victory over his own spirit. And he did not strive in vain; he did obtain the victory, in a very eminent degree. For twenty years and upwards before his death, no one ever saw him out of temper, or heard him utter a rash expression, on any provocation whatever. I have often thought the testimony that Bishop Burnet, in the History of his own times, bears of Archbishop Leighton, might be borne of him with equal propriety: 'After an intimate acquaintance with the archbishop for many years, and after being with him by night and by day, at home and abroad, in public and in private, on sundry occasions and in various affairs, I must say, I never heard an idle word drop from his lips, nor any conversation which was not to the use of edifying. I never saw him in any temper in which I myself would not have wished to be found at death.' Any that has been intimately acquainted with

Mr. Fletcher will say the same of him. But they that knew him best, will say it with the most assurance.

10. His "disengagements from the world, and love of the poor," Mrs. Fletcher joins together. "Never," says she, "did I behold any one more dead to the things of the world. His treasure was above; and so was his heart also. He always remembered that admonition of the Apostle, 'No man that warreth entangleth himself with the things of this life.' It was his constant endeavour to preserve a mind free and disencumbered; and he was exceeding wary of undertaking any business that might distract and hurry it. Yet, in his worldly concerns, knowing himself to be a steward for God, he would not through carelessness waste one penny. He likewise judged it to be his bounden duty to demand what he knew to be his right. And yet he could well reconcile this with that word, 'He that will have thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.' Indeed, whether he had less or more, it was the same thing upon his own account, as he had no other use for it, but to spread the Gospel, and to assist the poor. And he frequently said he never was happier than when he had given away the last penny he had in his house. If at any time I had gold in my drawers, it seemed to afford him no comfort. But if he could find a handful of small silver, when he was going out to see the sick, he would express as much pleasure over it as a miser would in discovering a bag of hid treasure. He was never better pleased with my employment, than when he had set me to prepare food or physic for the poor. He was hardly able to relish his dinner, if some sick neighbour had not a part of it; and sometimes, if any one of them was in want, I could not keep the linen in his drawers. On Sundays he provided for numbers of people who came from a distance to hear the word; and his house, as well as his heart, was devoted to their convenience; to relieve them that were afflicted in body or mind was the delight of his heart. Once a poor man, who feared God, being brought into great difficulties, he took down all the pewter from the kitchen shelves, saying, 'This will help you; and I can do without it. A wooden trencher will serve me just as well.' In epidemic and contagious distempers, when the neighbours were afraid to nurse the sick, he has gone from house to house, seeking some that were willing to undertake it. And when none could be found, he has offered his service, to sit up with them himself. But this was at his first setting out here. At present, there appears in many (and has done so for many years) a most ready mind to visit and relieve the distressed.

11. "He thoroughly complied with that advice,—

> 'Give to all something; to a good poor man,
> Till thou change hands, and be where he began.'

I have heard him say, that when he lived alone in his house, the tears have come into his eyes, when one had brought him five or six insignificant letters, at three or four pence a piece; and perhaps he had only a single shilling in the house, to distribute among the poor to whom he was going. He frequently said to me, 'O Polly, can we not do without beer? Let us drink water, and eat less meat. Let our necessities give way to the extremities of the poor.'

12. "But with all his generosity and charity he was strictly careful to follow the advice of the Apostle, 'Owe no man any thing.' He contracted no debt. While he gave all he had, he made it a rule to pay ready money for every thing; believing this was the best way to keep the mind unencumbered and free from care. Meanwhile his substance, his time, his strength, his life, were devoted to the service of the poor. And, last of all, he gave me to them. For when we were married, he asked me solemnly, whether I was willing to marry his parish. And the first time he led me among his people in this place, he said, 'I have not married this wife only for myself, but for you. I asked her of the Lord, for your comfort, as well as my own.'"

13. All his life, as well as during his illness, particularly at Newington

and Brislington, (as has been largely related,) he was grateful in a very high degree, to those who conferred the least benefit upon him; yea, or even endeavoured so to do. One of these was Mr. Richard Edwards, of London, to whose care he was committed as a leader, when he was first admitted into the London society. A lively sense of the kindness which Mr. Edwards then showed him, he retained to the end of his life. This he testified by repeated letters; one or two of which it may be well to transcribe.

"TERN, October 19, 1756.

"DEAREST BROTHER,—This is to let you know, that (praise be to the Lord!) I am very well in body, and pretty well in soul. But I have very few Christian friends here. And God has been pleased to take away the chief of those few by a most comfortable death. And lately I heard that my aged father is gone the way of all flesh. But the glorious circumstances of his death make me ample amends for the sorrow which I felt. For some years, I have wrote to him with as much freedom as I could have done to a son, though not with so much effect as I wished. But last spring, God visited him with a severe illness, which brought him to a sense of himself. And, after a deep repentance, he died about a month ago, in the full assurance of faith. This has put several of my friends on thinking seriously, which affords me great cause of thankfulness. I am

"Your unworthy brother and servant in the Lord,

"JOHN FLETCHER."

14. Two years after he wrote to him as follows:—

"I THANK you for your encouraging observations. I want them and use them by the grace of God. When I received yours, I had not had one opportunity of preaching; so incensed were all the clergy against me. One, however, let me have the use of his church, the Abbey church, at Shrewsbury. I preached in the forenoon with some degree of the demonstration of the Spirit. The congregation was very numerous; and I believe one half at least desired to hear me again. But the minister would not let me have the pulpit any more. The next Sunday, the minister of a neighbouring parish, lying a dying, I was sent for to officiate for him. He died a few days after, and the chief man in the parish offered to make interest that I might succeed him. But I could not consent. The next Sunday, I preached at Shrewsbury again; but in another church. The next day I set out for Bristol, and was much refreshed among the brethren. As I returned, I called at New Kingswood, about sixteen miles from Bristol. The minister offering me his church, I preached to a numerous congregation, gathered on half an hour's notice. I think the seed then sown will not be lost."

15. "Another uncommon talent which God had given him," says Mrs Fletcher, "was a peculiar sensibility of spirit. He had a temper the most feeling of any I ever knew. Hardly a night passed over, but some part of it was spent in groans for the souls and bodies committed to his care. I dreaded his hearing either of the sins or sufferings of any of his people before the time of his going to bed, knowing how strong the impressions would be on his mind, chasing the sleep from his eyes.

"And yet I have heard him speak of a time, twelve or fourteen years ago, when he was greatly tempted to think, that he was not sensible enough of the afflictions of his fellow creatures. He thought Christ bore our infirmities, and carried our sorrows; but, said he, 'I have not that Christ-like temper: I do not bear the sorrows of others.' After being for some time buffeted with this temptation, he prayed, that a measure of this spirit might be given him. Not long after, as he was visiting a poor sick family, so lively a sense of their affliction on a sudden fell upon his mind, that he could scarce get home. As soon as he sat down in his house, his soul was penetrated with

such a sense of the woes of mankind as utterly depressed and overcame him, and drank up his spirits; insomuch that he could not help himself, nor move from one chair to another. And he was no more able to walk or help himself, than a new-born child. At the same time he seemed to lose the use of his memory, and of all his faculties. He thought, 'What is this? Is it a disease? Is it a stroke of the palsy? Rather, is it not an answer to my own ill-judged, though well-intended prayer? Did I not ask a burden unsuitable to a finite, and capable of being borne only by an infinite being?' He remained some hours in this situation. Then it came into his mind, 'If this is a purely natural event, the will of the Lord be done! But if it be the answer to an improper prayer, God will answer again by removing it.' He cried to the Lord, and was immediately restored to strength both of body and mind.

"When we were at Leeds, in the year 1784, I had another proof of the tender sensibility of his heart. O how deeply was he affected concerning the welfare of his brethren! When any little disputes arose between them, his inmost soul groaned under the burden; and, by two or three o'clock in the morning, I was sure to hear him breathing out prayer for the peace and prosperity of Sion. When I observed to him, I was afraid it would hurt his health, and wished him to sleep more, he would answer, 'O Polly, the cause of God lies near my heart!'

"Toward me his tenderness was exerted in its utmost extent. My soul, my body, my health, my ease and comfort, were his daily study. We had no thought, either past or present, which we purposely concealed from each other. My spiritual advancement was his constant endeavour; and to this he was continually stirring me up, inviting me to walk more closely with God; urging that thought, 'O my dear, let us pray for dying grace; for we shall not be long here.' His temporal affairs he committed solely to me, though he was always ready to assist me in the smallest matters.

"One article more remains to be spoken of, namely, his communion with God. Although he enjoyed this, more or less, at all times and in all places, yet I have frequently heard him observe, that the seasons of his closest communion were always in his own house, or in the church; usually in the latter. It is much to be lamented that we have no account of it from his own pen. It was his constant endeavour to maintain an uninterrupted sense of the presence of God. In order to this, he was slow of speech, and had the greatest government of his words. Indeed he both acted, and spoke, and thought, as under the eye of God. And thus setting God always before him, he remained unmoved in all occurrences; at all times and on every occasion possessing inward recollection. Nor did I ever see him diverted therefrom on any occasion whatever, either going out or coming in, whether by ourselves or in company. Sometimes he took his journeys alone; but above a thousand miles I have travelled with him; during which neither change of company, place, nor the variety of circumstances which naturally occur in travelling, ever seemed to make the least difference in his firm attention to the presence of God. To preserve this uniform habit of soul, he was so watchful, and recollected, that, to such as were unexperienced in these things, it might appear like insensibility. Although no one could converse in a more lively and sensible manner, even on natural things, when he saw it was to the glory of God; he was always striving to raise his own and every other spirit to a close and immediate intercourse with God. And I can say with truth, all his union with me was so intermingled with prayer and praise, that every employment and every meal was, as it were, perfumed therewith."

16. I had concluded what I purposed to say concerning the character of Mr. Fletcher, when I received a long letter from Mr. Benson; an extract of which I cannot withhold from the reader. For although most of the particulars hereof are contained in the preceding pages, yet as they

are here placed in quite another order, and have also several new circumstances intermixed, I could not doubt of their being both agreeable and profitable to every person of piety.

"As to drawing the character of that great and good man," says Mr. Benson, "it is what I will not attempt: but if I can suggest any thing that will assist you therein, I shall think my little labour well bestowed. With this view I have been looking over many of his letters, and observe in them all, what I have a thousand times observed in his conversation and behaviour, the plainest marks of every Christian grace and virtue.

"Perhaps if he followed his Master more closely in one thing than another, it was in humility. It is one branch of poverty of spirit (another word for humility) to think meanly of ourselves. As he certainly thought meanly of himself, both as a Christian, as a preacher, and as a writer, I need not say how he shone in all those characters; but he knew not that he shone in any of them. How low an opinion he had of himself as a Christian, manifestly appears from his placing himself at the feet of all, and showing a continual desire to learn from every company he was in. He paid all due deference to the judgment of others, readily acknowledged whatever was good in them, and seemed to think himself the only person in whom there dwelt no excellency worth notice. Hence it was that he often wrote and spoke, as if he had not received that grace which he undoubtedly had received. And indeed he overlooked what he had attained, through the eager desire he had of higher and greater things. Many of his letters show how very meanly he thought of his own attainments as a Christian; through the continually increasing views which he had of the Divine purity, and of the high degree of conformity thereto which is attainable even in this world.

"And however little he was in his own eyes as a Christian, he was equally so as a writer and a preacher. In consequence of the mean opinion he had of his own abilities, he gladly offered what he wrote to be corrected by any friend, however inferior to himself. Thus in a letter, dated Nov. 23, 1771, he says, 'I have sent a letter of fifty pages upon Antinomianism. I beg, upon my bended knees, you would revise and correct it. I have followed my light, small as it is. Put yours to mine.' What a mean opinion he had of his own writings appears from a letter written March 20, 1774: 'I do not repent of my having engaged in this controversy; for though I doubt my little publications cannot reclaim those who are confirmed in believing the lie of the day, yet they may here and there stop one from swallowing it at all, or at least from swallowing it so deeply.' Two years after, he says, 'I have almost run my race of scribbling; and I have preached as much as I could, though to little purpose; but I must not complain. If one person has received good by my ten years' labour, it is an honour for which I cannot be too thankful, if my mind were as low as it should be. Let us bless the Lord in all things.'

"As difficult as it is to think meanly of ourselves, it is still more difficult to be willing that others should think meanly of us. And how eminent he was in this appears from hence, that he was constantly upon his guard, lest any expression should drop either from his lips or pen, which tended to make any one think well of him; either on account of his family, or learning, or parts, or usefulness. Yea, he took as much pains to conceal his excellencies, as others do to show them; having the same desire to be little and unknown, which many have to be known and esteemed.

"It would have remained a secret in this kingdom, even to his most intimate friends, that he was of so great a family, had not Mr. Ireland gone over with him to Switzerland; where he was surprised to find Mr. Fletcher's relations some of the first people in the country.

"'Blessed are they that mourn,' said the Lord Jesus. And this blessedness was as certainly his as the former. He was a man of a serious spirit; one that stood at the utmost distance from levity of every kind. Though he was constantly cheerful, as rejoicing in hope of his heavenly inheritance, yet

had he too deep a sense of his own wants, and the wants of the church of God, as also of the sins and miseries of mankind, to be at any time light or trifling. I have a letter before me, dated December, 1771, which at once gives us a picture of his seriousness, watchfulness, and earnestness; and contains advices well deserving the consideration of all that fear God. 'There is undoubtedly,' said he, 'such a thing as the full assurance of faith. Be not discouraged on account of thousands who stop short of it: it is our own fault if we do not attain. God would give us ample satisfaction if we did but deeply feel our wants. Both you and I want a deeper awakening, which will produce a death to outward things and speculative knowledge. Let us shut our eyes to the gilded clouds without us; let us draw inward, and search after God, if haply we may find him. Let us hold our confidence, though we are often constrained against hope to believe in hope. But let us not rest in our confidence, as thousands do; let it help us to struggle and wait till he come. Let us habituate ourselves to live inwardly. This will solemnize us, and prevent our trifling with the things of God. We may be thankful for what we have, without resting in it. We may strive, and yet not trust in our striving; but expect all from Divine grace.'

"Four or five years after, he says, 'I send this to inquire after your welfare, and to let you know, that though I am pretty well in body, yet I break fast. But I want to break faster in my spirit than I do. Yet, blessed be God, I have been in such pinching, grinding circumstances, for near a year, by a series of providential and domestic trials, as have given me some deadly blows. I am not without hope of setting my eyes on you once more. Mr. Wesley kindly invites me to travel with him, and visit some of the societies. I feel an inclination to break one of my chains, parochial retirement, which may be a nest for self indulgence. I leave the matter entirely to the Lord.'

"Meantime, he mourned, not only for himself and his friends, but also for the church of God. 'The few professors,' says he, 'which I see in these parts, are so far from what I wish them to be, that I cannot but cry out, Lord, how long wilt thou give thy heritage up to desolation? How long shall the Heathen say, *Where is now their* indwelling *God*?' In another letter he writes, (dated May 8, 1776,) 'I see so little fruit in these parts, that I am almost disheartened. I am closely followed with the thought, that faith in the dispensation of the Spirit is at a very low ebb. But it may be better in other places. I shall be glad to travel a little, to see the goodness of the land. May God make and keep us humble, loving, disinterested, and zealous!'

"These quotations give us not only an example of holy mourning, but likewise of hungering and thirsting after righteousness. In this he was peculiarly worthy our imitation. He never rested in any thing he had either experienced or done in spiritual matters. But this one thing he did: 'Forgetting those things that were behind, and reaching forth unto those things which were before,' he 'pressed toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus;' he was a true Christian racer, always on the stretch for higher and better things. Though his attainments, both in experience and usefulness, were above the common standard, yet the language of his conversation and behaviour always was, 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfected; but I follow after, if by any means I may apprehend that for which I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.' He had his eye upon a full conformity to the Son of God; or what the Apostle terms, 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.' Nor could he be satisfied with any thing less.

"And he was meek, like his Master, as well as lowly in heart. Not that he was so by nature, but of a fiery, passionate spirit. But so thoroughly had grace subdued nature, so fully was he renewed in the spirit of his mind, that, for many years before his death, I believe he was never observed by any one, friend or foe, to be out of temper. And yet he did not want provocation, and that sometimes in a high degree; especially from those whose religious

sentiments he thought it his duty to oppose. One of these, who once loved him so well, as to be ready to pull out his eyes for him, was so exasperated on reading his Second Check, that he wrote to him in the most bitter terms. But none of these things moved him; no, not in the least degree. The keenest word he used upon the occasion was, 'What a world, what a religious world we live in!'

"Hence arose his readiness to bear with the weaknesses, and forgive the faults, of others; the more remarkable, considering his flaming zeal against sin, and deep concern for the glory of God. Such hatred to sin, and such love to the sinner, I never saw joined together before. This very circumstance convinced me of the height of his grace, bearing so much of his Master's image, whose hatred to sin and love to sinners are equally infinite. He took all possible pains to detect what was evil in any of those that were under his care; pursuing it through all its turnings and windings, and stripping it of all its disguises. Yet none so ready to excuse when it was confessed, and to conceal it even from his most intimate friends.

"He never mentioned the faults of an absent person, unless absolute duty required it: and then he spoke with the utmost tenderness, extenuating, rather than aggravating. None could draw his picture more exactly than St. Paul has done, in the thirteenth of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Every feature in that masterly piece of Apostolic painting was found in him. Let all that knew him, especially his intimate friends, recollect the spirit and behaviour of this servant of the God of love; and then let them judge whether I exaggerate, when I say, He 'suffered long and was kind; he envied not; acted not rashly; was not puffed up; did not behave himself unseemly; sought not his own; was not easily provoked. He thought no evil, rejoiced not in iniquity, but rejoiced in the truth. He covered all things, believed all things, hoped all things, and endured all things.' It would be easy to enlarge on all these particulars, and show how they were exemplified in him. But waiving this, I would only observe, that, with regard to two of them,—kindness to others, and not seeking his own,—he had few equals. His kindness to others was such, that he bestowed his all upon them; his time, his talents, his substance. His knowledge, his eloquence, his health, his money, were employed, day by day, for the good of mankind. He prayed, he wrote, he preached, he visited the sick and well, he conversed, he gave, he laboured, he suffered, winter and summer, night and day; he endangered, nay, destroyed, his health, and, in the end, gave his life also for the profit of his neighbours, that they might be saved from everlasting death. He denied himself even such food as was necessary for him, that he might have to give to them that had none. And when he was constrained to change his manner of living, still his diet was plain and simple; and so were his clothing and furniture, that he might save all that was possible for his poor neighbours.

"He sought not his own in any sense; not his own honour, but the honour of God in all he said or did: he sought not his own interest, but the interest of his Lord; spreading knowledge, holiness, and happiness as far as he possibly could. He sought not his own pleasure, but studied to 'please all men, for their good to edification;' and to please Him that had called him to his kingdom and glory. And yet it is certain, he found the greatest pleasure in pleasing God and his neighbour. For nothing could give a higher delight than this to his pious and benevolent mind.

"In the meantime, he was a man of peace, and spared no pains to restore it where it was broken. He gave numberless proofs of this amiable disposition. When we were at Trevecka, (to mention but one instance,) two of the students were bitterly prejudiced against each other. He took them into a room by themselves, reasoned with them, wept over them, and at last prevailed. Their hearts were broken; they were melted down; they fell upon each other's necks and wept aloud.

"The pains which he took to make peace at the Leeds conference will

not easily be forgotten. And although he could not prevail so far as might have been desired, yet his labour was not in vain.

"But I do not attempt his full character: I will only add what the Apostle recommends to the Philippians was exactly copied by him. He was 'blameless and harmless, a son of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation; shining among them as a light in the world.'"

I think one talent wherewith God had endued Mr. Fletcher has not been sufficiently noted yet: I mean his courtesy; in which there was not the least touch either of art or affectation. It was pure and genuine, and sweetly constrained him to behave to every one (although particularly to inferiors) in a manner not to be described, with so inexpressible a mixture of humility, love, and respect. This directed his words, the tone of his voice, his looks, his whole attitude, his every motion. This seems to be intended by St. Paul, in those words, ουκ ασχημονει; not so well expressed in our translation by, "behaveth not itself unseemly." Do not the words literally mean, "is not ill bred?"—behaves on all occasions with decency and good breeding? Certainly, so did Mr. Fletcher. Never did any man more perfectly suit his whole behaviour to the persons and the occasion: so that one might apply to him, with great propriety, the words of the ancient poet:—

Illum quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia tendit
Componit furtim, subsequiturque decor.—[TIBULLUS.]

I cannot translate this; but I can give the English reader a parallel and more than a parallel:—

Grace was in all his steps, heaven in his eye,
In all his gestures sanctity and love.

CHAPTER X.

HIS DEATH.

"SOME time before he was taken ill," says Mrs. Fletcher, "he mentioned to me a peculiar manifestation of love which he received in his own house, with the application of those words, 'Thou shalt walk with me in white.' He added, 'It is not a little thing so to hang upon God by faith, as to feel no departure from him, and no rising in the heart against him. But this does not satisfy me; I often feel something far beyond this; yea, I sometimes find such gleams of light and love, such wafts, as it were, of the heavenly air; so powerful, as if they would just then take my soul with them to glory! But I am not filled: I want to be filled with all the fulness of God.' In conformity to these sentiments, when he was in his last illness, he expressed himself thus: 'I am filled, most sweetly filled.' This conveyed much to my mind, as I understood by it the accomplishment of his large desires.

"Some time before the beginning of his last sickness, he was peculiarly penetrated with the nearness of eternity. There was scarce an hour in which he was not calling upon us to drop every thought and every care, that we might attend to nothing but the drinking deeper into God. We spent much time in wrestling with God, and were led, in a peculiar manner, to abandon our whole selves, our souls and bodies, into the hands of God; ready to do, and willing to suffer, whatever was well pleasing to him.

"And now the time drew near, when his faith was to be called to its last grand exercise; that, eyeing his Lord, he might

True in the fiery trial prove,
And pay him back his dying love.

A little before, being on his knees in prayer for light, whether he should go

to London or not; the answer to him seemed to be, 'Not to London, but to my grave.'* When he acquainted me with this, he said, with a heavenly smile, 'Satan would represent it to me as something dreadful, enforcing those words: *The cold grave! The cold grave!*' On the Sunday following, (I think it was the next day,) that anthem was sung in the church: 'The Lord is my Shepherd; therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in green pastures, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort. He shall convert my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness, for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I shall fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff shall comfort me. Thou shalt prepare a table before me, against them that trouble me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full.'

"In his return home, he observed in how uncommon a degree those words had been blessed to his soul. And from that very time I do not remember to have seen in him the least marks of temptation. He showed an unusual cheerfulness and liveliness in every part of his work; and seemed to increase in strength of body, as well as in strength of soul. Truly it was to him according to his faith: he feared no evil; and his cup was filled with 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

"On Thursday, August 4, he was employed in the work of God from three in the afternoon till nine at night. When he came home, he said, 'I have taken cold;' but seemed not to regard it. He was far from well on Friday and Saturday; but was uncommonly drawn out in prayer. On Saturday night he was abundantly worse, and his fever appeared very strong. I begged that he would by no means think of going to church in the morning. But he told me, it was the will of the Lord; in which case I never dared to persuade. In reading prayers, he was very near fainting away. I got through the crowd, and entreated him to come out of the desk. But he let me and others know, in his sweet manner, that we were not to interrupt the order of God. I then silently retired to my pew, where all around me were in tears. When the windows were opened, by which he appeared to be a little refreshed, he went on; and then preached with a strength and recollection that surprised us all.

"After sermon he walked up to the communion table, uttering these words, 'I am going to throw myself under the wings of the cherubim, before the mercy-seat.' The service lasted till near two. Sometimes he was constrained to stop; being hardly able to stand upon his feet. The people were deeply affected, which they were not able to conceal; groans and weeping were on every side. Gracious Lord! how was it my soul was kept so calm in the midst of the most tender feelings? Notwithstanding his extreme weakness, he gave out several verses of hymns, and lively sentences of exhortation. As soon as ever the service was over, we hurried him to bed. When he lay down, nature being quite exhausted, he immediately fainted away. He afterward dropped into a sleep for some time, and, on waking cried out, with a pleasant smile, 'Now, my dear, thou seest I am no worse for doing the Lord's work. He never fails me when I trust in him.' Having eaten a little dinner, he dozed most of the evening; now and then waking, with the praises of God in his mouth. At night his fever returned; but it was not violent; and yet his strength decreased amazingly. On Monday and Tuesday we had a little paradise together. He lay on a couch in the study; and, though often changing posture, was sweetly pleasant, and frequently slept a good while together. When he was awake, he delighted in hearing me read hymns, and treatises on faith and love. His words were all animating, and his patience beyond expression. When he had a very nauseous medicine to take, he seemed to enjoy the cross; according to a word which he was used often to repeat, 'We are to seek a perfect conformity to the will of God; and leave him to give us pleasure or pain, as it seemeth him good.'

* I verily believe, if he had then gone to London, he would have been alive at this day. But I blame no one for thinking otherwise.

"I asked him, whether he had any advice to leave me, if he should be taken from me. He replied, 'I have nothing particular to say: the Lord will open all before thee.' I said, 'Have you any conviction that God is about to take you?' He said, 'No; not in particular. Only I always see death so inexpressibly near, that we both seem to stand on the verge of eternity.' While he slept a little, I besought the Lord, if it was his good pleasure, to spare him to me a little longer. But my prayer seemed to have no wings; and I could not help mingling continually therewith, 'Lord, give me perfect resignation!' This uncertainty made me tremble, lest God was going to put into my hands the bitter cup with which he lately threatened my husband. Some weeks before, I myself was ill of a fever, and not without danger. My husband then felt the whole parting scene, and struggled for perfect resignation. He said, 'O Polly, shall I ever see the day when thou must be carried out to bury? How will the little things which thy tender care has prepared for me, in every part of the house, wound and distress me! How is it? I think I feel jealousy! I am jealous of the worms! I seem to shrink at the thought of giving my dear Polly to the worms.'

"Now all these reflections returned upon my heart, with the weight of a millstone. I cried to the Lord, and these words were deeply impressed on my spirit: 'Where I am, there shall my servants be, that they may behold my glory.' This promise was full of comfort to my soul. I saw that in Christ's immediate presence was our home, and that we should have our reunion in being deeply centred in him. I received it as a fresh marriage for eternity: as such I trust for ever to hold it. All that day, whenever I thought of the expression, 'to behold my glory,' it seemed to wipe away every tear, and was as the ring whereby we were joined anew.

"Awaking some time after, he said, 'Polly, I have been thinking it was Israel's fault that they asked for signs. We will not do so; but abandoning our whole selves to the will of God, will lie patiently before him; assured that he will do all things well.'

"'My dear love,' said I, 'if ever I have done or said any thing to grieve thee, how will the remembrance wound my heart, if thou shouldest be taken from me!' He entreated me, with inexpressible tenderness, not to allow the thought; declaring his thankfulness for our union, in a variety of words written on my heart, as with the adamantine pen of friendship deeply dipped in blood.

"On Wednesday, after groaning all day long, under the weight of the power of God, he told me, he had received such a manifestation of the full meaning of those words, 'God is love,' as he could never be able to express. 'It fills my heart,' said he, 'every moment.. O Polly, my dear Polly, *God is love!* Shout! shout aloud! I want a gust of praise to go to the ends of the earth! But it seems as if I could not speak much longer. Let us fix on a sign between ourselves. Now,' said he, (tapping me twice with his finger,) 'I mean, God is love. And we will draw each other into God. Observe! By this we will draw each other into God.'

"Sally coming in, he cried out, 'O Sally, God is love! Shout, both of you! I want to hear you shout his praise!' All this time the medical friend, who attended him diligently, hoped he was in no danger; as he had no headach, but much sleep without the least delirium, and an almost regular pulse. So was the disease, though commissioned to take his life, restrained by the power of God.

"On Thursday his speech began to fail. While he was able, he spoke to all that came in his way. Hearing that a stranger was in the house, he ordered her to be called up. But the uttering only two sentences made him ready to faint away. And while he had any power of speech, he would not be silent to his friendly doctor: 'O sir,' said he, 'you take much thought for my body; permit me to take thought for your soul.' When I could scarce understand any thing he said, I spoke these words, 'God is love.' Instantly, as if all his powers were awakened, he broke out in a rapture,

'God is love! love! love! O for that gust of praise! I want to sound'—Here his voice again failed. All this time he was in much pain, and suffered many ways; but still with such unutterable patience as none but those that were present can conceive. If I did but name his sufferings, he would smile and make the sign.

"On Friday, observing his body covered with spots, I felt a sword pierce through my soul. As I was kneeling by his side, with my hand in his, intreating the Lord to be with us in this tremendous hour, he strove to say many things, but could not articulate the words. All he could do was to press my hand, and frequently repeat the sign. At last he breathed out, 'Head of the Church, be head to my wife!'

"When I was forced to leave him for a few moments, Sally said to him, 'My dear master, do you know me?' He replied, 'God will put his right hand under you.' She added, 'O my dear master, should you be taken away, what a disconsolate creature will my poor dear mistress be!' He replied, 'God will be her all in all!'

"He always took a peculiar pleasure in repeating or hearing those words,

'Jesus' love through earth and skies,
Mercy, free, boundless mercy, cries.'

Whenever I repeated them to him, he would answer, 'Boundless, boundless, boundless!' He now added, though not without much difficulty,

'Mercy's full power I soon shall prove,
Loved with an everlasting love.'

"On Saturday, in the afternoon, his fever seemed quite off, and a few friends standing near his bed, he reached his hand to each; and looking on a minister, said, 'Are you ready to assist to-morrow?' His recollection surprised us, as the day of the week had not been named in the room. Many were of opinion he would recover; and one of them said to him, 'Do you think the Lord will raise you up?' He strove to answer, and could just pronounce, 'Raise me up in the resurr'—meaning in the resurrection. To another, who asked the same question, he said, 'I leave it all to God.'

"In the evening the fever came again, and with greater violence than ever. The mucus then falling on his throat, almost strangled him. It was supposed the same painful symptom would grow more and more violent to the last. As I felt this exquisitely, I cried to the Lord to remove it; and, glory be to his name, he did. From that time it returned no more.

"As night drew on, I perceived him dying very fast. His fingers could hardly make the sign, which he scarce ever forgot; and his speech seemed quite gone. I said, 'My dear creature, I ask not for myself; I know thy soul; but for the sake of others, if Jesus is very present with thee, lift up thy right hand.' Immediately he did. 'If the prospect of glory sweetly opens before thee, repeat the sign.' He instantly raised it again, and in half a minute, a second time. He then threw it up, as if he would reach the top of the bed; after this, his hands moved no more. But on my saying, 'Art thou in pain?' he answered, 'No.' From this time he lay in a kind of sleep, though with his eyes open and fixed. For the most part he sat upright, against pillows, with his head a little inclining to one side; and so remarkably composed, yea, triumphant, was his countenance, that the least trace of death was scarce discernible in it. Twenty-four hours he was in this situation, breathing like a person in common sleep. About thirty-five minutes past ten on Sunday night, August 14, his precious soul entered into the joy of his Lord, without one struggle or groan, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

"And here I break off my mournful story; but on my bleeding heart the fair picture of his heavenly excellencies will be for ever drawn. When I call to mind his ardent zeal, his laborious endeavours to seek and save the lost, his diligence in the employment of his time, his Christ-like condescension toward me, and his uninterrupted converse with heaven; I may well be

allowed to add, My loss is beyond the power of words to paint. I have often gone through deep waters; but all my afflictions were nothing to this. Well; I want no pleasant prospect but upwards, nor any thing whereon to fix my hope but immortality.

"From the time I have had the happiness and honour of being with him, every day more and more convinced me he was the Christian. I saw, I loved in him the image of my Saviour; and thought myself the happiest of women in the possession of the most sympathizing and heavenly friend. My sorrow bears a due proportion; but it is alleviated by that thought, 'United in God, we cannot be divided.' No; we are of one household still; we are joined in him as our centre, 'of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.' It is said of New Testament believers, 'They are come to the spirits of just men made perfect;' to the glorious privilege of communion with the Church triumphant. But this is far more apparent to the eyes of celestial spirits, than to ours, which are yet veiled with flesh and blood. Yet as there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, and as the prayers of saints still on earth are represented by incense in the hands of the elders, I can only consider departed spirits, and ministering angels, as one innumerable company, continually surrounding us. And are they not as nearly united to their fellow soldiers now, as when they were in the body? What should hinder? Gratitude and affection are natives of heaven, and live for ever there. Forgetfulness is a property of mortality, and drops off with the body. Therefore they that loved us in the Lord will surely love us for ever. Can any thing material interrupt the light or presence of a spirit? Nay,

> Walls within walls no more the passage bar
> Than unopposing space of liquid air.

"On the 17th, his remains were deposited in Madeley church yard, amidst the tears and lamentations of thousands. The service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Hatton, rector of Waters Upton, whom God enabled to speak in a pathetic manner to the weeping flock. In the conclusion, at my request, he read the following paper:—

"As it was the desire of my beloved husband to be buried in this plain manner, so out of tenderness he begged that I might not be present. And in every thing I would obey him.

"Permit me then, by the mouth of a friend, to bear an open testimony to the glory of God, that I, who have known him in the most perfect manner, am constrained to declare, that I never knew any one walk so closely in the ways of God as he did. The Lord gave him a conscience tender as the apple of an eye. And he literally preferred the interest of every one to his own.

"He was rigidly just, and perfectly loose from attachment to the world. He shared his all with the poor, who lay so close to his heart, that, at the approach, of death, when he could not speak without difficulty, he cried out, 'O my poor! What will become of my poor!' He was blessed with so great a degree of humility, as is scarce to be found. I am witness how often he has rejoiced in being treated with contempt. Indeed it seemed the very food of his soul to be little and unknown.

"His zeal for souls, I need not tell you. Let the labours of twenty-five years, and a martyr's death in the conclusion, imprint it on your hearts. His diligent visiting of the sick occasioned the fever which, by God's commission, tore him from you and me. And his vehement desire to take his last leave of you with dying lips and hands, gave (it is supposed) the finishing stroke, by preparing his blood for putrefaction. Thus has he lived and died your servant. And will any of you refuse to meet him at God's right hand in that day?

"He walked with death always in sight. About two months ago, he came to me and said, 'My dear love, I know not how it is, but I have a strange impression, death is near us, as if it were to be some sudden stroke upon one of us. And it draws out all my soul in prayer, that we may be ready.' He

then broke out, 'Lord, prepare the soul thou wilt call! And O stand by the poor disconsolate one that shall be left behind!'

"A few days before his departure, he was filled with love in an uncommon manner. The same he testified as long as he had a voice, and continued to the end, by a most lamb-like patience, in which he smiled over death, and set his last seal to the glorious truths he had so long preached among you.

"Three years, nine months, and two days, I have possessed my heavenly minded husband. But now the sun of my earthly joys is set for ever, and my soul filled with an anguish which only finds its consolation in a total resignation to the will of God. When I was asking the Lord, if he pleased, to spare him to me a little longer, the following promise was impressed on my mind: 'Where I am, there shall my servants be, that they may behold my glory.' Lord, hasten the time!"

18. There is little need of adding any farther character of this man of God to the foregoing account, given by one who wrote out of the fulness of her heart. I would only observe, that for many years I despaired of finding any inhabitant of Great Britain, that could stand in any degree of comparison with Gregory Lopez, or Monsieur de Renty. But let any impartial person judge if Mr. Fletcher was at all inferior to them. Did he not experience as deep communion with God, and as high a measure of inward holiness, as was experienced by either one or the other of those burning and shining lights? And it is certain, his outward light shone before men with full as bright a lustre as theirs. But if any would draw a parallel between them, there are two circumstances which should be well observed. One is, we are not assured that the writers of their lives did not extenuate, if not suppress, their faults. And some faults we are assured there were; namely, some touches of superstition, and some of idolatry, as the worship of images, angels, and saints; the Virgin Mary in particular. But I have not suppressed, or even extenuated, any thing in Mr. Fletcher's life. Indeed, I know nothing that needed to be extenuated, much less to be suppressed. A second circumstance is, that the writers of their lives could not have so full a knowledge of them as I, and much more Mrs. Fletcher, had; being eye and ear witnesses of his whole conduct. Consequently, we knew that his life was not sullied with any taint of idolatry or superstition. I was intimately acquainted with him for thirty years. I conversed with him morning, noon, and night, without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles; and in all that time I never heard him speak an improper word, or saw him do an improper action. To conclude: Within fourscore years, I have known many excellent men, holy in heart and life: but one equal to him, I have not known; one so uniformly and deeply devoted to God. So unblamable a man, in every respect, I have not found either in Europe or America. Nor do I expect to find another such on this side eternity.

Yet it is possible we may be such as he was. Let us, then, endeavour to follow him as he followed Christ.

HIS EPITAPH.

Here lies the Body

OF

THE REV. JOHN WILLIAM DE LA FLECHERE,

VICAR OF MADELEY;

Who was born at Nyon in Switzerland,
September 12, 1729,
And finished his course, August 14, 1785,
In this village,
Where his unexampled labours
Will never be forgotten.
He exercised his ministry for the space of twenty-five years
In this parish,
With uncommon zeal and ability.
But though many believed his report,
Yet he might with justice have adopted
The lamentation of the Prophet:
"All the day long have I stretched out my hands unto
A disobedient and gainsaying people:
Yet surely my judgment is with the Lord,
And my work with my God."

A

PLAIN ACCOUNT OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION,

AS BELIEVED AND TAUGHT

BY THE REV. MR. JOHN WESLEY,

FROM THE YEAR 1725, TO THE YEAR 1777.*

1. WHAT I purpose in the following papers is, to give a plain and distinct account of the steps by which I was led, during a course of many years, to embrace the doctrine of Christian perfection. This I owe to the serious part of mankind, those who desire to know all "the truth as it is in Jesus." And these only are concerned in questions of this kind. To these I would nakedly declare the thing as it is, endeavouring all along to show, from one period to another, both what I thought, and why I thought so.

2. In the year 1725, being in the twenty-third year of my age, I met with Bishop Taylor's "Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying." In reading several parts of this book, I was exceedingly affected; that part in particular which relates to purity of intention. Instantly I resolved to dedicate all my life to God, all my thoughts, and words, and actions; being thoroughly convinced, there was no medium; but that

* It is not to be understood, that Mr. Wesley's sentiments concerning Christian Perfection were in any measure changed after the year 1777. This tract underwent several revisions and enlargements during his life time; and in every successive edition the date of the most recent revision was specified. The last revision appears to have been made in the year 1777; and since that period, this date has been generally continued on the title page of the several editions of the pamphlet.—EDIT.

every part of my life (not some only) must either be a sacrifice to God, or myself, that is, in effect, to the devil.

Can any serious person doubt of this, or find a medium between serving God and serving the devil?

3. In the year 1726, I met with Kempis's "Christian's Pattern." The nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than ever it had done before. I saw, that giving even all my life to God (supposing it possible to do this, and go no farther) would profit me nothing, unless I gave my heart, yea, all my heart to him.

I saw, that "simplicity of intention, and purity of affection," one design in all we speak or do, and one desire ruling all our tempers, are indeed "the wings of the soul," without which she can never ascend to the mount of God.

4. A year or two after, Mr. Law's "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call" were put into my hands. These convinced me, more than ever, of the absolute impossibility of being half a Christian; and I determined, through his grace, (the absolute necessity of which I was deeply sensible of,) to be all devoted to God, to give him all my soul, my body, and my substance.

Will any considerate man say, that this is carrying matters too far? or that any thing less is due to Him who has given himself for us, than to give him ourselves, all we have, and all we are.

5. In the year 1729, I began not only to read, but to study, the Bible, as the one, the only standard of truth, and the only model of pure religion. Hence I saw, in a clearer and clearer light, the indispensable necessity of having "the mind which was in Christ," and of "walking as Christ also walked;" even of having, not some part only, but all the mind which was in him; and of walking as he walked, not only in many or in most respects, but in all things. And this was the light, wherein at this time I generally considered religion, as a uniform following of Christ, an entire inward and outward conformity to our Master. Nor was I afraid of any thing more, than of bending this rule to the experience of myself, or of other men; of allowing myself in any the least disconformity to our grand Exemplar.

6. On January 1, 1733, I preached before the university, in St. Mary's Church, on "the Circumcision of the Heart;" an account of which I gave in these words: "It is that habitual disposition of soul which, in the sacred writings, is termed holiness; and which directly implies, the being cleansed from sin, 'from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit;' and, by consequence, the being endued with those virtues which were in Christ Jesus; the being so 'renewed in the image of our mind,' as to be 'perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect.'" (Vol. i, p. 148.)

In the same sermon I observed, "'Love is the fulfilling of the law, the end of the commandment.' It is not only 'the first and great' command, but all the commandments in one. 'Whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise,' they are all comprised in this one word, love. In this is perfection, and glory, and happiness: the royal law of heaven and earth is this, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.' The one perfect good shall be your one ultimate end. One

thing shall ye desire for its own sake,—the fruition of Him who is all in all. One happiness shall ye propose to your souls, even a union with him that made them, the having 'fellowship with the Father and the Son,' the being 'joined to the Lord in one spirit.' One design ye are to pursue to the end of time,—the enjoyment of God in time and in eternity. Desire other things, so far as they tend to this; love the creature, as it leads to the Creator. But in every step you take, be this the glorious point that terminates your view. Let every affection, and thought, and word, and action, be subordinate to this. Whatever ye desire or fear, whatever ye seek or shun, whatever ye think, speak, or do, be it in order to your happiness in God, the sole end, as well as source, of your being." (*Ib.* pp. 150, 151.)

I concluded in these words: "Here is the sum of the perfect law, the circumcision of the heart. Let the spirit return to God that gave it, with the whole train of its affections.—Other sacrifices from us he would not, but the living sacrifice of the heart hath he chosen. Let it be continually offered up to God through Christ, in flames of holy love. And let no creature be suffered to share with him; for he is a jealous God. His throne will he not divide with another; he will reign without a rival. Be no design, no desire admitted there, but what has him for its ultimate object. This is the way wherein those children of God once walked, who being dead still speak to us: 'Desire not to live but to praise his name; let all your thoughts, words, and works tend to his glory.' 'Let your soul be filled with so entire a love to him, that you may love nothing but for his sake.' 'Have a pure intention of heart, a steadfast regard to his glory in all your actions.' 'For then, and not till then, is that mind in us, which was also in Christ Jesus, when in every motion of our heart, in every word of our tongue, in every work of our hands, we pursue nothing but in relation to him, and in subordination to his pleasure;' when we too neither think, nor speak, nor act, to fulfil 'our own will, but the will of Him that sent us;' when, 'whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do,' we do it all 'to the glory of God.'" (*Ib.* p. 153.)

It may be observed, this sermon was composed the first of all my writings which have been published. This was the view of religion I then had, which even then I scrupled not to term *perfection*. This is the view I have of it now, without any material addition or diminution. And what is there here, which any man of understanding, who believes the Bible, can object to? What can he deny, without flatly contradicting the Scripture? what retrench, without taking from the word of God?

7. In the same sentiment did my brother and I remain (with all those young gentlemen in derision termed *Methodists*) till we embarked for America, in the latter end of 1735. It was the next year, while I was at Savannah, that I wrote the following lines:—

> Is there a thing beneath the sun,
> That strives with thee my heart to share?
> Ah! tear it thence, and reign alone,
> The Lord of every motion there!

In the beginning of the year 1738, as I was returning from thence the cry of my heart was,

> O grant that nothing in my soul
> May dwell, but thy pure love alone!
> O may thy love possess me whole,
> My joy, my treasure, and my crown!
> Strange fires far from my heart remove;
> My every act, word, thought, be love!

I never heard that any one objected to this. And indeed who can object? Is not this the language, not only of every believer, but of

every one that is truly awakened? But what have I wrote, to this day, which is either stronger or plainer?

8. In August following, I had a long conversation with Arvid Gradin, in Germany. After he had given me an account of his experience, I desired him to give me, in writing, a definition of "the full assurance of faith," which he did in the following words:—

Requies in sanguine Christi; firma fiducia in Deum, et persuasio de gratiâ divinâ; tranquillitas mentis summa, atque serenitas et pax; cum absentiâ omnis desiderii carnalis, et cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum.

"Repose in the blood of Christ; a firm confidence in God, and persuasion of his favour; the highest tranquillity, serenity, and peace of mind, with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and a cessation of all, even inward sins."

This was the first account I ever heard from any living man, of what I had before learned myself from the oracles of God, and had been praying for, (with the little company of my friends,) and expecting, for several years.

9. In 1739, my brother and I published a volume of "Hymns and Sacred Poems." In many of these we declared our sentiments strongly and explicitly. So, page 24,—

Turn the full stream of nature's tide;
  Let all our actions tend
To thee, their source; thy love the guide,
  Thy glory be the end.

Earth then a scale to heaven shall be;
  Sense shall point out the road;
The creatures all shall lead to thee,
  And all we taste be God.

Again,—

Lord, arm me with thy Spirit's might,
  Since I am call'd by thy great name:
In thee my wand'ring thoughts unite,
  Of all my works be thou the aim:
Thy love attend me all my days,
  And my sole business be thy praise. (p. 122.)

Again,—

Eager for thee I ask and pant,
  So strong the principle divine,
Carries me out with sweet constraint,
  Till all my hallow'd soul be thine;
Plunged in the Godhead's deepest sea,
And lost in thine immensity! (p. 125.)

Once more,—

Heavenly Adam, life divine,
Change my nature into thine;
Move and spread throughout my soul,
Actuate and fill the whole. (p. 153.)

It would be easy to cite many more passages to the same effect. But these are sufficient to show, beyond contradiction, what our sentiments then were.

10. The first tract I ever wrote expressly on this subject was published in the latter end of this year. That none might be prejudiced before they read it, I gave it the indifferent title of "The Character of a Methodist." In this I described a perfect Christian, placing in the front, "Not as though I had already attained." Part of it I subjoin without any alteration:

"A Methodist is one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind, and with all his strength. God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul, which is continually crying, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth whom I desire besides thee.' My God and my all! 'Thou art the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.' He is therefore happy in God; yea, always happy, as having in him a well of water springing up unto everlasting life, and overflowing his soul with peace and joy. Perfect love having now cast out fear, he rejoices evermore. Yea, his joy is full, and all his bones cry out, 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten me again unto a living hope of an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, reserved in heaven for me.'

"And he, who hath this hope, thus full of immortality, in every thing giveth thanks, as knowing this (whatsoever it is) is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning him. From him therefore he cheerfully receives all, saying, 'Good is the will of the Lord;' and whether he giveth or taketh away, equally blessing the name of the Lord. Whether in ease or pain, whether in sickness or health, whether in life or death, he giveth thanks from the ground of the heart to Him who orders it for good; into whose hands he hath wholly committed his body and soul, 'as into the hands of a faithful Creator.' He is therefore anxiously 'careful for nothing,' as having 'cast all his care on Him that careth for him;' and 'in all things' resting on him, after 'making' his 'request known to him with thanksgiving.'

"For indeed he 'prays without ceasing;' at all times the language of his heart is this, 'Unto thee is my mouth, though without a voice; and my silence speaketh unto thee.' His heart is lifted up to God at all times, and in all places. In this he is never hindered, much less interrupted, by any person or thing. In retirement or company, in leisure, business, or conversation, his heart is ever with the Lord. Whether he lie down, or rise up, 'God is in all his thoughts:' he walks with God continually; having the loving eye of his soul fixed on him, and every where 'seeing Him that is invisible.'

"And loving God, he 'loves his neighbour as himself;' he loves every man as his own soul. He loves his enemies, yea, and the enemies of God. And if it be not in his power to 'do good to them that hate' him, yet he ceases not to 'pray for them,' though they spurn his love, and still 'despitefully use him, and persecute him.'

"For he is 'pure in heart.' Love has purified his heart from envy, malice, wrath, and every unkind temper. It has cleansed him from pride, whereof 'only cometh contention;' and he hath now 'put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering.' And indeed all possible ground for contention, on his part, is cut off. For none can take from him what he desires, seeing he 'loves not the world, nor any of the things of the world;' but 'all his desire is unto God, and to the remembrance of his name.'

"Agreeable to this his one desire, is the one design of his life; namely, 'to do not his own will, but the will of Him that sent him.' His one intention at all times and in all places is, not to please himself, but him whom his soul loveth. He hath a single eye; and because his 'eye is single, his whole body is full of light. The whole is light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth enlighten the house.' God reigns alone; all that is in the soul is 'holiness to the Lord.' There is not a motion in his heart but is according to his will. Every thought that arises points to him, and is in 'obedience to the law of Christ.'

"And the tree is known by its fruits. For, as he loves God, so he 'keeps his commandments;' not only some, or most of them, but all, from the least to the greatest. He is not content to 'keep the whole law and offend in one point,' but has in all points 'a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.' Whatever God has forbidden, he avoids; whatever God has enjoined, he does. 'He runs the way of God's commandments,' now he hath

set his heart at liberty. It is his glory and joy so to do; it is his daily crown of rejoicing, to 'do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.'

"All the commandments of God he accordingly keeps, and that with all his might; for his obedience is in proportion to his love, the source from whence it flows. And therefore, loving God with all his heart, he serves him with all his strength; he continually presents his soul and 'body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God;' entirely and without reserve devoting himself, all he has, all he is, to his glory. All the talents he has, he constantly employs according to his Master's will; every power and faculty of his soul, every member of his body.

"By consequence, 'whatsoever he doeth, it is all to the glory of God.' In all his employments of every kind, he not only aims at this, which is implied in having a single eye, but actually attains it; his business and his refreshments, as well as his prayers, all serve to this great end. Whether he 'sit in the house, or walk by the way,' whether he lie down, or rise up, he is promoting, in all he speaks or does, the one business of his life. Whether he put on his apparel, or labour, or eat and drink, or divert himself from too wasting labour, it all tends to advance the glory of God, by peace and good will among men. His one invariable rule is this: 'Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God, even the Father, through him.'

"Nor do the customs of the world at all hinder his 'running the race which is set before him.' He cannot therefore 'lay up treasures upon earth,' no more than he can take fire into his bosom. He cannot speak evil of his neighbour, any more than he can lie either for God or man. He cannot utter an unkind word of any one; for love keeps the door of his lips. He cannot 'speak idle words; no corrupt conversation' ever 'comes out of his mouth;' as is all that is not 'good to the use of edifying,' not fit to 'minister grace to the hearers.' But 'whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are' justly 'of good report,' he thinks, speaks, and acts, 'adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.'"

These are the very words wherein I largely declared, for the first time, my sentiments of Christian perfection. And, is it not easy to see, (1.) That this is the very point at which I aimed all along from the year 1725; and more determinately from the year 1730, when I began to be *homo unius libri*, "a man of one book," regarding none, comparatively, but the Bible? Is it not easy to see, (2.) That this is the very same doctrine which I believe and teach at this day; not adding one point, either to that inward or outward holiness which I maintained eight-and-thirty years ago? And it is the same which, by the grace of God, I have continued to teach from that time till now; as will appear to every impartial person from the extracts subjoined below.

11. I do not know that any writer has made any objection against that tract to this day; and for some time, I did not find much opposition upon the head, at least, not from serious persons. But after a time, a cry arose, and, what a little surprised me, among religious men, who affirmed, not that I stated perfection wrong, but that "there is no perfection on earth;" nay, and fell vehemently on my brother and me for affirming the contrary. We scarce expected so rough an attack from these; especially as we were clear on justification by faith, and careful to ascribe the whole of salvation to the mere grace of God. But what most surprised us, was, that we were said to "dishonour Christ," by asserting that he "saveth to the uttermost;" by maintaining he will reign in our hearts alone, and subdue all things to himself.

12. I think it was in the latter end of the year 1740, that I had a

conversation with Dr. Gibson, then bishop of London, at Whitehall. He asked me what I meant by perfection. I told him without any disguise or reserve. When I ceased speaking, he said, "Mr. Wesley, if this be all you mean, publish it to all the world. If any one then can confute what you say, he may have free leave." I answered, "My lord, I will;" and accordingly wrote and published the sermon on Christian perfection.

In this I endeavoured to show, (1.) In what sense Christians are not, (2.) In what sense they are, perfect.

"(1.) In what sense they are not. They are not perfect in knowledge. They are not free from ignorance, no, nor from mistake. We are no more to expect any living man to be infallible, than to be omniscient. They are not free from infirmities, such as weakness or slowness of understanding, irregular quickness or heaviness of imagination. Such in another kind are impropriety of language, ungracefulness of pronunciation; to which one might add a thousand nameless defects, either in conversation or behaviour. From such infirmities as these none are perfectly freed till their spirits return to God; neither can we expect till then to be wholly freed from temptation; for 'the servant is not above his master.' But neither in this sense is there any absolute perfection on earth. There is no perfection of degrees, none which does not admit of a continual increase.

"(2.) In what sense then are they perfect? Observe, we are not now speaking of babes in Christ, but adult Christians. But even babes in Christ are so far perfect as not to commit sin. This St. John affirms expressly; and it cannot be disproved by the examples of the Old Testament. For what, if the holiest of the ancient Jews did sometimes commit sin? We cannot infer from hence, that 'all Christians do and must commit sin as long as they live.'

"But does not the Scripture say, 'A just man sinneth seven times a day?' It does not. Indeed it says, 'A just man falleth seven times.' But this is quite another thing; for, First, the words, *a day*, are not in the text. Secondly, here is no mention of *falling into sin* at all. What is here mentioned, is, *falling into temporal affliction.*

"But elsewhere Solomon says, 'There is no man that sinneth not.' Doubtless thus it was in the days of Solomon; yea, and from Solomon to Christ there was then no man that sinned not. But whatever was the case of those under the law, we may safely affirm, with St. John, that, since the Gospel was given, 'he that is born of God sinneth not.'

"The privileges of Christians are in no wise to be measured by what the Old Testament records concerning those who were under the Jewish dispensation; seeing the fulness of time is now come, the Holy Ghost is now given, the great salvation of God is now brought to men by the revelation of Jesus Christ. The kingdom of heaven is now set up on earth, concerning which the Spirit of God declared of old time, (so far is David from being the pattern or standard of Christian perfection,) 'He that is feeble among them, at that day, shall be as David, and the house of David shall be as the angel of the Lord before them,' Zech. xii, 8.

"But the Apostles themselves committed sin; Peter by dissembling, Paul by his sharp contention with Barnabas. Suppose they did, will you argue thus: 'If two of the Apostles once committed sin, then all other Christians, in all ages, do and must commit sin as long as they live?' Nay, God forbid we should thus speak. No necessity of sin was laid upon them; the grace of God was surely sufficient for them. And it is sufficient for us at this day.

"But St. James says, 'In many things we offend all.' True; but who are the persons here spoken of? Why, those many masters or teachers whom God had not sent; not the Apostle himself, nor any real Christian. That in the word *we*, used by a figure of speech, common in all other as well as the inspired writings, the Apostle could not possibly include himself, or any

other true believer, appears, First, from the ninth verse, 'Therewith bless we God, and therewith curse we men.' Surely not we Apostles! not we believers! Secondly, from the words preceding the text: 'My brethren, be not many masters,' or teachers, 'knowing that we shall receive the greater condemnation. For in many things we offend all.' *We!* Who? Not the Apostles nor true believers, but they who were to 'receive the greater condemnation,' because of those many offences. Nay, Thirdly, the verse itself proves, that, 'we offend all,' cannot be spoken either of all men or all Christians. For in it immediately follows the mention of a man who 'offends not,' as the *we* first mentioned did; from whom therefore he is professedly contradistinguished, and pronounced a 'perfect man.'

"But St. John himself says, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves;' and, 'If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.'

"I answer, (1.) The tenth verse fixes the sense of the eighth: 'If we say we have no sin,' in the former, being explained by, 'If we say we have not sinned,' in the latter verse. (2.) The point under consideration is not, whether we have or have not sinned heretofore; and neither of these verses asserts that we do sin, or commit sin now. (3.) The ninth verse explains both the eighth and tenth: 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' As if he had said, 'I have before affirmed, The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.' And no man can say, 'I need it not; I have no sin to be cleansed from.' 'If we say, we have no sin,' that 'we have not sinned, we deceive ourselves,' and make God a liar: but 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just,' not only 'to forgive us our sins,' but also 'to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,' that we may 'go and sin no more.' In conformity, therefore, both to the doctrine of St. John, and the whole tenor of the New Testament, we fix this conclusion: A Christian is so far perfect, as not to commit sin.

"This is the glorious privilege of every Christian, yea, though he be but a babe in Christ. But it is only of grown Christians it can be affirmed, they are in such a sense perfect, as, Secondly, to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers. First, from evil or sinful thoughts. Indeed, whence should they spring? 'Out of the heart of man,' if at all, 'proceed evil thoughts.' If, therefore, the heart be no longer evil, then evil thoughts no longer proceed out of it: for 'a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.'

"And as they are freed from evil thoughts, so likewise from evil tempers. Every one of these can say, with St. Paul, 'I am crucified with Christ; nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me;'—words that manifestly describe a deliverance from inward as well as from outward sin. This is expressed both negatively, 'I live not,' my evil nature, the body of sin, is destroyed; and positively, 'Christ liveth in me,' and therefore all that is holy, and just, and good. Indeed, both these, 'Christ liveth in me,' and, 'I live not,' are inseparably connected. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?

"He, therefore, who liveth in these Christians hath 'purified their hearts by faith;' insomuch that every one that has Christ in him, 'the hope of glory, purifieth himself even as he is pure.' He is purified from pride; for Christ was lowly in heart: he is pure from desire and self-will; for Christ desired only to do the will of his Father: and he is pure from anger, in the common sense of the word; for Christ was meek and gentle. I say, *in the common sense of the word;* for he is angry at sin, while he is grieved for the sinner. He feels a displacency at every offence against God, but only tender compassion to the offender.

"Thus doth Jesus save his people from their sins; not only from outward sins, but from the sins of their hearts. 'True,' say some, 'but not till death, not in this world.' Nay, St. John says, 'Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because, as he is, so are we in this world.' The Apostle here, beyond all contradiction, speaks

of himself and other living Christians, of whom he flatly affirms, that, not only at or after death, but 'in this world,' they are 'as their Master.'

"Exactly agreeable to this are his words in the first chapter: 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' And again: 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Now, it is evident, the Apostle here speaks of a deliverance wrought in this world: for he saith not, The blood of Christ *will* cleanse, (at the hour of death, or in the day of judgment,) but it 'cleanseth,' at the time present, us living Christians 'from all sin.' And it is equally evident, that if any sin remain, we are not cleansed from all sin. If *any* unrighteousness remain in the soul, it is not cleansed from all unrighteousness. Neither let any say that this relates to justification only, or the cleansing us from the guilt of sin: first, because this is confounding together what the Apostle clearly distinguishes, who mentions, first, 'to forgive us our sins,' and then 'to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Secondly, because this is asserting justification by works, in the strongest sense possible; it is making all inward, as well as all outward, holiness, necessarily previous to justification. For if the cleansing here spoken of is no other than the cleansing us from the guilt of sin, then we are not cleansed from guilt, that is, not justified, unless on condition of walking 'in the light, as he is in the light.' It remains, then, that Christians are saved in this world from all sin, from all unrighteousness; that they are now in such a sense perfect, as not to commit sin, and to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers."

It could not be, but that a discourse of this kind, which directly contradicted the favourite opinion of many, who were esteemed by others, and possibly esteemed themselves, some of the best of Christians, (whereas, if these things were so, they were not Christians at all,) should give no small offence. Many answers or animadversions, therefore, were expected; but I was agreeably disappointed. I do not know that any appeared; so I went quietly on my way.

13. Not long after, I think in the spring, 1741, we published a second volume of hymns. As the doctrine was still much misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, I judged it needful to explain yet farther upon the head; which was done in the preface to it as follows:—

"This great gift of God, the salvation of our souls, is no other than the image of God fresh stamped on our hearts. It is a 'renewal of believers in the spirit of their minds, after the likeness of Him that created them.' God hath now laid 'the axe unto the root of the tree, purifying their hearts by faith,' and 'cleansing all the thoughts of their hearts by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit.' Having this hope, that they shall see God as he is, they 'purify themselves even as he is pure,' and are 'holy, as he that hath called them is holy, in all manner of conversation.' Not that they have already attained all that they shall attain, either are already in this sense perfect. But they daily 'go on from strength to strength; beholding' now, 'as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, they are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, by the Spirit of the Lord.'

"And 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;' such liberty 'from the law of sin and death,' as the children of this world will not believe, though a man declare it unto them. 'The Son hath made them free' who are thus 'born of God,' from that great root of sin and bitterness, pride. They feel that all their 'sufficiency is of God,' that it is he alone who 'is in all their thoughts,' and 'worketh in them both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' They feel that 'it is not they' that 'speak, but the Spirit of' their 'Father who speaketh' in them, and that whatsoever is done by their hands, 'the Father who is in them, he doeth the works.' So that God is to

them all in all, and they are nothing in his sight. They are freed from self-will, as desiring nothing but the holy and perfect will of God; not supplies in want, not ease in pain,* nor life, or death, or any creature; but continually crying in their inmost soul, 'Father, thy will be done.' They are freed from evil thoughts, so that they cannot enter into them, no, not for a moment. Aforetime, when an evil thought came in, they looked up, and it vanished away. But now it does not come in, there being no room for this, in a soul which is full of God. They are free from wanderings in prayer. Whensoever they pour out their hearts in a more immediate manner before God, they have no thought of any thing past,† or absent, or to come, but of God alone. In times past, they had wandering thoughts darted in, which yet fled away like smoke; but now that smoke does not rise at all. They have no fear or doubt, either as to their state in general, or as to any particular action.‡ The 'unction from the Holy One' teacheth them every hour what they shall do, and what they shall speak;§ nor therefore have they any need to reason concerning it.‖ They are in one sense freed from temptations; for though numberless temptations fly about them, yet they trouble them not.¶ At all times their souls are even and calm, their hearts are steadfast and unmovable. Their peace, flowing as a river, 'passeth all understanding,' and they 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' For they 'are sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption,' having the witness in themselves, that 'there is laid up for' them a 'crown of righteousness, which the Lord will give' them 'in that day.'**

"Not that every one is a child of the devil, till he is thus renewed in love: on the contrary, whoever has 'a sure confidence in God, that, through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven,' he is a child of God, and, if he abide in him, an heir of all the promises. Neither ought he in any wise to cast away his confidence, or to deny the faith he has received, because it is weak, or because it is 'tried with fire,' so that his soul is 'in heaviness through manifold temptations.'

"Neither dare we affirm, as some have done, that all this salvation is given at once. There is indeed an instantaneous, as well as a gradual, work of God in his children; and there wants not, we know, a cloud of witnesses, who have received, in one moment, either a clear sense of the forgiveness of their sins, or the abiding witness of the Holy Spirit. But we do not know a single instance, in any place, of a person's receiving, in one and the same moment, remission of sins, the abiding witness of the Spirit, and a new, a clean heart.

"Indeed, how God may work, we cannot tell; but the general manner wherein he does work, is this: those who once trusted in themselves that they were righteous, that they were rich, and increased in goods, and had need of nothing, are, by the Spirit of God applying his word, convinced that they are poor and naked. All the things that they have done are brought to their remembrance and set in array before them, so that they see the wrath of God hanging over their heads, and feel that they deserve the damnation of hell. In their trouble they cry unto the Lord, and he shows them that he hath taken away their sins, and opens the kingdom of heaven in their hearts, 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' Sorrow and pain are fled away, and 'sin has no more dominion over' them. Knowing they are justified freely through faith in his blood, they 'have peace with God

* This is too strong. Our Lord himself desired ease in pain. He asked for it, only with resignation: "Not as I will," I desire, "but as thou wilt."

† This is far too strong. See the sermon "On Wandering Thoughts."

‡ Frequently this is the case; but only for a time.

§ For a time it may be so; but not always.

‖ Sometimes they have no need; at other times they have.

¶ Sometimes they do not; at other times they do, and that grievously.

** Not all who are saved from sin; many of them have not attained it yet.

through Jesus Christ;' they 'rejoice in hope of the glory of God,' and 'the love of God is shed abroad in their hearts.'

"In this peace they remain for days, or weeks, or months, and commonly suppose they shall not know war any more; till some of their old enemies, their bosom sins, or the sin which did most easily beset them, (perhaps anger or desire,) assault them again, and thrust sore at them, that they may fall. Then arises fear, that they shall not endure to the end; and often doubt, whether God has not forgotten them, or whether they did not deceive themselves in thinking their sins were forgiven. Under these clouds, especially if they reason with the devil, they go mourning all the day long. But it is seldom long before their Lord answers for himself, sending them the Holy Ghost to comfort them, to bear witness continually with their spirits that they are the children of God. Then they are indeed meek and gentle and teachable, even as a little child. And now first do they see the ground of their heart;* which God before would not disclose unto them, lest the soul should fail before him, and the spirit which he had made. Now they see all the hidden abominations there, the depths of pride, self-will, and hell; yet having the witness in themselves, 'Thou art an heir of God, a joint heir with Christ, even in the midst of this fiery trial;' which continually heightens both the strong sense they then have of their inability to help themselves, and the inexpressible hunger they feel after a full renewal in his image, in 'righteousness and true holiness.' Then God is mindful of the desire of them that fear him, and gives them a single eye, and a pure heart; he stamps upon them his own image and superscription; he createth them anew in Christ Jesus; he cometh unto them with his Son and blessed Spirit, and, fixing his abode in their souls, bringeth them into the 'rest which remaineth for the people of God.'"

Here I cannot but remark, (1.) That this is the strongest account we ever gave of Christian perfection; indeed too strong in more than one particular, as is observed in the notes annexed. (2.) That there is nothing which we have since advanced upon the subject, either in verse or prose, which is not either directly or indirectly contained in this preface. So that whether our present doctrine be right or wrong, it is however the same which we taught from the beginning.

14. I need not give additional proofs of this, by multiplying quotations from the volume itself. It may suffice, to cite part of one hymn only, the last in that volume:—

Lord, I believe a rest remains,
To all thy people known;
A rest where pure enjoyment reigns,
And thou art loved alone;

A rest where all our soul's desire
Is fix'd on things above;
Where doubt and pain and fear expire,
Cast out by perfect love.

From every evil motion freed,
(The Son hath made us free,)
On all the powers of hell we tread,
In glorious liberty.

Safe in the way of life, above
Death, earth, and hell we rise;
We find, when perfected in love,
Our long-sought paradise.

O that I now the rest might know,
Believe and enter in!
Now, Saviour, now the power bestow,
And let me cease from sin!

Remove this hardness from my heart,
This unbelief remove:
To me the rest of faith impart,
The sabbath of thy love.

Come, O my Saviour, come away!
Into my soul descend!
No longer from thy creature stay,
My author and my end.

* Is it not astonishing, that while this book is extant, which was published four-and-twenty years ago, any one should face me down, that this is a new doctrine, and what I never taught before?—[This note was first published in the year 1765. Edit.]

The bliss thou hast for me prepared,
No longer be delay'd:
Come, my exceeding great reward,
For whom I first was made.

Come Father, Son, and Holy Ghost
And seal me thine abode!
Let all I am in thee be lost:
Let all be lost in God!

Can any thing be more clear, than, (1.) That here also is as full and high a salvation as we have ever spoken of? (2.) That this is spoken of as receivable by mere faith, and as hindered only by unbelief? (3.) That this faith, and consequently the salvation which it brings, is spoken of as given in an instant? (4.) That it is supposed that instant may be now? that we need not stay another moment? that "now," the very "now is the accepted time? now is the day of" this full "salvation?" And, Lastly, that, if any speak otherwise, he is the person that brings new doctrine among us?

15. About a year after, namely, in the year 1742, we published another volume of hymns. The dispute being now at the height, we spoke upon the head more largely than ever before. Accordingly abundance of the hymns in this volume treat expressly on this subject. And so does the preface, which, as it is short, it may not be amiss to insert entire:—

"(1.) Perhaps the general prejudice against Christian perfection may chiefly arise from a misapprehension of the nature of it. We willingly allow, and continually declare, there is no such perfection in this life, as implies either a dispensation from doing good, and attending all the ordinances of God, or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation, and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood.

"(2.) First. We not only allow, but earnestly contend, that there is no perfection in this life, which implies any dispensation from attending all the ordinances of God, or from doing good unto all men while we have time, though 'especially unto the household of faith.' We believe, that not only the babes in Christ, who have newly found redemption in his blood, but those also who are 'grown up into perfect men,' are indispensably obliged, as often as they have opportunity, 'to eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of him,' and to 'search the Scriptures;' by fasting, as well as temperance, to 'keep their bodies under, and bring them into subjection;' and, above all, to pour out their souls in prayer, both secretly, and in the great congregation.

"(3.) We secondly believe, that there is no such perfection in this life, as implies an entire deliverance, either from ignorance, or mistake, in things not essential to salvation, or from manifold temptations, or from numberless infirmities, wherewith the corruptible body more or less presses down the soul. We cannot find any ground in Scripture to suppose, that any inhabitant of a house of clay is wholly exempt either from bodily infirmities, or from ignorance of many things; or to imagine any is incapable of mistake, or falling into divers temptations.

"(4.) But whom then do you mean by 'one that is perfect?' We mean one in whom is 'the mind which was in Christ,' and who so 'walketh as Christ also walked;' a man 'that hath clean hands and a pure heart,' or that is 'cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit;' one in whom is 'no occasion of stumbling,' and who, accordingly, 'does not commit sin.' To declare this a little more particularly: we understand by that Scriptural expression, 'a perfect man,' one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, 'From all your filthiness and from all your idols I will cleanse you: I will also save you from all your uncleannesses.' We understand hereby, one whom God hath 'sanctified throughout in body, soul, and spirit;' one who 'walketh in the light as He is in the light, in whom is no darkness at all; the blood of Jesus Christ his Son having cleansed him from all sin.'

"(5.) This man can now testify to all mankind, 'I am crucified with

Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' He is 'holy as God who called' him 'is holy,' both in heart and 'in all manner of conversation.' He 'loveth the Lord his God with all his heart,' and serveth him 'with all his strength.' He 'loveth his neighbour,' every man 'as himself;' yea, 'as Christ loveth us;' them, in particular, that 'despitefully use him and persecute him, because they know not the Son, neither the Father.' Indeed his soul is all love, filled with 'bowels of mercies, kindness, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering.' And his life agreeth thereto, full of 'the work of faith, the patience of hope, the labour of love.' 'And whatsoever' he 'doeth either in word or deed,' he 'doeth it all in the name,' in the love and power, 'of the Lord Jesus.' In a word, he doeth 'the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven.'

"(6.) This it is to be a perfect man, to be 'sanctified throughout;' even 'to have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God,' (to use Archbishop Usher's words,) 'as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God through Christ.' In every thought of our hearts, in every word of our tongues, in every work of our hands, to 'show forth his praise, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.' O that both we, and all who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, may thus 'be made perfect in one!' "

This is the doctrine which we preached from the beginning, and which we preach at this day. Indeed by viewing it in every point of light, and comparing it again and again with the word of God on the one hand, and the experience of the children of God on the other, we saw farther into the nature and properties of Christian perfection. But still there is no contrariety at all between our first and our last sentiments. Our first conception of it was, It is to have "the mind which was in Christ," and to "walk as he walked;" to have all the mind that was in him, and always to walk as he walked: in other words, to be inwardly and outwardly devoted to God; all devoted in heart and life. And we have the same conception of it now, without either addition or diminution.

16. The hymns concerning it in this volume are too numerous to transcribe. I shall only cite a part of three:—

SAVIOUR from sin, I wait to prove
That Jesus is thy healing name;
To lose when perfected in love,
Whate'er I have, or can, or am;
I stay me on thy faithful word,
"The servant shall be as his Lord."

Answer that gracious end in me
For which thy precious life was given;
Redeem from all iniquity,
Restore, and make me meet for heaven.
Unless thou purge my every stain,
Thy suffering and my faith is vain.

Didst thou not die, that I might live,
No longer to myself but thee?
Might body, soul, and spirit give
To Him who gave himself for me?
Come then, my Master and my God,
Take the dear purchase of thy blood.

Thy own peculiar servant claim,
For thy own truth and mercy's sake;
Hallow in me thy glorious name;
Me for thine own this moment take;
And change and throughly purify;
Thine only may I live and die. (p. 80.)

CHOSE from the world, if now I stand,
Adorn'd with righteousness divine;
If, brought into the promised land,
I justly call the Saviour mine;
The sanctifying Spirit pour,
To quench my thirst and wash me clean,
Now, Saviour, let the gracious shower
Descend, and make me pure from sin.

Purge me from every sinful blot:
My idols all be cast aside:
Cleanse me from every evil thought,
From all the filth of self and pride.
The hatred of the carnal mind
Out of my flesh at once remove:
Give me a tender heart, resign'd,
And pure, and full of faith and love.

O that I now, from sin releas'd,
Thy word might to the utmost prove.
Enter into thy promised rest;
The Canaan of thy perfect love!

Now let me gain perfection's height!
Now let me into nothing fall;
Be less than nothing in my sight,
And feel that Christ is all in all. (p. 258.)

Lord, I believe, thy work of grace
is perfect in the soul:
His heart is pure who sees thy face,
His spirit is made whole.

From every sickness, by thy word,
From every foul disease,
Saved, and to perfect health restored,
To perfect holiness:

He walks in glorious liberty,
To sin entirely dead:
The Truth, the Son hath made him free,
And he is free indeed.

Throughout his soul thy glories shine,
His soul is all renew'd,
And deck'd in righteousness divine,
And clothed and fill'd with God.

This is the rest, the life, the peace,
Which all thy people prove;
Love is the bond of perfectness,
And all their soul is love.

O joyful sound of Gospel grace
Christ shall in me appear;
I, even I, shall see his face,
I shall be holy here!

He visits now the house of clay,
He shakes his future home;—
O wouldst thou, Lord, on this glad day,
Into thy temple come!

Come, O my God, thyself reveal,
Fill all this mighty void;
Thou only canst my spirit fill:
Come, O my God, my God!

Fulfil, fulfil my large desires,
Large as infinity!
Give, give me all my soul requires,
All, all that is in thee! (p. 298.)

17. On Monday, June 25, 1744, our first conference began; six clergymen and all our preachers being present. The next morning we seriously considered the doctrine of sanctification, or perfection. The questions asked concerning it, and the substance of the answers given, were as follows:—

"Question. What is it to be sanctified?

"Answer. To be renewed in the image of God, 'in righteousness and true holiness.'

"Q. What is implied in being a perfect Christian?

"A. The loving God with all our heart, and mind, and soul; Deut. vi, 5.

"Q. Does this imply, that all inward sin is taken away?

"A. Undoubtedly; or how can we be said to be 'saved from all our uncleannesses?' Ezek. xxxvi, 29."

Our second conference began August 1, 1745. The next morning we spoke of sanctification as follows:—

"Q. When does inward sanctification begin?

"A. In the moment a man is justified. (Yet sin remains in him, yea, the seed of all sin, till he is sanctified throughout.) From that time a believer gradually dies to sin, and grows in grace.

"Q. Is this ordinarily given till a little before death?

"A. It is not, to those who expect it no sooner.

"Q. But may we expect it sooner?

"A. Why not? For, although we grant, (1.) That the generality of believers, whom we have hitherto known, were not so sanctified till near death; (2.) That few of those to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistles were so at that time; nor, (3.) He himself at the time of writing his former Epistles; yet all this does not prove, that we may not be so to-day.

"Q. In what manner should we preach sanctification?

"A. Scarce at all to those who are not pressing forward; to those who are, always by way of promise; always drawing, rather than driving."

Our third conference began Tuesday, May 26, 1746.

In this we carefully read over the minutes of the two preceding conferences, to observe whether any thing contained therein might be retrenched or altered on more mature consideration. But we did not see cause to alter in any respect what we had agreed upon before.

Our fourth conference began on Tuesday, June the 16th, 1747. As

several persons were present, who did not believe the doctrine of perfection, we agreed to examine it from the foundation.

In order to this it was asked,

"How much is allowed by our brethren who differ from us with regard to entire sanctification?

"A. They grant, (1.) That every one must be entirely sanctified in the article of death. (2.) That till then a believer daily grows in grace, comes nearer and nearer to perfection. (3.) That we ought to be continually pressing after it, and to exhort all others so to do.

"Q. What do we allow them?

"A. We grant, (1.) That many of those who have died in the faith, yea, the greater part of those we have known, were not perfected in love, till a little before their death. (2.) That the term *sanctified*, is continually applied by St. Paul to all that were justified. (3.) That by this term alone, he rarely, if ever, means, 'saved from all sin.' (4.) That, consequently, it is not proper to use it in that sense, without adding the word *wholly*, *entirely*, or the like. (5.) That the inspired writers almost continually speak of or to those who were justified, but very rarely of or to those who were wholly sanctified.* (6.) That, consequently, it behooves us to speak almost continually of the state of justification; but more rarely,† 'at least in full and explicit terms, concerning entire sanctification.'

"Q. What then is the point where we divide?

"A. It is this: should we expect to be saved from all sin before the article of death?

"Q. Is there any clear Scripture promise of this,—that God will save us from all sin?

"A. There is: 'He shall redeem Israel from all his sins,' Psalm cxxx, 8.

"This is more largely expressed in the prophecy of Ezekiel: 'Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you: I will also save you from all your uncleanness,' xxxvi, 25, 29. No promise can be more clear. And to this the Apostle plainly refers in that exhortation: 'Having these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God,' 2 Cor. vii, 1. Equally clear and express is that ancient promise: 'The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul,' Deut. xxx, 6.

"Q. But does any assertion answerable to this occur in the New Testament?

"A. There does, and that laid down in the plainest terms. So 1 John iii, 8: 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil;' the works of the devil, without any limitation or restriction; but all sin is the work of the devil. Parallel to which is the assertion of St. Paul: 'Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it might be holy and without blemish,' Eph. v, 25–27.

"And to the same effect is his assertion in the eighth of the Romans, verses 3, 4: 'God sent his Son, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

"Q. Does the New Testament afford any farther ground for expecting to be saved from all sin?

"A. Undoubtedly it does; both in those prayers and commands, which are equivalent to the strongest assertions.

* That is, unto those alone, exclusive of others; but they speak to them, jointly with others, almost continually.

† More rarely, I allow; but yet in some places very frequently, strongly, and explicitly.

"Q. What prayers do you mean?

"A. Prayers for entire sanctification; which, were there no such thing would be mere mockery of God. Such in particular are, (1.) 'Deliver us from evil.' Now, when this is done, when we are delivered from all evil, there can be no sin remaining. (2.) 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one,' John xvii, 20–23. (3.) 'I bow my knees unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would grant you, that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend, with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge; that ye may be filled with all the fulness of God,' Eph. iii, 14, &c. (4.) 'The very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God, your whole spirit, soul, and body, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1 Thess. v, 23.

"Q. What command is there to the same effect?

"A. (1.) 'Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect,' Matt. v, 48. (2.) 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind,' Matt. xxii, 37. But if the love of God fill all the heart, there can be no sin therein.

"Q. But how does it appear that this is to be done before the article of death?

"A. (1.) From the very nature of a command, which is not given to the dead, but to the living. Therefore, 'Thou shalt love God with all thy heart,' cannot mean, Thou shalt do this when thou diest, but, while thou livest.

"(2.) From express texts of Scripture: (i.) 'The grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us that, having renounced ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works,' Titus ii, 11–14. (ii.) 'He hath raised up a horn of salvation for us, to perform the mercy promised to our fathers; the oath which he sware to our father Abraham, that he would grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, should serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life,' Luke i, 69, &c.

"Q. Is there any example in Scripture of persons who had attained to this?

"A. Yes; St. John, and all those of whom he says, 'Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because, as he is, so are we in this world,' 1 John iv, 17.

"Q. Can you show one such example now? Where is he that is thus perfect?

"A. To some that make this inquiry, one might answer, If I knew one here, I would not tell you; for you do not inquire out of love. You are like Herod; you only seek the young child to slay it.

"But more directly we answer: There are many reasons why there should be few, if any, indisputable examples. What inconveniences would this bring on the person himself, set as a mark for all to shoot at! And how unprofitable would it be to gainsayers! 'For if they hear not Moses and the Prophets,' Christ and his Apostles, 'neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.'

"Q. Are we not apt to have a secret distaste to any who say they are saved from all sin?

"A. It is very possible we may, and that upon several grounds; partly from a concern for the good of souls, who may be hurt if these are not what they profess; partly from a kind of implicit envy at those who speak of higher attainments than our own; and partly from our natural slowness and unreadiness of heart to believe the works of God.

"Q. Why may we not continue in the joy of faith till we are perfected in love?

"Why indeed? since holy grief does not quench this joy; since even while we are under the cross, while we deeply partake of the sufferings of Christ, we may rejoice with joy unspeakable."

From these extracts it undeniably appears, not only what was mine and my brother's judgment, but what was the judgment of all the preachers in connection with us, in the years 1744, 45, 46, and 47. Nor do I remember that, in any one of these conferences, we had one dissenting voice; but whatever doubts any one had when we met, they were all removed before we parted.

18. In the year 1749, my brother printed two volumes of "Hymns and Sacred Poems." As I did not see these before they were published, there were some things in them which I did not approve of. But I quite approved of the main of the hymns on this head; a few verses of which are subjoined:—

Come, Lord, be manifested here,
And all the devil's works destroy;
Now, without sin, in me appear,
And fill with everlasting joy:
Thy beatific face display;
Thy presence is the perfect day. (Vol. i, p. 203.)

Swift to my rescue come,
Thy own this moment seize;
Gather my wand'ring spirit home,
And keep in perfect peace.

Suffer'd no more to rove
O'er all the earth abroad,
Arrest the pris'ner of thy love,
And shut me up in God! (p. 247.)

Thy pris'ners release, Vouchsafe us thy peace;
And our sorrows and sins in a moment shall cease.
That moment be now! Our petition allow,
Our present Redeemer and Comforter thou! (Vol. ii, p. 124.)

From this inbred sin deliver;
Let the yoke Now be broke;
Make me thine for ever.

Partner of thy perfect nature,
Let me be Now in thee
A new, sinless creature. (p. 156.)

Turn me, Lord, and turn me now,
To thy yoke my spirit bow:
Grant me now the pearl to find
Of a meek and quiet mind.

Calm, O calm my troubled breast;
Let me gain that second rest:
From my works for ever cease,
Perfected in holiness. (p. 162.)

Come in this accepted hour,
Bring thy heavenly kingdom in!
Fill us with the glorious power,
Rooting out the seeds of sin. (p. 168.)

Come, thou dear Lamb, for sinners slain,
Bring in the cleansing flood:
Apply, to wash out every stain,
Thine efficacious blood.

O let it sink into our soul
Deep as the inbred sin:
Make every wounded spirit whole,
And every leper clean! (p. 171.)

Pris'ners of hope arise,
And see your Lord appear:
Lo! on the wings of love he flies,
And brings redemption near.
Redemption in his blood
He calls you to receive:
"Come unto me, the pard'ning God:
Believe," he cries, "believe!"
Jesus, to thee we look,
Till saved from sin's remains,
Reject the inbred tyrant's yoke,
And cast away his chains.
Our nature shall no more
O'er us dominion have:
By faith we apprehend the power,
Which shall for ever save. (p. 188.)

Jesus, our life, in us appear,
Who daily die thy death:
Reveal thyself the finisher;
Thy quick'ning Spirit breathe
Unfold the hidden mystery,
The second gift impart;
Reveal thy glorious self in me,
In every waiting heart. (p. 195.)

In Him we have peace, In Him we nave power!
Preserved by his grace Throughout the dark hour.
In all our temptations He keeps us, to prove
His utmost salvation, His fulness of love.

Pronounce the glad word, And bid us be free!
Ah, hast thou not, Lord, A blessing for me?
The peace thou hast given, This moment impart,
And open thy heaven, O Love, in my heart! (p. 324.)

A second edition of these hymns was published in the year 1752; and that without any other alteration, than that of a few literal mistakes.

I have been the more large in these extracts, because hence it appears, beyond all possibility of exception, that to this day, both my brother and I maintained, (1.) That Christian perfection is that love of God and our neighbour, which implies deliverance from all sin. (2.) That this is received merely by faith. (3.) That it is given instantaneously, in one moment. (4.) That we are to expect it, not at death, but every moment; that now is the accepted time, now is the day of this salvation.

19. At the conference in the year 1759, perceiving some danger that a diversity of sentiments should insensibly steal in among us, we again largely considered this doctrine; and soon after I published "Thoughts on Christian Perfection," prefaced with the following advertisement:—

"The following tract is by no means designed to gratify the curiosity of any man. It is not intended to prove the doctrine at large, in opposition to those who explode and ridicule it; no, nor to answer the numerous objections against it, which may be raised even by serious men. All I intend here is, simply to declare what are my sentiments on this head; what Christian perfection does, according to my apprehension, include, and what it does not; and to add a few practical observations and directions relative to the subject.

"As these thoughts were at first thrown together by way of question and answer, I let them continue in the same form. They are just the same that I have entertained for above twenty years.

"Quest. What is Christian perfection?

"Ans. The loving God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength. This implies, that no wrong temper, none contrary to love, remains in the soul; and that all the thoughts, words, and actions, are governed by pure love.

"Q. Do you affirm, that this perfection excludes all infirmities, ignorance, and mistake?

"A. I continually affirm quite the contrary, and always have done so.

"Q. But how can every thought, word, and work, be governed by pure love, and the man be subject at the same time to ignorance and mistake?

"A. I see no contradiction here: 'A man may be filled with pure love, and still be liable to mistake.' Indeed, I do not expect to be freed from actual mistakes, till this mortal puts on immortality. I believe this to be a natural consequence of the soul's dwelling in flesh and blood. For we cannot now think at all, but by the mediation of those bodily organs which have suffered equally with the rest of our frame. And hence we cannot avoid sometimes thinking wrong, till this corruptible shall have put on incorruption.

"But we may carry this thought farther yet. A mistake in judgment may possibly occasion a mistake in practice. For instance: Mr. De Renty's mistake touching the nature of mortification, arising from prejudice of education, occasioned that practical mistake, his wearing an iron girdle. And a thousand such instances there may be, even in those who are in the highest state of grace. Yet, where every word and action springs from love, such a mistake is not properly a sin. However, it cannot bear the rigour of God's justice, but needs the atoning blood.

"Q. What was the judgment of all our brethren who met at Bristol in August 1758, on this head?

"A. It was expressed in these words: (1.) Every one may mistake as long as he lives. (2.) A mistake in opinion may occasion a mistake in practice. (3.) Every such mistake is a transgression of the perfect law. Therefore, (4.) Every such mistake, were it not for the blood of atonement, would expose to eternal damnation. (5.) It follows, that the most perfect have continual need of the merits of Christ, even for their actual transgressions, and may say for themselves, as well as for their brethren, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'

"This easily accounts for what might otherwise seem to be utterly unaccountable; namely, that those who are not offended when we speak of the highest degree of love, yet will not hear of living without sin. The reason is, they know all men are liable to mistake, and that in practice as well as in judgment. But they do not know, or do not observe, that this is not sin, if love is the sole principle of action.

"Q. But still, if they live without sin, does not this exclude the necessity of a Mediator? At least, is it not plain that they stand no longer in need of Christ in his priestly office?

"A. Far from it. None feel their need of Christ like these; none so entirely depend upon him. For Christ does not give life to the soul separate from, but in and with, himself. Hence his words are equally true of all men, in whatsoever state of grace they are: 'As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me: Without' (or separate from) 'me ye can do nothing.'

"In every state we need Christ in the following respects, (1.) Whatever grace we receive, it is a free gift from him. (2.) We receive it as his purchase, merely in consideration of the price he paid. (3.) We have this grace, not only from Christ, but in him. For our perfection is not like that of a tree, which flourishes by the sap derived from its own root, but, as was said before, like that of a branch which, united to the vine, bears fruit; but, severed from it, is dried up and withered. (4.) All our blessings, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, depend on his intercession for us, which is one branch of his priestly office, whereof therefore we have always equal need. (5.) The best of men still need Christ in his priestly office, to atone for their omissions, their short-comings, (as some not improperly speak,) their mistakes in judgment and practice, and their defects of various kinds. For these are all deviations from the perfect law, and consequently need an atonement. Yet that they are not properly sins, we apprehend may appear from the words of St. Paul, 'He that loveth, hath fulfilled the law; for love is the fulfilling of the law,' Rom. xiii, 10. Now, mistakes, and whatever infirmities necessarily flow from the corruptible state of the body, are no way contrary to love; nor therefore, in the Scripture sense, sin.

To explain myself a little farther on this head: (1.) Not only sin, properly so called, (that is, a voluntary transgression of a known law,) but sin, improperly so called, (that is, an involuntary transgression of a divine law, known or unknown,) needs the atoning blood. (2.) I believe there is no such perfection in this life as excludes these involuntary transgressions which I apprehend to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality. (3.) Therefore *sinless perfection* is a phrase I never use, lest I should seem to contradict myself. (4.) I believe, a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions. (5.) Such transgressions you may call sins, if you please: I do not, for the reasons above mentioned.

"Q. What advice would you give to those that do, and those that do not, call them so?

"A. Let those that do not call them sins, never think that themselves or any other persons are in such a state as that they can stand before infinite

justice without a Mediator. This must argue either the deepest ignorance, or the highest arrogance and presumption.

"Let those who do call them so, beware how they confound these defects with sins, properly so called.

"But how will they avoid it? How will these be distinguished from those, if they are all promiscuously called sins? I am much afraid, if we should allow any sins to be consistent with perfection, few would confine the idea to those defects concerning which only the assertion could be true.

"Q. But how can a liableness to mistake consist with perfect love? Is not a person who is perfected in love every moment under its influence? And can any mistake flow from pure love?

"A. I answer, (1.) Many mistakes may consist with pure love; (2.) Some may accidentally flow from it: I mean, love itself may incline us to mistake. The pure love of our neighbour, springing from the love of God, thinketh no evil, believeth and hopeth all things. Now, this very temper, unsuspicious, ready to believe and hope the best of all men, may occasion our thinking some men better than they really are. Here then is a manifest mistake, accidentally flowing from pure love.

"Q. How shall we avoid setting perfection too high or too low?

"A. By keeping to the Bible, and setting it just as high as the Scripture does. It is nothing higher and nothing lower than this,—the pure love of God and man; the loving God with all our heart and soul, and our neighbour as ourselves. It is love governing the heart and life, running through all our tempers, words, and actions.

"Q. Suppose one had attained to this, would you advise him to speak of it?

"A. At first perhaps he would scarce be able to refrain, the fire would be so hot within him; his desire to declare the loving-kindness of the Lord carrying him away like a torrent. But afterward he might; and then it would be advisable, not to speak of it to them that know not God; (it is most likely, it would only provoke them to contradict and blaspheme;) nor to others, without some particular reason, without some good in view. And then he should have especial care to avoid all appearance of boasting; to speak with the deepest humility and reverence, giving all the glory to God.

"Q. But would it not be better to be entirely silent, not to speak of it at all?

"A. By silence, he might avoid many crosses, which will naturally and necessarily ensue, if he simply declare, even among believers, what God has wrought in his soul. If, therefore, such a one were to confer with flesh and blood, he would be entirely silent. But this could not be done with a clear conscience; for undoubtedly he ought to speak. Men do not light a candle to put it under a bushel; much less does the all-wise God. He does not raise such a monument of his power and love, to hide it from all mankind. Rather, he intends it as a general blessing to those who are simple of heart. He designs thereby, not barely the happiness of that individual person, but the animating and encouraging others to follow after the same blessing. His will is, 'that many shall see it' and rejoice, 'and put their trust in the Lord.' Nor does any thing under heaven more quicken the desires of those who are justified, than to converse with those whom they believe to have experienced a still higher salvation. This places that salvation full in their view, and increases their hunger and thirst after it; an advantage which must have been entirely lost, had the person so saved buried himself in silence.

"Q. But is there no way to prevent these crosses which usually fall on those who speak of being thus saved?

"A. It seems they cannot be prevented altogether, while so much of nature remains even in believers. But something might be done, if the preacher in every place would, (1.) Talk freely with all who speak thus; and, (2.) Labour to prevent the unjust or unkind treatment of those in favour of whom there is reasonable proof.

"Q. What is reasonable proof? How may we certainly know one that is saved from all sin?

"A. We cannot infallibly know one that is thus saved, (no, nor even one that is justified,) unless it should please God to endow us with the miraculous discernment of spirits. But we apprehend those would be sufficient proofs to any reasonable man, and such as would leave little room to doubt either the truth or depth of the work: (1.) If we had clear evidence of his exemplary behaviour for some time before this supposed change. This would give us reason to believe, he would not 'lie for God,' but speak neither more nor less than he felt; (2.) If he gave a distinct account of the time and manner wherein the change was wrought, with sound speech which could not be reproved; and, (3.) If it appeared that all his subsequent words and actions were holy and unblamable.

"The short of the matter is this: (1.) I have abundant reason to believe, this person will not lie; (2.) He testifies before God, 'I feel no sin, but all love; I pray, rejoice, and give thanks without ceasing; and I have as clear an inward witness, that I am fully renewed, as that I am justified.' Now, if I have nothing to oppose to this plain testimony, I ought in reason to believe it.

"It avails nothing to object, 'But I know several things wherein he is quite mistaken.' For it has been allowed, that all who are in the body are liable to mistake; and that a mistake in judgment may sometimes occasion a mistake in practice; though great care is to be taken that no ill use be made of this concession. For instance: Even one that is perfected in love may mistake with regard to another person, and may think him, in a particular case, to be more or less faulty than he really is. And hence he may speak to him with more or less severity than the truth requires. And in this sense, (though that be not the primary meaning of St. James,) 'in many things we offend all.' This therefore is no proof at all, that the person so speaking is not perfect.

"Q. But is it not a proof, if he is surprised or fluttered by a noise, a fall, or some sudden danger?

"A. It is not; for one may start, tremble, change colour, or be otherwise disordered in body, while the soul is calmly stayed on God, and remains in perfect peace. Nay, the mind itself may be deeply distressed, may be exceeding sorrowful, may be perplexed and pressed down by heaviness and anguish, even to agony, while the heart cleaves to God by perfect love, and the will is wholly resigned to him. Was it not so with the Son of God himself? Does any child of man endure the distress, the anguish, the agony, which he sustained? And yet he knew no sin.

"Q. But can any one who has a pure heart prefer pleasing to unpleasing food; or use any pleasure of sense which is not strictly necessary? If so, how do they differ from others?

"A. The difference between these and others in taking pleasant food is, (1.) They need none of these things to make them happy; for they have a spring of happiness within. They see and love God. Hence they rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks. (2.) They may use them, but they do not seek them. (3.) They use them sparingly, and not for the sake of the thing itself. This being premised, we answer directly,—Such a one may use pleasing food, without the danger which attends those who are not saved from sin. He may prefer it to unpleasing, though equally wholesome, food, as a means of increasing thankfulness, with a single eye to God, who giveth us all things richly to enjoy: on the same principle, he may smell to a flower, or eat a bunch of grapes, or take any other pleasure which does not lessen but increase his delight in God. Therefore, neither can we say that one perfected in love would be incapable of marriage, and of worldly business: if he were called thereto, he would be more capable than ever; as being able to do all things without hurry or carefulness, without any distraction of spirit.

"Q. But if two perfect Christians had children, how could they be born in sin, since there was none in the parents?

"A. It is a possible, but not a probable, case; I doubt whether it ever was or ever will be. But waiving this, I answer, Sin is entailed upon me, not by immediate generation, but by my first parent. 'In Adam all died; by the disobedience of one, all men were made sinners;' all men, without exception, who were in his loins when he ate the forbidden fruit.

"We have a remarkable illustration of this in gardening: grafts on a crab stock bear excellent fruit; but sow the kernels of this fruit, and what will be the event? They produce as mere crabs as ever were eaten.

"Q. But what does the perfect one do more than others? more than the common believers?

"A. Perhaps nothing; so may the providence of God have hedged him in by outward circumstances. Perhaps not so much; though he desires and longs to spend and be spent for God; at least, not externally: he neither speaks so many words, nor does so many works. As neither did our Lord himself speak so many words, or do so many, no, nor so great works, as some of his Apostles, John xiv, 12. But what then? This is no proof that he has not more grace; and by this God measures the outward work. Hear ye him: 'Verily, I say unto you, this poor widow has cast in more than them all.' Verily, this poor man, with his few broken words, hath spoken more than them all. Verily, this poor woman, that hath given a cup of cold water, hath done more than them all. O cease to 'judge according to appearance,' and learn to 'judge righteous judgment!'

"Q. But is not this a proof against him,—I feel no power either in his words or prayer?

"A. It is not; for perhaps that is your own fault. You are not likely to feel any power therein, if any of these hinderances lie in the way: (1.) Your own deadness of soul. The dead Pharisees felt no power even in His words who 'spake as never man spake.' (2.) The guilt of some unrepented sin lying upon the conscience. (3.) Prejudice toward him of any kind. (4.) Your not believing that state to be attainable wherein he professes to be. (5.) Unreadiness to think or own he has attained it. (6.) Overvaluing or idolizing him. (7.) Overvaluing yourself and your own judgment. If any of these is the case, what wonder is it that you feel no power in any thing he says? But do not others feel it? If they do, your argument falls to the ground. And if they do not, do none of these hinderances lie in their way too? You must be certain of this before you can build any argument thereon; and even then your argument will prove no more than that grace and gifts do not always go together.

"'But he does not come up to my idea of a perfect Christian.' And perhaps no one ever did, or ever will. For your idea may go beyond, or at least beside the Scriptural account. It may include more than the Bible includes therein, or, however, something which that does not include. Scripture perfection is, pure love filling the heart, and governing all the words and actions. If your idea includes any thing more or any thing else, it is not Scriptural; and then no wonder, that a scripturally perfect Christian does not come up to it.

"I fear many stumble on this stumbling block. They include as many ingredients as they please, not according to Scripture, but their own imagination, in their idea of one that is perfect; and then readily deny any one to be such, who does not answer that imaginary idea.

"The more care should we take to keep the simple, Scriptural account continually in our eye. Pure love reigning alone in the heart and life,—this is the whole of Scriptural perfection.

"Q. When may a person judge himself to have attained this?

"A. When, after having been fully convinced of inbred sin, by a far deeper and clearer conviction than that he experienced before justification, and after having experienced a gradual mortification of it, he experiences a total death to sin, and an entire renewal in the love and image of God, so as to rejoice evermore, to pray without ceasing, and in every thing to give

thanks. Not that 'to feel all love and no sin' is a sufficient proof. Several have experienced this for a time, before their souls were fully renewed. None therefore ought to believe that the work is done, till there is added the testimony of the Spirit, witnessing his entire sanctification, as clearly as his justification.

"Q. But whence is it, that some imagine they are thus sanctified, when in reality they are not?

"A. It is hence; they do not judge by all the preceding marks, but either by part of them, or by others that are ambiguous. But I know no instance of a person attending to them all, and yet deceived in this matter. I believe there can be none in the world. If a man be deeply and fully convinced, after justification, of inbred sin; if he then experience a gradual mortification of sin, and afterward an entire renewal in the image of God; if to this change, immensely greater than that wrought when he was justified, be added a clear, direct witness of the renewal; I judge it as impossible this man should be deceived herein, as that God should lie. And if one whom I know to be a man of veracity testify these things to me, I ought not, without some sufficient reason, to reject his testimony.

"Q. Is this death to sin, and renewal in love, gradual or instantaneous?

"A. A man may be dying for some time; yet he does not, properly speaking, die, till the instant the soul is separated from the body; and in that instant he lives the life of eternity. In like manner, he may be dying to sin for some time; yet he is not dead to sin, till sin is separated from his soul; and in that instant he lives the full life of love. And as the change undergone, when the body dies, is of a different kind, and infinitely greater than any we had known before, yea, such as till then it is impossible to conceive; so the change wrought, when the soul dies to sin, is of a different kind, and infinitely greater than any before, and than any can conceive till he experiences it. Yet he still grows in grace, in the knowledge of Christ, in the love and image of God; and will do so, not only till death, but to all eternity.

"Q. How are we to wait for this change?

"A. Not in careless indifference, or indolent inactivity; but in vigorous, universal obedience, in a zealous keeping of all the commandments, in watchfulness and painfulness, in denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily; as well as in earnest prayer and fasting, and a close attendance on all the ordinances of God. And if any man dream of attaining it any other way, (yea, or of keeping it when it is attained, when he has received it even in the largest measure,) he deceiveth his own soul. It is true, we receive it by simple faith: but God does not, will not, give that faith, unless we seek it with all diligence, in the way which he hath ordained.

"This consideration may satisfy those who inquire, why so few have received the blessing. Inquire how many are seeking it in this way; and you have a sufficient answer.

"Prayer especially is wanting. Who continues instant therein? Who wrestles with God for this very thing? So, 'ye have not, because ye ask not; or because ye ask amiss,' namely, that you may be renewed before you die. *Before you die!* Will that content you? Nay, but ask that it may be done now; to-day, while it is called to-day. Do not call this 'setting God a time.' Certainly, to-day is his time as well as to-morrow. Make haste, man, make haste! Let

> Thy soul break out in strong desire
> The perfect bliss to prove;
> Thy longing heart be all on fire
> To be dissolved in love!

"Q. But may we not continue in peace and joy till we are perfected in love?

"A. Certainly we may; for the kingdom of God is not divided against itself; therefore, let not believers be discouraged from 'rejoicing in the Lord

always.' And yet we may be sensibly pained at the sinful nature that still remains in us. It is good for us to have a piercing sense of this, and a vehement desire to be delivered from it. But this should only incite us the more zealously to fly every moment to our strong Helper, the more earnestly to 'press forward to the mark, the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus.' And when the sense of our sin most abounds, the sense of his love should much more abound.

"Q. How should we treat those who think they have attained?

"A. Examine them candidly, and exhort them to pray fervently, that God would show them all that is in their hearts. The most earnest exhortations to abound in every grace, and the strongest cautions to avoid all evil, are given throughout the New Testament, to those who are in the highest state of grace. But this should be done with the utmost tenderness; and without any harshness, sternness, or sourness. We should carefully avoid the very appearance of anger, unkindness, or contempt. Leave it to Satan thus to tempt, and to his children to cry out, 'Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness and prove his patience.' If they are faithful to the grace given, they are in no danger of perishing thereby; no, not if they remain in that mistake till their spirit is returning to God.

"Q. But what hurt can it do to deal harshly with them?

"A. Either they are mistaken, or they are not. If they are, it may destroy their souls. This is nothing impossible, no, nor improbable. It may so enrage or so discourage them, that they will sink and rise no more. If they are not mistaken, it may grieve those whom God has not grieved, and do much hurt unto our own souls. For undoubtedly he that toucheth them, toucheth, as it were, the apple of God's eye. If they are indeed full of his Spirit, to behave unkindly or contemptuously to them is doing no little despite to the Spirit of grace. Hereby, likewise, we feed and increase in ourselves evil surmising, and many wrong tempers. To instance only in one: What self-sufficiency is this, to set ourselves up for inquisitors-general, for peremptory judges in these deep things of God! Are we qualified for the office? Can we pronounce, in all cases, how far infirmity reaches? what may, and what may not, be resolved into it? what may in all circumstances, and what may not, consist with perfect love? Can we precisely determine, how it will influence the look, the gesture, the tone of voice? If we can, doubtless we are 'the men, and wisdom shall die with us.'

"Q. But if they are displeased at our not believing them, is not this a full proof against them?

"A. According as that displeasure is: if they are angry, it is a proof against them; if they are grieved, it is not. They ought to be grieved, if we disbelieve a real work of God, and thereby deprive ourselves of the advantage we might have received from it. And we may easily mistake this grief for anger, as the outward expressions of both are much alike.

"Q. But is it not well to find out those who fancy they have attained when they have not?

"A. It is well to do it by mild, loving examination. But it is not well to triumph even over these. It is extremely wrong, if we find such an instance, to rejoice as if we had found great spoils. Ought we not rather to grieve, to be deeply concerned, to let our eyes run down with tears? Here is one who seemed to be a living proof of God's power to save to the uttermost; but, alas! it is not as we hoped. He is weighed in the balance, and found wanting! And is this matter of joy? Ought we not to rejoice a thousand times more, if we can find nothing but pure love?

"'But he is deceived.' What then? It is a harmless mistake, while he feels nothing but love in his heart. It is a mistake which generally argues great grace, a high degree both of holiness and happiness. This should be a matter of real joy to all that are simple of heart; not the mistake itself, but the height of grace which for a time occasions it. I rejoice that this soul

is always happy in Christ, always full of prayer and thanksgiving. I rejoice that he feels no unholy temper, but the pure love of God continually. And I will rejoice, if sin is suspended till it is totally destroyed.

"Q. Is there no danger then in a man's being thus deceived?

"A. Not at the time that he feels no sin. There was danger before, and there will be again when he comes into fresh trials. But so long as he feels nothing but love animating all his thoughts, and words, and actions, he is in no danger; he is not only happy, but safe, 'under the shadow of the Almighty;' and, for God's sake, let him continue in that love as long as he can. Meantime, you may do well to warn him of the danger that will be, if his love grow cold and sin revive; even the danger of casting away hope, and supposing, that, because he hath not attained yet, therefore he never shall.

"Q. But what, if none have attained it yet? What, if all who think so are deceived?

"A. Convince me of this, and I will preach it no more. But understand me right; I do not build any doctrine on this or that person. This or any other man may be deceived, and I am not moved. But, if there are none made perfect yet, God has not sent me to preach perfection.

"Put a parallel case: For many years I have preached, 'There is a peace of God which passeth all understanding.' Convince me that this word has fallen to the ground; that in all these years none have attained this peace; that there is no living witness of it at this day; and I will preach it no more.

"'O, but several persons have died in that peace.' Perhaps so; but I want living witnesses. I cannot indeed be infallibly certain that this or that person is a witness; but if I were certain there are none such, I must have done with this doctrine.

"'You misunderstand me. I believe some who died in this love, enjoyed it long before their death. But I was not certain that their former testimony was true till some hours before they died.'

"You had not an infallible certainty then: and a reasonable certainty you might have had before; such a certainty as might have quickened and comforted your own soul, and answered all other Christian purposes. Such a certainty as this any candid person may have, suppose there be any living witness, by talking one hour with that person in the love and fear of God.

"Q. But what does it signify, whether any have attained it or no, seeing so many scriptures witness for it?

"A. If I were convinced that none in England had attained what has been so clearly and strongly preached by such a number of preachers, in so many places, and for so long a time, I should be clearly convinced that we had all mistaken the meaning of those scriptures; and therefore, for the time to come, I too must teach that 'sin will remain till death.'"

20. In the year 1762, there was a great increase of the work of God in London. Many, who had hitherto cared for none of these things, were deeply convinced of their lost estate; many found redemption in the blood of Christ; not a few backsliders were healed; and a considerable number of persons believed that God had saved them from all sin. Easily foreseeing that Satan would be endeavouring to sow tares among the wheat, I took much pains to apprize them of the danger, particularly with regard to pride and enthusiasm. And while I stayed in town, I had reason to hope they continued both humble and sober-minded. But almost as soon as I was gone, enthusiasm broke in. Two or three began to take their own imaginations for impressions from God, and thence to suppose that they should never die; and these, labouring to bring others into the same opinion, occasioned much noise and confusion. Soon after, the same persons, with a few more, ran into other extravagances; fancying they could not be tempted; that they should feel no

more pain; and that they had the gift of prophecy, and of discerning of spirits. At my return to London, in autumn, some of them stood reproved; but others were got above instruction. Meantime, a flood of reproach came upon me almost from every quarter; from themselves, because I was checking them on all occasions; and from others, because, they said, I did not check them. However, the hand of the Lord was not stayed, but more and more sinners were convinced; while some were almost daily converted to God, and others enabled to love him with all their heart.

21. About this time, a friend at some distance from London wrote to me as follows:—

"Be not over alarmed that Satan sows tares among the wheat of Christ It ever has been so, especially on any remarkable outpouring of his Spirit; and ever will be so, till he is chained up for a thousand years. Till then he will always ape, and endeavour to counteract, the work of the Spirit of Christ.

"One melancholy effect of this has been, that a world, who is always asleep in the arms of the evil one, has ridiculed every work of the Holy Spirit.

"But what can real Christians do? Why, if they would act worthy of themselves, they should, (1.) Pray that every deluded soul may be delivered; (2.) Endeavour to reclaim them in the spirit of meekness; and, Lastly, take the utmost care, both by prayer and watchfulness, that the delusion of others may not lessen their zeal in seeking after that universal holiness of soul, body, and spirit, 'without which no man shall see the Lord.'

"Indeed this complete new creature is mere madness to a mad world. But it is, notwithstanding, the will and wisdom of God. May we all seek after it!

"But some who maintain this doctrine in its full extent are too often guilty of limiting the Almighty. He dispenses his gifts just as he pleases; therefore, it is neither wise nor modest to affirm that a person must be a believer for any length of time before he is capable of receiving a high degree of the Spirit of holiness.

"God's usual method is one thing, but his sovereign pleasure is another. He has wise reasons both for hastening and retarding his work. Sometimes he comes suddenly, and unexpected; sometimes, not till we have long looked for him.

"Indeed it has been my opinion for many years, that one great cause why men make so little improvement in the divine life is their own coldness, negligence, and unbelief. And yet I here speak of believers.

"May the Spirit of Christ give us a right judgment in all things, and 'fill us with all the fulness of God;' that so we may be 'perfect and entire, wanting nothing.'"

22. About the same time, five or six honest enthusiasts foretold the world was to end on the 28th of February. I immediately withstood them, by every possible means, both in public and private. I preached expressly upon the subject, both at West-street and Spitalfields. I warned the society, again and again, and spoke severally to as many as I could; and I saw the fruit of my labour. They made exceeding few converts: I believe scarce thirty in our whole society. Nevertheless, they made abundance of noise, gave huge occasion of offence to those who took care to improve to the uttermost every occasion against me, and greatly increased both the number and courage of those who opposed Christian perfection.

23. Some questions now published by one of these, induced a plain man to write the following—

"Queries, humbly proposed to those who deny perfection to be attainable in this life.

"(1.) Has there not been a larger measure of the Holy Spirit given under the Gospel, than under the Jewish dispensation? If not, in what sense was the Spirit not given before Christ was glorified? John vii, 39.

"(2.) Was that 'glory which followed the sufferings of Christ,' 1 Peter i, 11, an external glory, or an internal, viz. the glory of holiness?

"(3.) Has God any where in Scripture commanded us more than he has promised to us?

"(4.) Are the promises of God respecting holiness to be fulfilled in this life, or only in the next?

"(5.) Is a Christian under any other laws than those which God promises to 'write in our hearts?' Jer. xxxi, 31, &c; Heb. viii, 10.

"(6.) In what sense is 'the righteousness of the law fulfilled in those who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit?' Rom. viii, 4.

"(7.) Is it impossible for any one in this life to 'love God with all his heart, and mind, and soul, and strength?' And is the Christian under any law which is not fulfilled in this love?

"(8.) Does the soul's going out of the body effect its purification from indwelling sin?

"(9.) If so, is it not something else, not 'the blood of Christ, which cleanseth' it 'from all sin?'

"(10.) If his blood cleanseth us from all sin, while the soul and body are united, is it not in this life?

"(11.) If when that union ceases, is it not in the next? And is not this too late?

"(12.) If in the article of death; what situation is the soul in, when it is neither in the body nor out of it?

"(13.) Has Christ any where taught us to pray for what he never designs to give?

"(14.) Has he not taught us to pray, 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven?' And is it not done perfectly in heaven?

"(15.) If so, has he not taught us to pray for perfection on earth? Does he not then design to give it?

"(16.) Did not St. Paul pray according to the will of God, when he prayed that the Thessalonians might be 'sanctified wholly, and preserved' (in this world, not the next, unless he was praying for the dead) 'blameless in body, soul, and spirit, unto the coming of Jesus Christ?'

"(17.) Do you sincerely desire to be freed from indwelling sin in this life?

"(18.) If you do, did not God give you that desire?

"(19.) If so, did he not give it you to mock you, since it is impossible it should ever be fulfilled?

"(20.) If you have not sincerity enough even to desire it, are you not disputing about matters too high for you?

"(21.) Do you ever pray God to 'cleanse the thoughts of your heart, that' you 'may perfectly love him?'

"(22.) If you neither desire what you ask, nor believe it attainable, pray you not as a fool prayeth?

"God help thee to consider these questions calmly and impartially!"

24. In the latter end of this year, God called to himself that burning and shining light, Jane Cooper. As she was both a living and a dying witness of Christian perfection, it will not be at all foreign to the subject to add a short account of her death; with one of her own letters, containing a plain and artless relation of the manner wherein it pleased God to work that great change in her soul:—

"MAY 2, 1761.

"I BELIEVE while memory remains in me, gratitude will continue. From the time you preached on Gal. v, 5, I saw clearly the true state of my soul.

That sermon described my heart, and what it wanted to be; namely, truly happy. You read Mr. M——'s letter, and it described the religion which I desired. From that time the prize appeared in view, and I was enabled to follow hard after it. I was kept watching unto prayer, sometimes in much distress, at other times in patient expectation of the blessing. For some days before you left London, my soul was stayed on a promise I had applied to me in prayer: 'The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple.' I believed he would, and that he would sit there as a refiner's fire. The Tuesday after you went, I thought I could not sleep unless he fulfilled his word that night. I never knew as I did then the force of these words: 'Be still, and know that I am God.' I became nothing before him, and enjoyed perfect calmness in my soul. I knew not whether he had destroyed my sin; but I desired to know, that I might praise him. Yet I soon found the return of unbelief, and groaned, being burdened. On Wednesday I went to London, and sought the Lord without ceasing. I promised, if he would save me from sin, I would praise him. I could part with all things, so I might win Christ. But I found all these pleas to be nothing worth; and that if he saved me, it must be freely, for his own name's sake. On Thursday I was so much tempted that I thought of destroying myself, or never conversing more with the people of God: and yet I had no doubt of his pardoning love; but,—

'Twas worse than death my God to love,
And not my God alone.

On Friday my distress was deepened. I endeavoured to pray, and could not. I went to Mrs. D., who prayed for me, and told me it was the death of nature. I opened the Bible on, 'The fearful and unbelieving shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.' I could not bear it. I opened again, on Mark xvi, 6, 7: 'Be not affrighted; ye seek Jesus of Nazareth. Go your way; tell his disciples he goeth before you into Galilee; there ye shall see him.' I was encouraged, and enabled to pray, believing I should see Jesus at home. I returned that night, and found Mrs. G. She prayed for me; and the predestinarian had no plea, but, 'Lord, thou art no respecter of persons.' He proved he was not, by blessing me. I was in a moment enabled to lay hold on Jesus Christ, and found salvation by simple faith. He assured me, the Lord, the King, was in the midst of me, and that I should see evil no more. I now blessed Him who had visited and redeemed me, and was become my 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I saw Jesus altogether lovely; and knew he was mine in all his offices. And, glory be to him, he now reigns in my heart without a rival. I find no will but his. I feel no pride; nor any affection but what is placed on him. I know it is by faith I stand; and that watching unto prayer, must be the guard of faith. I am happy in God this moment, and I believe for the next. I have often read the chapter you mention, (1 Cor. xiii,) and compared my heart and life with it. In so doing, I feel my short-comings, and the need I have of the atoning blood. Yet I dare not say, I do not feel a measure of the love there described, though I am not all I shall be. I desire to be lost in that 'love which passeth knowledge.' I see 'the just shall live by faith;' and unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given. If I were an archangel, I should veil my face before him, and let silence speak his praise!"

The following account was given by one who was an eye and ear witness of what she relates:—

"(1.) In the beginning of November, she seemed to have a foresight of what was coming upon her, and used frequently to sing these words:—

'When pain o'er this weak flesh prevails,
With lamb-like patience arm my breast.'

And when she sent to me, to let me know she was ill, she wrote in her note,

'I suffer the will of Jesus. All he sends is sweetened by his love. I am as happy as if I heard a voice say,—

'For me my elder brethren stay,
And angels beckon me away,
And Jesus bids me come!'

"(2.) Upon my telling her, 'I cannot choose life or death for you,' she said, 'I asked the Lord, that, if it was his will, I might die first. And he told me, you should survive me, and that you should close my eyes.' When we perceived it was the small-pox, I said to her, 'My dear, you will not be frighted if we tell you what is your distemper.' She said, 'I cannot be frighted at His will.'

"(3.) The distemper was soon very heavy upon her; but so much the more was her faith strengthened. Tuesday, November 16, she said to me, 'I have been worshipping before the throne in a glorious manner; my soul was so let into God!' I said, 'Did the Lord give you any particular promise?' 'No,' replied she; 'it was all

That sacred awe that dares not move,
And all the silent heaven of love.'

"(4.) On Thursday, upon my asking, 'What have you to say to me?' she said, 'Nay, nothing but what you know already: God is love.' I asked, 'Have you any particular promise?' She replied, 'I do not seem to want any; I can live without. I shall die a lump of deformity, but shall meet you all glorious: and, meantime, I shall still have fellowship with your spirit.'

"(5.) Mr. M. asked, what she thought the most excellent way to walk in, and what were its chief hinderances. She answered: 'The greatest hinderance is generally from the natural constitution. It was mine to be reserved, to be very quiet, to suffer much, and to say little. Some may think one way more excellent, and some another: but the thing is to live in the will of God. For some months past, when I have been particularly devoted to this, I have felt such a guidance of his Spirit, and the unction which I have received from the Holy One has so taught me of all things, that I needed not any man should teach me, save as this anointing teacheth.'

"(6.) On Friday morning she said, 'I believe I shall die.' She then sat up in her bed and said, 'Lord, I bless thee, that thou art ever with me, and all thou hast is mine. Thy love is greater than my weakness, greater than my helplessness, greater than my unworthiness. Lord, thou sayest *to corruption, Thou art my sister!* And glory be to thee, O Jesus, thou art my brother. Let me comprehend, with all saints, the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of thy love! Bless these;' (some that were present;) 'let them be every moment exercised in all things as thou wouldest have them to be.'

"(7.) Some hours after, it seemed as if the agonies of death were just coming upon her; but her face was full of smiles of triumph, and she clapped her hands for joy. Mrs. C. said, 'My dear, you are more than conqueror through the blood of the Lamb.' She answered, 'Yes, O yes, sweet Jesus! O death, where is thy sting?' She then lay as in a doze for some time. Afterward, she strove to speak, but could not: however, she testified her love by shaking hands with all in the room.

"(8.) Mr. W. then came. She said, 'Sir, I did not know that I should live to see you. But I am glad the Lord has given me this opportunity, and likewise power to speak to you. I love you. You have always preached the strictest doctrine; and I loved to follow it. Do so still, whoever is pleased or displeased.' He asked, 'Do you now believe you are saved from sin?' She said, 'Yes; I have had no doubt of it for many months. That I ever had, was, because I did not abide in the faith. I now feel I have kept the faith; and perfect love casteth out all fear. As to you, the Lord promised

me, your latter works should exceed your former, though I do not live to see it. I have been a great enthusiast, as they term it, these six months; but never lived so near the heart of Christ in my life. You, sir, desire to comfort the hearts of hundreds by following that simplicity your soul loves.'

"(9.) To one who had received the love of God under her prayer, she said, 'I feel I have not followed a cunningly devised fable; for I am as happy as I can live. Do you press on, and stop not short of the mark.' To Miss M——s she said, 'Love Christ; he loves you. I believe I shall see you at the right hand of God: But *as one star differs from another star in glory, so shall it be in the resurrection.* I charge you, in the presence of God, meet me in that day all glorious within. Avoid all conformity to the world. You are robbed of many of your privileges. I know I shall be found blameless. Do you labour to be found of him *in peace, without spot.*'

"(10.) Saturday morning, she prayed nearly as follows: 'I know, my Lord, my life is prolonged only to do thy will. And though I should never eat or drink more,' (she had not swallowed any thing for near eight-and-twenty hours,) 'thy will be done. I am willing to be kept so a twelve-month: *Man liveth not by bread alone.* I praise thee that there is not a shadow of complaining in our streets. In that sense we know not what sickness means. Indeed, Lord, *neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, no, nor any creature, shall separate us from* thy *love* one moment. Bless these, that there may be no lack in their souls. I believe there shall not. I pray in faith.'

"On Sunday and Monday she was light-headed, but sensible at times. It then plainly appeared, her heart was still in heaven. One said to her, 'Jesus is our mark.' She replied: 'I have but one mark; I am all spiritual.' Miss M. said to her, 'You dwell in God.' She answered: 'Altogether.' A person asked her, 'Do you love me?' She said, 'O, I love Christ; I love my Christ.' To another she said, 'I shall not long be here; Jesus is precious, very precious indeed.' She said to Miss M., 'The Lord is very good; he keeps my soul above all.' For fifteen hours before she died, she was in strong convulsions: her sufferings were extreme. One said, 'You are made perfect through sufferings.' She said, 'More and more so.' After lying quiet some time, she said, 'Lord, thou art strong!' Then pausing a considerable space, she uttered her last words, 'My Jesus is all in all to me: glory be to him through time and eternity.' After this, she lay still for about half an hour, and then expired without a sigh or groan."

25. The next year, the number of those who believed they were saved from sin still increasing, I judged it needful to publish, chiefly for their use, "Farther Thoughts on Christian Perfection:"—

"Quest. 1. How is 'Christ the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth?' Rom. x, 4.

"Ans. In order to understand this, you must understand what law is here spoken of; and this, I apprehend, is, (1.) The Mosaic law, the whole Mosaic dispensation; which St. Paul continually speaks of as one, though containing three parts, the political, moral, and ceremonial. (2.) The Adamic law, that given to Adam in innocence, properly called 'the law of works.' This is in substance the same with the angelic law, being common to angels and men. It required that man should use, to the glory of God, all the powers with which he was created. Now, he was created free from any defect, either in his understanding or his affections. His body was then no clog to the mind; it did not hinder his apprehending all things clearly, judging truly concerning them, and reasoning justly, if he reasoned at all. I say, *if he reasoned;* for possibly he did not. Perhaps he had no need of reasoning, till his corruptible body pressed down the mind, and impaired its native faculties. Perhaps, till then, the mind saw every truth that offered as directly as the eye now sees the light.

"Consequently, this law, proportioned to his original powers, required that he should always think, always speak, and always act precisely right, in every point whatever. He was well able so to do: and God could not but require the service he was able to pay.

"But Adam fell; and his incorruptible body became corruptible; and ever since, it is a clog to the soul, and hinders its operations. Hence, at present, no child of man can at all times apprehend clearly, or judge truly. And where either the judgment or apprehension is wrong, it is impossible to reason justly. Therefore, it is as natural for a man to mistake as to breathe; and he can no more live without the one than without the other: consequently, no man is able to perform the service which the Adamic law requires.

"And no man is obliged to perform it; God does not require it of any man: for Christ is the end of the Adamic, as well as the Mosaic, law. By his death he hath put an end to both; he hath abolished both the one and the other, with regard to man; and the obligation to observe either the one or the other is vanished away. Nor is any man living bound to observe the Adamic more than the Mosaic law. (I mean, it is not the condition either of present or future salvation.)

"In the room of this, Christ hath established another, namely, the law of faith. Not every one that doeth, but every one that believeth, now receiveth righteousness, in the full sense of the word; that is, he is justified, sanctified, and glorified.

"Q. 2. Are we then dead to the law?

"A. We are 'dead to the law, by the body of Christ' given for us; Rom. vii, 4; to the Adamic as well as Mosaic law. We are wholly freed therefrom by his death; that law expiring with him.

"Q. 3. How then, are we 'not without law to God, but under the law to Christ?' 1 Cor. ix, 21.

"A. We are without that law; but it does not follow that we are without any law: for God has established another law in its place, even the law of faith: and we are all under this law to God and to Christ; both our Creator and our Redeemer require us to observe it.

"Q. 4. Is love the fulfilling of this law?

"A. Unquestionably it is. The whole law under which we now are, is fulfilled by love: Rom. xiii, 9, 10. Faith working or animated by love is all that God now requires of man. He has substituted (not sincerity, but) love, in the room of angelic perfection.

"Q. 5. How is 'love the end of the commandment?' 1 Tim. i, 5.

"A. It is the end of every commandment of God. It is the point aimed at by the whole and every part of the Christian institution. The foundation is faith, purifying the heart; the end love, preserving a good conscience.

"Q. 6. What love is this?

"A. The loving the Lord our God with all our heart, mind, soul, and strength; and the loving our neighbour, every man, as ourselves, as our own souls.

"Q. 7. What are the fruits or properties of this love?

"A. St. Paul informs us at large, love is long suffering. It suffers all the weaknesses of the children of God, all the wickedness of the children of the world; and that not for a little time only, but as long as God pleases. In all, it sees the hand of God, and willingly submits thereto. Meantime, it is kind. In all, and after all, it suffers, it is soft, mild, tender benign. 'Love envieth not;' it excludes every kind and degree of envy out of the heart; 'love acteth not rashly,' in a violent, headstrong manner, nor passes any rash or severe judgment: it 'doth not behave itself indecently;' is not rude, does not act out of character: 'seeketh not her own' ease, pleasure, honour, or profit: 'is not provoked;' expels all anger from the heart: 'thinketh no evil;' casteth out all jealousy, suspiciousness, and readiness to believe evil: 'Rejoiceth not in iniquity;' yea, weeps at the sin or folly of its bitterest enemies: 'but rejoiceth in the truth;' in the holiness and happiness of every

child of man. 'Love covereth all things,' speaks evil of no man; 'believeth all things' that tend to the advantage of another's character. It 'hopeth all things,' whatever may extenuate the faults which cannot be denied; and it 'endureth all things' which God can permit, or men and devils inflict. This is 'the law of Christ, the perfect law, the law of liberty.'

"And this distinction between the 'law of faith' (or love) and 'the law of works,' is neither a subtle nor an unnecessary distinction. It is plain, easy, and intelligible to any common understanding. And it is absolutely necessary, to prevent a thousand doubts and fears, even in those who do 'walk in love.'

"Q. 8. But do we not 'in many things offend all,' yea, the best of us, even against this law?

"A. In one sense we do not, while all our tempers, and thoughts, and words, and works, spring from love. But in another we do, and shall do, more or less, as long as we remain in the body. For neither love nor the 'unction of the Holy One' makes us infallible: therefore, through unavoidable defect of understanding, we cannot but mistake in many things. And these mistakes will frequently occasion something wrong, both in our temper, and words, and actions. From mistaking his character, we may love a person less than he really deserves. And by the same mistake we are unavoidably led to speak or act, with regard to that person, in such a manner as is contrary to this law, in some or other of the preceding instances.

"Q. 9. Do we not then need Christ, even on this account?

"A. The holiest of men still need Christ, as their Prophet, as 'the light of the world.' For he does not give them light, but from moment to moment: the instant he withdraws, all is darkness. They still need Christ as their King; for God does not give them a stock of holiness. But unless they receive a supply every moment, nothing but unholiness would remain. They still need Christ as their Priest, to make atonement for their holy things. Even perfect holiness is acceptable to God only through Jesus Christ.

"Q. 10. May not, then, the very best of men adopt the dying martyr's confession: 'I am in myself nothing but sin, darkness, hell; but thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven?'

"A. Not exactly. But the best of men may say, 'Thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven. Through my union with thee, I am full of light, of holiness, and happiness. But if I were left to myself, I should be nothing but sin, darkness, hell.'

"But to proceed: The best of men need Christ as their Priest, their Atonement, their Advocate with the Father; not only as the continuance of their every blessing depends on his death and intercession, but on account of their coming short of the law of love. For every man living does so. You who feel all love, compare yourselves with the preceding description. Weigh yourselves in this balance, and see if you are not wanting in many particulars.

"Q. 11. But if all this be consistent with Christian perfection, that perfection is not freedom from all sin; seeing 'sin is the transgression of the law:' and the perfect transgress the very law they are under. Besides, they need the atonement of Christ; and he is the atonement of nothing but sin. Is, then, the term, *sinless perfection*, proper?

"A. It is not worth disputing about. But observe in what sense the persons in question need the atonement of Christ. They do not need him to reconcile them to God afresh; for they are reconciled. They do not need him to restore the favour of God, but to continue it. He does not procure pardon for them anew, but 'ever liveth to make intercession for them;' and 'by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,' Heb. x, 14.

"For want of duly considering this, some deny that they need the atonement of Christ. Indeed, exceeding few; I do not remember to have found five of them in England. Of the two, I would sooner give up perfection; but we need not give up either one or the other. The perfection I hold,

'Love rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks,' is well consistent with it; if any hold a perfection which is not, they must look to it.

"Q. 12. Does then Christian perfection imply any more than sincerity?

"A. Not if you mean by that word, love filling the heart, expelling pride, anger, desire, self-will; rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks. But I doubt, few use sincerity in this sense. Therefore, I think the old word is best.

"A person may be sincere who has all his natural tempers, pride, anger, lust, self-will. But he is not perfect till his heart is cleansed from these, and all its other corruptions.

"To clear this point a little farther: I know many that love God with all their heart. He is their one desire, their one delight, and they are continually happy in him. They love their neighbour as themselves. They feel as sincere, fervent, constant a desire for the happiness of every man, good or bad, friend or enemy, as for their own. They rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks. Their souls are continually streaming up to God, in holy joy, prayer, and praise. This is a point of fact; and this is plain, sound, Scriptural experience.

"But even these souls dwell in a shattered body, and are so pressed down thereby, that they cannot always exert themselves as they would, by thinking, speaking, and acting precisely right. For want of better bodily organs, they must at times think, speak, or act wrong; not indeed through a defect of love, but through a defect of knowledge. And while this is the case, notwithstanding that defect, and its consequences, they fulfil the law of love.

"Yet as, even in this case, there is not a full conformity to the perfect law, so the most perfect do, on this very account, need the blood of atonement, and may properly for themselves, as well as for their brethren, say, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'

"Q. 13. But if Christ has put an end to that law, what need of any atonement for their transgressing it?

"A. Observe in what sense he has put an end to it, and the difficulty vanishes. Were it not for the abiding merit of his death, and his continual intercession for us, that law would condemn us still. These, therefore, we still need for every transgression of it.

"Q. 14. But can one that is saved from sin be tempted?

"A. Yes; for Christ was tempted.

"Q. 15. However what you call temptation, I call the corruption of my heart. And how will you distinguish one from the other?

"A. In some cases it is impossible to distinguish, without the direct witness of the Spirit. But in general one may distinguish thus:—

"One commends me. Here is a temptation to pride. But instantly my soul is humbled before God. And I feel no pride; of which I am as sure, as that pride is not humility.

"A man strikes me. Here is a temptation to anger. But my heart overflows with love. And I feel no anger at all; of which I can be as sure, as that love and anger are not the same.

"A woman solicits me. Here is a temptation to lust. But in the instant I shrink back. And I feel no desire or lust at all; of which I can be as sure, as that my hand is cold or hot.

"Thus it is, if I am tempted by a present object; and it is just the same, if, when it is absent, the devil recalls a commendation, an injury, or a woman, to my mind. In the instant the soul repels the temptation, and remains filled with pure love.

"And the difference is still plainer, when I compare my present state with my past, wherein I felt temptation and corruption too.

"Q. 16. But how do you know, that you are sanctified, saved from your inbred corruption?

"A. I can know it no otherwise than I know that I am justified. 'Hereby

know we that we are of God,' in either sense, 'by the Spirit that he hath given us.'

"We know it by the witness and by the fruit of the Spirit. And, First, by the witness. As, when we were justified, the Spirit bore witness with our spirit, that our sins were forgiven; so, when we were sanctified he bore witness that they were taken away. Indeed, the witness of sanctification is not always clear at first; (as neither is that of justification;) neither is it afterward always the same, but like that of justification, sometimes stronger and sometimes fainter. Yea, and sometimes it is withdrawn. Yet, in general, the latter testimony of the Spirit is both as clear and as steady as the former.

"Q. 17. But what need is there of it, seeing sanctification is a real change, not a relative only, like justification?

"A. But is the new birth a relative change only? Is not this a real change? Therefore, if we need no witness of our sanctification, because it is a real change, for the same reason we should need none, that we are born of or are the children of God.

"Q. 18. But does not sanctification shine by its own light?

"A. And does not the new birth too? Sometimes it does; and so does sanctification; at others it does not. In the hour of temptation Satan clouds the work of God, and injects various doubts and reasonings, especially in those who have either very weak or very strong understandings. At such times there is absolute need of that witness, without which the work of sanctification not only could not be discerned, but could no longer subsist. Were it not for this, the soul could not then abide in the love of God; much less could it rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks. In these circumstances, therefore, a direct testimony that we are sanctified is necessary in the highest degree.

"'But I have no witness that I am saved from sin. And yet I have no doubt of it.' Very well: as long as you have no doubt, it is enough; when you have, you will need that witness.

"Q. 19. But what scripture makes mention of any such thing, or gives any reason to expect it?

"A. That scripture, 'We have received, not the spirit that is of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we may know the things which are freely given us of God,' 1 Cor. ii, 12.

"Now surely sanctification is one of 'the things which are freely given us of God.' And no possible reason can be assigned why this should be excepted, when the Apostle says, 'We receive the Spirit' for this very end, 'that we may know the things which are' thus 'freely given us.'

"Is not the same thing implied in that well-known scripture, 'The Spirit itself witnesseth with our spirit, that we are the children of God?' Rom. viii, 16. Does he witness this only to those who are children of God in the lowest sense? Nay, but to those also who are such in the highest sense. And does he not witness, that they are such in the highest sense? What reason have we to doubt it?

"What, if a man were to affirm, (as indeed many do,) that this witness belongs only to the highest class of Christians? Would not you answer, 'The Apostle makes no restriction; therefore doubtless it belongs to all the children of God?' And will not the same answer hold, if any affirm, that it belongs only to the lowest class?

"Consider likewise 1 John v, 19: 'We know that we are of God.' How? 'By the Spirit that he hath given us.' Nay, 'hereby we know that he abideth in us.' And what ground have we, either from Scripture or reason, to exclude the witness, any more than the fruit, of the Spirit, from being here intended? By this then also 'we know that we are of God,' and in what sense we are so; whether we are babes, young men, or fathers, we know in the same manner.

"Not that I affirm that all young men, or even fathers, have this testi

mony every moment. There may be intermissions of the direct testimony that they are thus born of God; but those intermissions are fewer and shorter as they grow up in Christ; and some have the testimony both of their justification and sanctification, without any intermission at all; which I presume more might have, did they walk humbly and closely with God.

"Q. 20. May not some of them have a testimony from the Spirit, that they shall not finally fall from God?

"A. They may. And this persuasion, that neither life nor death shall separate them from him, far from being hurtful, may in some circumstances be extremely useful. These therefore we should in nowise grieve, but earnestly encourage them to 'hold the beginning of their confidence steadfast to the end.'

"Q. 21. But have any a testimony from the Spirit that they shall never sin?

"A. We know not what God may vouchsafe to some particular persons; but we do not find any general state described in Scripture, from which a man cannot draw back to sin. If there were any state wherein this was impossible, it would be that of these who are sanctified, who are 'fathers in Christ, who rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks;' but it is not impossible for these to draw back. They who are sanctified yet may fall and perish: Heb. x, 29. Even fathers in Christ need that warning: 'Love not the world,' 1 John ii, 15. They who 'rejoice, pray,' and 'give thanks without ceasing,' may, nevertheless, 'quench the Spirit,' 1 Thess. v, 16, &c. Nay, even they who are 'sealed unto the day of redemption,' may yet 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God,' Eph. iv, 30.

Although, therefore, God may give such a witness to some particular persons, yet it is not to be expected by Christians in general; there being no scripture whereon to ground such an expectation.

"Q. 22. By what 'fruit of the Spirit' may we 'know that we are of God,' even in the highest sense?

"A. By love, joy, peace, always abiding; by invariable long-suffering, patience, resignation; by gentleness, triumphing over all provocation; by goodness, mildness, sweetness, tenderness of spirit; by fidelity, simplicity, godly sincerity; by meekness, calmness, evenness of spirit; by temperance, not only in food and sleep, but in all things natural and spiritual.

"Q. 23. But what great matter is there in this? Have we not all this when we are justified?

"A. What, total resignation to the will of God, without any mixture of self-will? gentleness, without any touch of anger, even the moment we are provoked? love to God, without the least love to the creature, but in and for God, excluding all pride? love to man, excluding all envy, all jealousy, and rash judging? meekness, keeping the whole soul inviolably calm? and temperance in all things? Deny that any ever came up to this, if you please; but do not say all who are justified do.

"Q. 24. But some who are newly justified do. What then will you say to these?

"A. If they really do, I will say they are sanctified; saved from sin in that moment; and that they never need lose what God has given, or feel sin any more.

"But certainly this is an exempt case. It is otherwise with the generality of those that are justified: they feel in themselves more or less pride, anger, self-will, a heart bent to backsliding. And, till they have gradually mortified these, they are not fully renewed in love.

"Q. 25. But is not this the case of all that are justified? Do they not gradually die to sin and grow in grace, till at, or perhaps a little before, death God perfects them in love?

"A. I believe this is the case of most, but not all. God usually gives a considerable time for men to receive light, to grow in grace, to do and suffer his will, before they are either justified or sanctified; but he does not

invariably adhere to this; sometimes he 'cuts short his work:' he does the work of many years in a few weeks; perhaps in a week, a day, an hour. He justifies or sanctifies both those who have done or suffered nothing, and who have not had time for a gradual growth either in light or grace. And 'may he not do what he will with his own? Is thine eye evil, because he is good?'

"It need not, therefore, be affirmed over and over, and proved by forty texts of Scripture, either that most men are perfected in love at last, that there is a gradual work of God in the soul, or that, generally speaking, it is a long time, even many years, before sin is destroyed. All this we know: but we know likewise, that God may, with man's good leave, 'cut short his work,' in whatever degree he pleases, and do the usual work of many years in a moment. He does so in many instances; and yet there is a gradual work, both before and after that moment: so that one may affirm the work is gradual, another, it is instantaneous, without any manner of contradiction.

"Q. 26. Does St. Paul mean any more by being 'sealed with the Spirit,' than being 'renewed in love?'

"A. Perhaps in one place, (2 Cor. i, 22,) he does not mean so much; but in another, (Eph. i, 13,) he seems to include both the fruit and the witness; and that in a higher degree than we experience even when we are first 'renewed in love:' God 'sealeth us with the Spirit of promise,' by giving us 'the full assurance of hope;' such a confidence of receiving all the promises of God, as excludes the possibility of doubting; with that Holy Spirit, by universal holiness, stamping the whole image of God on our hearts.

"Q. 27. But how can those who are thus sealed, 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God?'

"A. St. Paul tells you very particularly, (1.) By such conversation as is not profitable, not to the use of edifying, not apt to minister grace to the hearers. (2.) By relapsing into bitterness or want of kindness. (3.) By wrath, lasting displeasure, or want of tender-heartedness. (4.) By anger, however soon it is over; want of instantly forgiving one another. (5.) By clamour or bawling, loud, harsh, rough speaking. (6.) By evil-speaking, whispering, tale-bearing; needlessly mentioning the fault of an absent person, though in ever so soft a manner.

"Q. 28. What do you think of those in London, who seem to have been lately 'renewed in love?'

"A. There is something very peculiar in the experience of the greater part of them. One would expect that a believer should first be filled with love, and thereby emptied of sin; whereas these were emptied of sin first, and then filled with love. Perhaps it pleased God to work in this manner, to make his work more plain and undeniable; and to distinguish it more clearly from that overflowing love, which is often felt even in a justified state.

"It seems likewise most agreeable to the great promise: 'From all your filthiness I will cleanse you; a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you,' Ezek. xxxvi, 25, 26.

"But I do not think of them all alike: there is a wide difference between some of them and others. I think most of them with whom I have spoken, have much faith, love, joy, and peace. Some of these I believe are renewed in love, and have the direct witness of it; and they manifest the fruit above described, in all their words and actions. Now, let any man call this what he will; it is what I call perfection.

"But some who have much love, peace, and joy, yet have not the direct witness; and others who think they have, are, nevertheless, manifestly wanting in the fruit. How many I will not say; perhaps one in ten; perhaps more or fewer. But some are undeniably wanting in long-suffering, Christian resignation. They do not see the hand of God in whatever occurs, and cheerfully embrace it. They do not in every thing give thanks, and rejoice

evermore. They are not happy; at least, not always happy; for sometimes they complain. They say, this or that is hard!

"Some are wanting in gentleness. They resist evil, instead of turning the other cheek. They do not receive reproach with gentleness; no, nor even reproof. Nay, they are not able to bear contradiction, without the appearance, at least, of resentment. If they are reproved or contradicted, though mildly, they do not take it well; they behave with more distance and reserve than they did before. If they are reproved or contradicted harshly, they answer it with harshness; with a loud voice, or with an angry tone, or in a sharp and surly manner. They speak sharply or roughly, when they reprove others; and behave roughly to their inferiors.

"Some are wanting in goodness. They are not kind, mild, sweet, amiable, soft, and loving at all times, in their spirit, in their words, in their look and air, in the whole tenor of their behaviour; and that to all, high and low, rich and poor, without respect of persons; particularly to them that are out of the way, to opposers, and to those of their own household. They do not long, study, endeavour, by every means, to make all about them happy. They can see them uneasy, and not be concerned; perhaps they make them so; and then wipe their mouths and say, 'Why, they deserve it; it is their own fault.'

"Some are wanting in fidelity, a nice regard to truth, simplicity, and godly sincerity. Their love is hardly without dissimulation; something like guile is found in their mouth. To avoid roughness, they lean to the other extreme. They are smooth to an excess, so as scarce to avoid a degree of fawning, or of seeming to mean what they do not.

"Some are wanting in meekness, quietness of spirit, composure, evenness of temper. They are up and down, sometimes high, sometimes low; their mind is not well balanced. Their affections are either not in due proportion; they have too much of one, too little of another; or they are not duly mixed and tempered together, so as to counterpoise each other. Hence there is often a jar. Their soul is out of tune, and cannot make the true harmony.

"Some are wanting in temperance. They do not steadily use that kind and degree of food, which they know, or might know, would most conduce to the health, strength, and vigour of the body: or they are not temperate in sleep; they do not rigorously adhere to what is best both for body and mind; otherwise they would constantly go to bed and rise early, and at a fixed hour: or they sup late, which is neither good for body nor soul: or they use neither fasting nor abstinence: or they prefer (which are so many sorts of intemperance) that preaching, reading, or conversation, which gives them transient joy and comfort, before that which brings godly sorrow, or instruction in righteousness. Such joy is not sanctified; it doth not tend to, and terminate in, the crucifixion of the heart. Such faith doth not centre in God, but rather in itself.

"So far all is plain. I believe you have faith, and love, and joy, and peace. Yet you who are particularly concerned know each for yourself, that you are wanting in the respects above mentioned. You are wanting either in long-suffering, gentleness, or goodness; either in fidelity, meekness, or temperance. Let us not, then, on either hand, fight about words. In the thing we clearly agree.

"You have not what I call perfection; if others will call it so, they may. However, hold fast what you have, and earnestly pray for what you have not.

"Q. 29. Can those who are perfect grow in grace?

"A. Undoubtedly they can; and that not only while they are in the body, but to all eternity.

"Q. 30. Can they fall from it?

"A. I am well assured they can; matter of fact puts this beyond dispute. Formerly we thought, one saved from sin could not fall; now we know the contrary. We are surrounded with instances of those who lately experienced all that I mean by perfection. They had both the fruit of the Spirit, and the witness; but they have now lost both. Neither does any one stand by virtue of any thing that is implied in the nature of the state. There is no such

height or strength of holiness as it is impossible to fall from. If there be any that cannot fall, this wholly depends on the promise of God.

"Q. 31. Can those who fall from this state recover it?

"A. Why not? We have many instances of this also. Nay, it is an exceeding common thing for persons to lose it more than once, before they are established therein.

"It is therefore to guard them who are saved from sin, from every occasion of stumbling, that I give the following advices. But first I shall speak plainly concerning the work itself.

"I esteem this late work to be of God; probably the greatest now upon earth. Yet, like all others, this also is mixed with much human frailty. But these weaknesses are far less than might have been expected; and ought to have been joyfully borne by all that loved and followed after righteousness. That there have been a few weak, warm-headed men, is no reproach to the work itself, no just ground for accusing a multitude of sober-minded men, who are patterns of strict holiness. Yet (just the contrary to what ought to have been) the opposition is great; the helps few. Hereby many are hindered from seeking faith and holiness by the false zeal of others; and some who at first began to run well are turned out of the way.

"Q. 32. What is the First advice* that you would give them?

"A. Watch and pray continually against pride. If God has cast it out, see that it enter no more: it is full as dangerous as desire. And you may slide back into it unawares; especially if you think there is no danger of it. 'Nay, but I ascribe all I have to God.' So you may, and be proud nevertheless. For it is pride, not only to ascribe any thing we have to ourselves, but to think we have what we really have not. Mr. L——, for instance, ascribed all the light he had to God, and so far he was humble; but then he thought he had more light than any man living; and this was palpable pride. So you ascribe all the knowledge you have to God; and in this respect you are humble. But if you think you have more than you really have; or if you think you are so taught of God, as no longer to need man's teaching; pride lieth at the door. Yes, you have need to be taught, not only by Mr. Morgan, by one another, by Mr. Maxfield, or me, but by the weakest preacher in London; yea, by all men. For God sendeth by whom he will send.

"Do not therefore say to any who would advise or reprove you, 'You are blind; you cannot teach me.' Do not say, 'This is your wisdom, your carnal reason;' but calmly weigh the thing before God.

"Always remember, much grace does not imply much light. These do not always go together. As there may be much light where there is but little love, so there may be much love where there is little light. The heart has more heat than the eye; yet it cannot see. And God has wisely tempered the members of the body together, that none may say to another, 'I have no need of thee.'

"To imagine none can teach you, but those who are themselves saved from sin, is a very great and dangerous mistake. Give not place to it for a moment; it would lead you into a thousand other mistakes, and that irrecoverably. No; dominion is not founded in grace, as the madmen of the last age talked. Obey and regard 'them that are over you in the Lord,' and do not think you know better than them. Know their place and your own; always remembering, much love does not imply much light.

* The advices which follow were published in a separate tract in the year 1762, under the title of "Cautions and Directions given to the Greatest Professors in the Methodist Societies," with the following motto:—

"Set the false witnesses aside,
Yet hold the truth for ever fast."

It was evidently intended to guard the people against the mischievous extravagances of George Bell and his friends, a particular account of whom is given in Mr. Wesley's Journal about that period.—EDIT.

"The not observing this has led some into many mistakes, and into the appearance, at least, of pride. O beware of the appearance, and the thing! Let there 'be in you that lowly mind which was in Christ Jesus.' And 'be ye likewise clothed with humility.' Let it not only fill, but cover you all over. Let modesty and self-diffidence appear in all your words and actions. Let all you speak and do show that you are little, and base, and mean, and vile in your own eyes.

"As one instance of this, be always ready to own any fault you have been in. If you have at any time thought, spoke, or acted wrong, be not backward to acknowledge it. Never dream that this will hurt the cause of God; no, it will farther it. Be therefore open and frank, when you are taxed with any thing; do not seek either to evade or disguise it; but let it appear just as it is, and you will thereby not hinder, but adorn the Gospel.

"Q. 33. What is the Second advice which you would give them?

"A. Beware of that daughter of pride, enthusiasm. O keep at the utmost distance from it! Give no place to a heated imagination. Do not hastily ascribe things to God. Do not easily suppose dreams, voices, impressions, visions, or revelations to be from God. They may be from him. They may be from nature. They may be from the devil. Therefore, 'believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God.' Try all things by the written word, and let all bow down before it. You are in danger of enthusiasm every hour, if you depart ever so little from Scripture; yea, or from the plain, literal meaning of any text, taken in connection with the context. And so you are, if you despise or lightly esteem reason, knowledge, or human learning; every one of which is an excellent gift of God, and may serve the noblest purposes.

"I advise you, never to use the words, wisdom, reason, or knowledge, by way of reproach. On the contrary, pray that you yourself may abound in them more and more. If you mean worldly wisdom, useless knowledge, false reasoning, say so; and throw away the chaff, but not the wheat.

"One general inlet to enthusiasm is, expecting the end without the means; the expecting knowledge, for instance, without searching the Scriptures, and consulting the children of God; the expecting spiritual strength without constant prayer, and steady watchfulness; the expecting any blessing without hearing the word of God at every opportunity.

"Some have been ignorant of this device of Satan. They have left off searching the Scriptures. They said, 'God writes all the Scriptures on my heart. Therefore, I have no need to read it.' Others thought they had not so much need of hearing, and so grew slack in attending the morning preaching. O take warning, you who are concerned herein! You have listened to the voice of a stranger. Fly back to Christ, and keep in the good old way, which was 'once delivered to the saints;' the way that even a Heathen bore testimony of: 'That the Christians rose early every day to sing hymns to Christ as God.'

"The very desire of 'growing in grace' may sometimes be an inlet of enthusiasm. As it continually leads us to seek new grace, it may lead us unawares to seek something else new, beside new degrees of love to God and man. So it has led some to seek and fancy they had received gifts of a new kind, after a new heart, as, (1.) The loving God with all our mind: (2.) With all our soul: (3.) With all our strength: (4.) Oneness with God: (5.) Oneness with Christ: (6.) Having our life hid with Christ in God: (7.) Being dead with Christ: (8.) Rising with him: (9.) The sitting with him in heavenly places: (10.) The being taken up into his throne: (11.) The being in the New Jerusalem: (12.) The seeing the tabernacle of God come down among men: (13.) The being dead to all works: (14.) The not being liable to death, pain, or grief, or temptation.

"One ground of many of these mistakes is, the taking every fresh, strong application of any of these scriptures to the heart, to be a gift of a new kind; not knowing that several of these scriptures are not fulfilled yet; that most

of the others are fulfilled when we are justified; the rest, the moment we are sanctified. It remains only to experience them in higher degrees. This is all we have to expect.

"Another ground of these and a thousand mistakes, is, the not considering deeply, that love is the highest gift of God; humble, gentle, patient love; that all visions, revelations, manifestations whatever, are little things compared to love; and that all the gifts above mentioned are either the same with, or infinitely inferior to, it.

"It were well you should be thoroughly sensible of this,—the heaven of heavens is love. There is nothing higher in religion; there is, in effect, nothing else; if you look for any thing but more love, you are looking wide of the mark, you are getting out of the royal way. And when you are asking others, 'Have you received this or that blessing? if you mean any thing but more love, you mean wrong; you are leading them out of the way, and putting them upon a false scent. Settle it then in your heart, that from the moment God has saved you from all sin, you are to aim at nothing more, but more of that love described in the thirteenth of the Corinthians. You can go no higher than this, till you are carried into Abraham's bosom.

"I say yet again, beware of enthusiasm. Such is, the imagining you have the gift of prophesying, or of discerning of spirits, which I do not believe one of you has; no, nor ever had yet. Beware of judging people to be either right or wrong by your own feelings. This is no Scriptural way of judging. O keep close to 'the law and to the testimony!'

"Q. 34. What is the Third?

"A. Beware of Antinomianism; 'making void the law,' or any part of it, 'through faith.' Enthusiasm naturally leads to this; indeed they can scarce be separated. This may steal upon you in a thousand forms, so that you cannot be too watchful against it. Take heed of every thing, whether in principle or practice, which has any tendency thereto. Even that great truth, that 'Christ is the end of the law,' may betray us into it, if we do not consider that he has adopted every point of the moral law, and grafted it into the law of love. Beware of thinking, 'Because I am filled with love, I need not have so much holiness. Because I pray always, therefore I need no set time for private prayer. Because I watch always, therefore I need no particular self-examination.' Let us 'magnify the law,' the whole written word, 'and make it honourable.' Let this be our voice: 'I prize thy commandments above gold or precious stones. O what love have I unto thy law! all the day long is my study in it.' Beware of Antinomian books; particularly the works of Dr. Crisp and Mr. Saltmarsh. They contain many excellent things; and this makes them the more dangerous. O be warned in time! Do not play with fire. Do not put your hand on the hole of a cockatrice' den. I entreat you, beware of bigotry. Let not your love or beneficence be confined to Methodists, so called, only; much less to that very small part of them who seem to be renewed in love; or to those who believe yours and their report. O make not this your Shibboleth! Beware of stillness; ceasing in a wrong sense from your own works. To mention one instance out of many: 'You have received,' says one, 'a great blessing. But you began to talk of it, and to do this and that; so you lost it. You should have been still.'

"Beware of self-indulgence; yea, and making a virtue of it, laughing at self-denial, and taking up the cross daily, at fasting or abstinence. Beware of censoriousness; thinking or calling them that any ways oppose you, whether in judgment or practice, blind, dead, fallen, or 'enemies to the work.' Once more, beware of Solifidianism; crying nothing but, 'Believe, believe!' and condemning those as ignorant or legal who speak in a more Scriptural way. At certain seasons, indeed, it may be right to treat of nothing but repentance, or merely of faith, or altogether of holiness; but, in general, our call is to declare the whole counsel of God. and to prophesy according to the analogy of faith. The written word treats of the whole and every particular

branch of righteousness, descending to its minutest branches; as to be sober, courteous, diligent, patient, to honour all men. So, likewise, the Holy Spirit works the same in our hearts, not merely creating desires after holiness in general, but strongly inclining us to every particular grace, leading us to every individual part of 'whatsoever is lovely.' And this with the greatest propriety: for as 'by works faith is made perfect,' so the completing or destroying the work of faith, and enjoying the favour, or suffering the displeasure, of God, greatly depends on every single act of obedience or disobedience.

"Q. 35. What is the Fourth?

"A. Beware of sins of omission; lose no opportunity of doing good in any kind. Be zealous of good works; willingly omit no work, either of piety or mercy. Do all the good you possibly can to the bodies and souls of men. Particularly, 'thou shalt in any wise reprove thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.' Be active. Give no place to indolence or sloth; give no occasion to say, 'Ye are idle, ye are idle.' Many will say so still; but let your whole spirit and behaviour refute the slander. Be always employed; lose no shred of time; gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost. And whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might. Be 'slow to speak,' and wary in speaking. 'In a multitude of words there wanteth not sin.' Do not talk much; neither long at a time. Few can converse profitably above an hour. Keep at the utmost distance from pious chit-chat, from religious gossiping.

"Q. 36. What is the Fifth?

"A. Beware of desiring any thing but God. Now you desire nothing else; every other desire is driven out; see that none enter again. 'Keep thyself pure;' let your 'eye' remain 'single, and your whole body shall be full of light.' Admit no desire of pleasing food, or any other pleasure of sense; no desire of pleasing the eye or the imagination, by any thing grand, or new, or beautiful; no desire of money, of praise, or esteem; of happiness in any creature. You may bring these desires back; but you need not; you need feel them no more. O stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free!

"Be patterns to all of denying yourselves, and taking up your cross daily. Let them see that you make no account of any pleasure which does not bring you nearer to God, nor regard any pain which does; that you simply aim at pleasing him, whether by doing or suffering; that the constant language of your heart, with regard to pleasure or pain, honour or dishonour, riches or poverty, is,

> 'All's alike to me, so I
> In my Lord may live and die!'

"Q. 37. What is the Sixth?

"A. Beware of schism, of making a rent in the church of Christ. That inward disunion, the members ceasing to have a reciprocal love 'one for another,' (1 Cor. xii, 25,) is the very root of all contention, and every outward separation. Beware of every thing tending thereto. Beware of a dividing spirit; shun whatever has the least aspect that way. Therefore, say not, 'I am of Paul or of Apollos;' the very thing which occasioned the schism at Corinth. Say not, 'This is my preacher; the best preacher in England. Give me him, and take all the rest.' All this tends to breed or foment division, to disunite those whom God hath joined. Do not despise or run down any preacher; do not exalt any one above the rest, lest you hurt both him and the cause of God. On the other hand, do not bear hard upon any by reason of some incoherency or inaccuracy of expression; no, nor for some mistakes, were they really such.

"Likewise, if you would avoid schism, observe every rule of the society, and of the bands, for conscience' sake. Never omit meeting your class or band; never absent yourself from any public meeting. These are the very sinews of our society; and whatever weakens, or tends to weaken, our

regard for these, or our exactness in attending them, strikes at the very root of our community. As one saith, 'That part of our economy, the private weekly meetings for prayer, examination, and particular exhortation, has been the greatest means of deepening and confirming every blessing that was received by the word preached, and of diffusing it to others, who could not attend the public ministry; whereas, without this religious connection and intercourse, the most ardent attempts, by mere preaching, have proved of no lasting use.'

"Suffer not one thought of separating from your brethren, whether their opinions agree with yours or not. Do not dream that any man sins in not believing you, in not taking your word; or that this or that opinion is essential to the work, and both must stand or fall together. Beware of impatience of contradiction. Do not condemn or think hardly of those who cannot see just as you see, or who judge it their duty to contradict you, whether in a great thing or a small. I fear some of us have thought hardly of others, merely because they contradicted what we affirmed. All this tends to division; and, by every thing of this kind, we are teaching them an evil lesson against ourselves.

"O beware of touchiness, of testiness, not bearing to be spoken to; starting at the least word; and flying from those who do not implicitly receive mine or another's sayings!

"Expect contradiction and opposition, together with crosses of various kinds. Consider the words of St. Paul: 'To you it is given, in the behalf of Christ,'—for his sake, as a fruit of his death and intercession for you,—'not only to believe, but also to suffer for his sake,' Phil. i, 29. *It is given!* God gives you this opposition or reproach; it is a fresh token of his love. And will you disown the Giver; or spurn his gift, and count it a misfortune? Will you not rather say, 'Father, the hour is come, that thou shouldest be glorified: now thou givest thy child to suffer something for thee: do with me according to thy will?' Know that these things, far from being hinderances to the work of God, or to your soul, unless by your own fault, are not only unavoidable in the course of providence, but profitable, yea, necessary for you. Therefore receive them from God (not from chance) with willingness, with thankfulness. Receive them from men with humility, meekness, yieldingness, gentleness, sweetness. Why should not even your outward appearance and manner be soft? Remember the character of Lady Cutts: 'It was said of the Roman Emperor Titus, Never any one came displeased from him. But it might be said of her, Never any one went displeased to her: so secure were all of the kind and favourable reception which they would meet with from her.'

"Beware of tempting others to separate from you. Give no offence which can possibly be avoided; see that your practice be in all things suitable to your profession, adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour. Be particularly careful in speaking of yourself: you may not, indeed, deny the work of God; but speak of it when you are called thereto, in the most inoffensive manner possible. Avoid all magnificent, pompous words; indeed, you need give it no general name; neither perfection, sanctification, the second blessing, nor the having attained. Rather speak of the particulars which God has wrought for you. You may say, 'At such a time I felt a change which I am not able to express; and since that time, I have not felt pride, or self-will, or anger, or unbelief; nor any thing but a fulness of love to God and to all mankind.' And answer any other plain question that is asked, with modesty and simplicity.

"And if any of you should at any time fall from what you now are, if you should again feel pride or unbelief, or any temper from which you are now delivered; do not deny, do not hide, do not disguise it at all, at the peril of your soul. At all events go to one in whom you can confide, and speak just what you feel. God will enable him to speak a word in season, which shall be health to your soul. And surely he will again lift up your head, and cause the bones that have been broken to rejoice.

"Q. 38. What is the last advice that you would give them?

"A. Be exemplary in all things; particularly in outward things, (as in dress,) in little things, in the laying out of your money, (avoiding every needless expense,) in deep, steady seriousness, and in the solidity and usefulness of all your conversation. So shall you be 'a light shining in a dark place.' So shall you daily 'grow in grace,' till 'an entrance be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Most of the preceding advices are strongly enforced in the following reflections; which I recommend to your deep and frequent consideration, next to the Holy Scriptures:—

"(1.) The sea is an excellent figure of the fulness of God, and that of the blessed Spirit. For as the rivers all return into the sea; so the bodies, the souls, and the good works of the righteous, return into God, to live there in his eternal repose.

"Although all the graces of God depend on his mere bounty, yet is he pleased generally to attach them to the prayers, the instructions, and the holiness of those with whom we are. By strong though invisible attractions he draws some souls through their intercourse with others.

"The sympathies formed by grace far surpass those formed by nature.

"The truly devout show that passions as naturally flow from true as from false love; so deeply sensible are they of the goods and evils of those whom they love for God's sake. But this can only be comprehended by those who understand the language of love.

"The bottom of the soul may be in repose, even while we are in many outward troubles; just as the bottom of the sea is calm, while the surface is strongly agitated.

"The best helps to growth in grace are the ill usage, the affronts, and the losses which befal us. We should receive them with all thankfulness, as preferable to all others, were it only on this account,—that our will has no part therein.

"The readiest way to escape from our sufferings is, to be willing they should endure as long as God pleases.

"If we suffer persecution and affliction in a right manner, we attain a larger measure of conformity to Christ, by a due improvement of one of these occasions, than we could have done merely by imitating his mercy, in abundance of good works.

"One of the greatest evidences of God's love to those that love him is, to send them afflictions, with grace to bear them.

"Even in the greatest afflictions, we ought to testify to God, that in receiving them from his hand, we feel pleasure in the midst of the pain, from being afflicted by him who loves us, and whom we love.

"The readiest way which God takes to draw a man to himself is, to afflict him in that he loves most, and with good reason; and to cause this affliction to arise from some good action done with a single eye; because nothing can more clearly show him the emptiness of what is most lovely and desirable in the world.

"(2.) True resignation consists in a thorough conformity to the whole will of God; who wills and does all (excepting sin) which comes to pass in the world. In order to this we have only to embrace all events, good and bad, as his will.

"In the greatest afflictions which can befal the just, either from heaven or earth, they remain immovable in peace, and perfectly submissive to God, by an inward, loving regard to him, uniting in one all the powers of their souls.

"We ought quietly to suffer whatever befals us, to bear the defects of others and our own, to confess them to God in secret prayer, or with groans which cannot be uttered; but never to speak a sharp or peevish word, nor to murmur or repine; but thoroughly willing that God should treat you in the manner that pleases him. We are his lambs, and therefore ought to be ready to suffer, even to the death, without complaining

"We are to bear with those we cannot amend, and to be content with offering them to God. This is true resignation. And since he has borne our infirmities, we may well bear those of each other for his sake.

"To abandon all, to strip one's self of all, in order to seek and to follow Jesus Christ naked to Bethlehem, where he was born; naked to the hall, where he was scourged; and naked to Calvary, where he died on the cross, is so great a mercy, that neither the thing, nor the knowledge of it, is given to any, but through faith in the Son of God.

"(3.) There is no love of God without patience, and no patience without lowliness and sweetness of spirit.

"Humility and patience are the surest proofs of the increase of love.

"Humility alone unites patience with love; without which it is impossible to draw profit from suffering; or indeed, to avoid complaint, especially when we think we have given no occasion for what men make us suffer.

"True humility is a kind of self-annihilation; and this is the centre of all virtues.

"A soul returned to God ought to be attentive to every thing which is said to him, on the head of salvation, with a desire to profit thereby.

"Of the sins which God has pardoned, let nothing remain but a deeper humility in the heart, and a stricter regulation in our words, in our actions, and in our sufferings.

"(4.) The bearing men, and suffering evils in meekness and silence, is the sum of a Christian life.

"God is the first object of our love: its next office is, to bear the defects of others. And we should begin the practice of this amidst our own household.

"We should chiefly exercise our love toward them who most shock either our way of thinking, or our temper, or our knowledge, or the desire we have that others should be as virtuous as we wish to be ourselves.

"(5.) God hardly gives his Spirit even to those whom he has established in grace, if they do not pray for it on all occasions, not only once, but many times.

"God does nothing but in answer to prayer: and even they who have been converted to God, without praying for it themselves, (which is exceeding rare,) were not without the prayers of others. Every new victory which a soul gains is the effect of a new prayer.

"On every occasion of uneasiness, we should retire to prayer, that we may give place to the grace and light of God, and then form our resolutions, without being in any pain about what success they may have.

"In the greatest temptations, a single look to Christ, and the barely pronouncing his name, suffices to overcome the wicked one, so it be done with confidence and calmness of spirit.

"God's command to 'pray without ceasing,' is founded on the necessity we have of his grace to preserve the life of God in the soul, which can no more subsist one moment without it, than the body can without air.

"Whether we think of, or speak to, God, whether we act or suffer for him, all is prayer, when we have no other object than his love, and the desire of pleasing him.

"All that a Christian does, even in eating and sleeping, is prayer, when it is done in simplicity, according to the order of God, without either adding to or diminishing from it by his own choice.

"Prayer continues in the desire of the heart, though the understanding be employed on outward things.

"In souls filled with love, the desire to please God is a continual prayer.

"As the furious hate which the devil bears us is termed the roaring of a lion, so our vehement love may be termed crying after God.

"God only requires of his adult children, that their hearts be truly purified, and that they offer him continually the wishes and vows that naturally spring from perfect love. For these desires, being the genuine fruits of love, are the most perfect prayers that can spring from it.

"(6.) It is scarce conceivable how strait the way is wherein God leads them that follow him; and how dependent on him we must be, unless we are wanting in our faithfulness to him.

"It is hardly credible of how great consequence before God the smallest things are; and what great inconveniences sometimes follow those which appear to be light faults.

"As a very little dust will disorder a clock, and the least sand will obscure our sight, so the least grain of sin which is upon the heart will hinder its right motion toward God.

"We ought to be in the church as the saints are in heaven, and in the house as the holiest men are in the church; doing our work in the house as we pray in the church; worshipping God from the ground of the heart.

"We should be continually labouring to cut off all the useless things that surround us; and God usually retrenches the superfluities of our souls in the same proportion as we do those of our bodies.

"The best means of resisting the devil is, to destroy whatever of the world remains in us, in order to raise for God, upon its ruins, a building all of love. Then shall we begin, in this fleeting life, to love God as we shall love him in eternity.

"We scarce conceive how easy it is to rob God of his due, in our friendship with the most virtuous persons, until they are torn from us by death. But if this loss produce lasting sorrow, that is a clear proof that we had before two treasures, between which we divided our heart.

"(7.) If, after having renounced all, we do not watch incessantly, and beseech God to accompany our vigilance with his, we shall be again entangled and overcome.

"As the most dangerous winds may enter at little openings, so the devil never enters more dangerously than by little unobserved incidents, which seem to be nothing, yet insensibly open the heart to great temptations.

"It is good to renew ourselves from time to time, by closely examining the state of our souls, as if we had never done it before; for nothing tends more to the full assurance of faith, than to keep ourselves by this means in humility, and the exercise of all good works.

"To continual watchfulness and prayer ought to be added continual employment. For grace flies a vacuum as well as nature; and the devil fills whatever God does not fill.

"There is no faithfulness like that which ought to be between a guide of souls and the person directed by him. They ought continually to regard each other in God, and closely to examine themselves, whether all their thoughts are pure, and all their words directed with Christian discretion. Other affairs are only the things of men; but these are peculiarly the things of God.

"(8.) The words of St. Paul, 'No man can call Jesus Lord, but by the Holy Ghost,' show us the necessity of eyeing God in our good works, and even in our minutest thoughts; knowing that none are pleasing to him, but those which he forms in us and with us. From hence we learn that we cannot serve him, unless he use our tongue, hands, and heart, to do by himself and his Spirit whatever he would have us to do.

"If we were not utterly impotent, our good works would be our own property; whereas now they belong wholly to God, because they proceed from him and his grace: while raising our works, and making them all divine, he honours himself in us through them.

"One of the principal rules of religion is, to lose no occasion of serving God. And, since he is invisible to our eyes, we are to serve him in our neighbour; which he receives as if done to himself in person, standing visibly before us.

"God does not love men that are inconstant, nor good works that are intermitted. Nothing is pleasing to him, but what has a resemblance of his own immutability.

"A constant attention to the work which God entrusts us with is a mark of solid piety.

"Love fasts when it can, and as much as it can. It leads to all the ordinances of God, and employs itself in all the outward works whereof it is capable. It flies, as it were, like Elijah over the plain, to find God upon his holy mountain.

"God is so great, that he communicates greatness to the least thing that is done for his service.

"Happy are they who are sick, yea, or lose their life, for having done a good work.

"God frequently conceals the part which his children have in the conversion of other souls. Yet one may boldly say, that person who long groans before him for the conversion of another, whenever that soul is converted to God, is one of the chief causes of it.

"Charity cannot be practised right, unless, First, we exercise it the moment God gives the occasion; and, Secondly, retire the instant after to offer it to God by humble thanksgiving. And this for three reasons: First, to render him what we have received from him. The Second, to avoid the dangerous temptation which springs from the very goodness of these works. And the Third, to unite ourselves to God, in whom the soul expands itself in prayer, with all the graces we have received, and the good works we have done, to draw from him new strength against the bad effects which these very works may produce in us, if we do not make use of the antidotes which God has ordained against these poisons. The true means to be filled anew with the riches of grace is thus to strip ourselves of it; and without this it is extremely difficult not to grow faint in the practice of good works.

"Good works do not receive their last perfection, till they, as it were, lose themselves in God. This is a kind of death to them, resembling that of our bodies, which will not attain their highest life, their immortality, till they lose themselves in the glory of our souls, or rather of God, wherewith they shall be filled. And it is only what they had of earthly and mortal, which good works lose by this spiritual death.

"Fire is the symbol of love; and the love of God is the principle and the end of all our good works. But truth surpasses figure; and the fire of Divine love has this advantage over material fire, that it can reäscend to its source, and raise thither with it all the good works which it produces. And by this means it prevents their being corrupted by pride, vanity, or any evil mixture. But this cannot be done otherwise than by making these good works in a spiritual manner die in God, by a deep gratitude, which plunges the soul in him as in an abyss, with all that it is, and all the grace and works for which it is indebted to him; a gratitude, whereby the soul seems to empty itself of them, that they may return to their source, as rivers seem willing to empty themselves, when they pour themselves with all their waters into the sea.

"When we have received any favour from God, we ought to retire, if not into our closets, into our hearts, and say, 'I come, Lord, to restore to thee what thou hast given; and I freely relinquish it, to enter again into my own nothingness. For what is the most perfect creature in heaven or earth in thy presence, but a void capable of being filled with thee and by thee; as the air which is void and dark, is capable of being filled with the light of the sun, who withdraws it every day to restore it the next, there being nothing in the air that either appropriates this light or resists it? O give me the same facility of receiving and restoring thy grace and good works! I say, *thine;* for I acknowledge the root from which they spring is in thee, and not in me.'"

26. In the year 1764, upon a review of the whole subject, I wrote down the sum of what I had observed in the following short propositions:—

"(1.) There is such a thing as perfection; for it is again and again mentioned in Scripture.

"(2.) It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to 'go on unto perfection,' Heb. vi, 1.

"(3.) It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of living men that were perfect, Philip. iii, 15.

"(4.) It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man, nor to angels, but to God alone.

"(5.) It does not make a man infallible: none is infallible, while he remains in the body.

"(6.) Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is 'salvation from sin.'

"(7.) It is 'perfect love,' 1 John iv, 18. This is the essence of it; its properties, or inseparable fruits, are, rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in every thing giving thanks, 1 Thess. v, 16, &c.

"(8.) It is improvable. It is so far from lying in an indivisible point, from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.

"(9.) It is amissible, capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances. But we were not thoroughly convinced of this, till five or six years ago.

"(10.) It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.

"(11.) But is it in itself instantaneous or not? In examining this, let us go on step by step.

"An instantaneous change has been wrought in some believers: none can deny this.

"Since that change, they enjoy perfect love; they feel this, and this alone; they 'rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks.' Now this is all that I mean by perfection; therefore, these are witnesses of the perfection which I preach.

"'But in some this change was not instantaneous.' They did not perceive the instant when it was wrought. It is often difficult to perceive the instant when a man dies; yet there is an instant in which life ceases. And if even sin ceases, there must be a last moment of its existence, and a first moment of our deliverance from it.

"'But if they have this love now, they will lose it.' They may; but they need not. And whether they do or no, they have it now; they now experience what we teach. They now are all love; they now rejoice, pray, and praise without ceasing.

"'However, sin is only suspended in them; it is not destroyed.' Call it which you please. They are all love to-day; and they take no thought for the morrow.

"'But this doctrine has been much abused.' So has that of justification by faith. But that is no reason for giving up either this or any other Scriptural doctrine. 'When you wash your child,' as one speaks, 'throw away the water; but do not throw away the child.'

"'But those who think they are saved from sin say they have no need of the merits of Christ.' They say just the contrary. Their language is,—

'Every moment, Lord, I want The merit of thy death!'

"They never before had so deep, so unspeakable, a conviction of the need of Christ in all his offices as they have now.

"Therefore, all our preachers should make a point of preaching perfection to believers constantly, strongly, and explicitly; and all believers should mind this one thing, and continually agonize for it."

27. I have now done what I proposed. I have given a plain and simple account of the manner wherein I first received the doctrine of perfection, and the sense wherein I received, and wherein I do receive, and teach it to this day. I have declared the whole and every part of what I mean by that Scriptural expression. I have drawn the picture

of it at full length, without either disguise or covering. And I would now ask any impartial person, What is there so frightful therein? Whence is all this outcry, which, for these twenty years and upwards, has been made throughout the kingdom; as if all Christianity were destroyed, and all religion torn up by the roots? Why is it, that the very name of perfection has been cast out of the mouths of Christians; yea, exploded and abhorred, as if it contained the most pernicious heresy? Why have the preachers of it been hooted at, like mad dogs, even by men that fear God; nay, and by some of their own children, some whom they, under God, had begotten through the Gospel? What reason is there for this, or what pretence? Reason, sound reason, there is none. It is impossible there should. But pretences there are, and those in great abundance. Indeed, there is ground to fear that, with some who treat us thus, it is mere pretence; that it is no more than a copy of their countenance, from the beginning to the end. They wanted, they sought, occasion against me; and here they found what they sought. "This is Mr. Wesley's doctrine! He preaches perfection!" He does; yet this is not his doctrine any more than it is yours, or any one's else, that is a minister of Christ. For it is his doctrine, peculiarly, emphatically his; it is the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Those are his words, not mine: Εσεσθε ȣν υμεις τελειοι, ωσπερ ο Πατηρ υμων ο εν τοις ȣρανοις τελειος εȣι,—"Ye shall therefore be perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." And who says, ye shall not; or at least, not till your soul is separated from the body? It is the doctrine of St. Paul, the doctrine of St. James, of St. Peter, and St. John; and no otherwise Mr. Wesley's, than as it is the doctrine of every one who preaches the pure and the whole Gospel. I tell you, as plain as I can speak, where and when I found this. I found it in the oracles of God, in the Old and New Testament; when I read them with no other view or desire but to save my own soul. But whosesoever this doctrine is, I pray you, what harm is there in it? Look at it again; survey it on every side, and that with the closest attention. In one view, it is purity of intention, dedicating all the life to God. It is the giving God all our heart; it is one desire and design ruling all our tempers. It is the devoting, not a part, but all, our soul, body, and substance to God. In another view, it is all the mind which was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ walked. It is the circumcision of the heart from all filthiness, all inward as well as outward pollution. It is a renewal of the heart in the whole image of God, the full likeness of him that created it. In yet another, it is the loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. Now, take it in which of these views you please, (for there is no material difference,) and this is the whole and sole perfection, as a train of writings prove to a demonstration, which I have believed and taught for these forty years, from the year 1725 to the year 1765.

28. Now let this perfection appear in its native form, and who can speak one word against it? Will any dare to speak against loving the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves? against a renewal of heart, not only in part, but in the whole image of God? Who is he that will open his mouth against being cleansed from all pollution both of flesh and spirit; or against having all the mind that was in Christ, and walking in all things as Christ walked? What man, who

calls himself a Christian, has the hardiness to object to the devoting, not a part, but all our soul, body, and substance to God? What serious man would oppose the giving God all our heart, and the having one design ruling all our tempers? I say, again, let this perfection appear in its own shape, and who will fight against it? It must be disguised before it can be opposed. It must be covered with a bear skin first, or even the wild beasts of the people will scarce be induced to worry it. But whatever these do, let not the children of God any longer fight against the image of God. Let not the members of Christ say any thing against having the whole mind that was in Christ. Let not those who are alive to God oppose the dedicating all our life to him. Why should you who have his love shed abroad in your heart withstand the giving him all your heart? Does not all that is within you cry out, "O who that loves can love enough?" What pity that those who desire and design to please him should have any other design or desire! much more, that they should dread, as a fatal delusion, yea, abhor, as an abomination to God, the having this one desire and design ruling every temper? Why should devout men be afraid of devoting all their soul, body, and substance to God? Why should those who love Christ count it a damnable error, to think we may have all the mind that was in him? We allow, we contend, that we are justified freely through the righteousness and the blood of Christ. And why are you so hot against us, because we expect likewise to be sanctified wholly through his Spirit? We look for no favour either from the open servants of sin, or from those who have only the form of religion. But how long will you who worship God in spirit, who are "circumcised with the circumcision not made with hands," set your battle in array against those who seek an entire circumcision of heart, who thirst to be cleansed "from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," and to "perfect holiness in the fear of God?" Are we your enemies, because we look for a full deliverance from that "carnal mind which is enmity against God?" Nay, we are your brethren, your fellow labourers in the vineyard of our Lord, your companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus. Although this we confess, (if we are fools therein, yet as fools bear with us,) we do expect to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves. Yea, we do believe, that he will in this world so "cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that we shall perfectly love him, and worthily magnify his holy name."

BRIEF THOUGHTS

ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

Some thoughts occurred to my mind this morning concerning Christian perfection, and the manner and time of receiving it, which I believe may be useful to set down.

1. By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God and our neighbour, ruling our tempers, words, and actions.

I do not include an impossibility of falling from it, either in part or in whole. Therefore, I retract several expressions in our hymns, which partly express, partly imply, such an impossibility.

And I do not contend for the term *sinless*, though I do not object against it.

2. As to the manner. I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith; consequently in an instant.

But I believe a gradual work, both preceding and following that instant.

3. As to the time. I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten, twenty, or forty years before.

I believe it is usually many years after justification; but that it may be within five years or five months after it, I know no conclusive argument to the contrary.

If it must be many years after justification, I would be glad to know how many. *Pretium quotus arroget annus?* [What length of time will sanction it?]

And how many days or months, or even years, can any one allow to be between perfection and death? How far from justification must it be; and how near to death?

London, Jan. 27, 1767.

SOME THOUGHTS

ON

AN EXPRESSION OF ST. PAUL, IN THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS,

Chapter v, Verse 23.

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1. The words as literally translated as the English tongue will bear, run thus: "May the whole of you, the spirit, and the soul, and the body, be preserved blameless."

What does St. Paul here mean by dividing man into three parts, "the spirit, and the soul, and the body?"

This creates what has been thought an insurmountable difficulty by those who argue thus:—

"How is it possible to contradistinguish the soul both from the spirit and from the body? For it must be either material or immaterial, matter or not matter: there is no medium. But if it be matter, does it not coincide with the body? If it be not matter, does it not coincide with the spirit?"

But perhaps a way may be found of untieing this knot, of unraveling this difficulty, by simply declaring the (at least probable) meaning of these three terms.

May not *the spirit* mean (so it has been understood by the Christians in all ages) the highest principle in man, the immortal spirit made in the image of God, endued (as all spirits are, so far as we can conceive) with self-motion, understanding, will, and liberty?

Is not *the body* that portion of organized matter which every man receives in the womb, with which he is born into the world, and which he carries with him to the grave? At present it is connected with flesh

and blood. But these are not the body. They are only the temporary clothing of the body, which it wholly puts off in the grave.

The soul seems to be the immediate clothing of the spirit, the vehicle with which it is connected from its first existence, and which is never separated from it, either in life or in death. Probably it consists of ethereal or electric fire, the purest of all matter. It does not seem to be affected by the death of the body, but envelopes the separate, as it does the embodied, spirit; neither will it undergo any essential change, when it is clothed upon with the immortal body at the resurrection.

May not the Apostle have an eye to this in those remarkable words: "We that are in this tabernacle" (this corruptible flesh and blood) "do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed," (divested of all covering, which belongs only to the Father of spirits,) "but clothed upon" with the glorious resurrection-body, covering both our soul and spirit? 2 Cor. v, 4. This will swallow up, totally destroy, το θνητον,—*that which was mortal*, namely, the flesh and blood, which alone was liable to death.

If we understand the words of the Apostle in this sense, all the difficulty vanishes away. We allow, there can be no medium between material and immaterial. But still there is room for a wide and essential difference between the soul and the body; the latter implying that original portion of matter which is now clothed with flesh and blood; the former, that vehicle of ethereal fire which immediately covers the immortal spirit.

CONGLETON, March 31, 1786.

ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

TO THE REV. MR. DODD

FEBRUARY 5, 1756.

REV. SIR,—I am favoured with yours of January 26, for which I return you my sincere thanks. Your frank and open manner of writing is far from needing any apology, and I hope will never occasion your receiving such treatment from me, as I did from Mr. Law, who, after some very keen expressions, in answer to the second private letter I sent him, plainly told me he desired to hear "no more on that head." I do desire to hear, and am very willing to consider, whatever you have to advance on the head of Christian perfection.

When I began to make the Scriptures my chief study, (about seven-and-twenty years ago,) I began to see that Christians are called to love God with all their heart, and to serve him with all their strength; which is precisely what I apprehend to be meant by the Scriptural term perfection. After weighing this for some years, I openly declared my sentiments before the university, in the sermon on the Circumcision of the Heart, now printed in the second volume. [Vol. i, p. 147, of this edition.] About six years after, in consequence of an advice I received from Bishop Gibson, "Tell all the world what you mean by perfection" I published my coolest and latest thoughts in the sermon on that subject. You easily observe, I therein build on no authority, ancient or modern,

but the Scripture. If this supports any doctrine, it will stand; if not, the sooner it falls, the better. Neither the doctrine in question, nor any other, is any thing to me, unless it be the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. If, therefore, you will please to point out to me any passages in that sermon which are either contrary to Scripture, or not supported by it, and to show that they are not, I shall be full as willing to oppose as ever I was to defend them. I search for truth, plain, Bible truth, without any regard to the praise or dispraise of men.

If you will assist me in this search, more especially by showing me where I have mistaken my way, it will be gratefully acknowledged by, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

N. B. I had at this time no acquaintance with Dr. Dodd; nor did I ever see him till I saw him in prison.

AN ANSWER TO THE REV. MR. DODD.*

1. You and I may the more easily bear with each other, because we are both of us rapid writers, and therefore the more liable to mistake. I will thank you for showing me any mistake I am in; being not so tenacious of my opinions now, as I was twenty or thirty years ago. Indeed, I am not fond of any opinion as such. I read the Bible with what attention I can, and regulate all my opinions thereby, to the best of my understanding. But I am always willing to receive more light; particularly with regard to any less common opinions, because the explaining and defending of them takes up much time, which I can ill spare from other employments. Whoever, therefore, will give me more light with regard to Christian perfection, will do me a singular favour. The opinion I have concerning it at present, I espouse merely because I think it is Scriptural. If therefore I am convinced it is not Scriptural, I shall willingly relinquish it.

2. I have no particular fondness for the term. It seldom occurs either in my preaching or writings. It is my opponents who thrust it upon me continually, and ask me what I mean by it. So did Bishop Gibson, till by his advice I publicly declared what I did not mean by it, and what I did. This I supposed might be best done in the form of a sermon, having a text prefixed, wherein that term occurred. But that text is there used only as an occasion or introduction to the subject. I do not build any doctrine thereupon, nor undertake critically to explain it.

3. What is the meaning of the term perfection? is another question; but that it is a Scriptural term is undeniable. Therefore, none ought to object to the use of the term, whatever they may do to this or that explication of it. I am very willing to consider whatever you have to object

* At what time this answer was written, it is perhaps impossible exactly to ascertain. It appears to have been sent as a private letter to Mr. Dodd, before he had become a Doctor of Divinity; and not to have been published till the year 1782, when it was inserted in the Arminian Magazine.—EDIT.

o what is advanced under the first head of that sermon. But I still think that perfection is only another term for holiness, or the image of God in man. "God made man perfect," I think is just the same as, 'He made him holy," or "in his own image;" and you are the first person I ever read of or spoke with, who made any doubt of it. Now this perfection does certainly admit of degrees. Therefore, I readily allow the propriety of that distinction,—perfection of kinds, and perfection of degrees. Nor do I remember one writer, ancient or modern, who excepts against it.

4. In the sermon of Salvation by Faith, I say, "He that is born of God sinneth not," (a proposition explained at large in another sermon, and every where either explicitly or virtually connected with, "while he keepeth himself,") "by any sinful desire; any unholy desire he stifleth in the birth." (Assuredly he does, "while he keepeth himself.") "Nor doth he sin by infirmities; for his infirmities have no concurrence of his will; and without this they are not properly sins." Taking the words as they lie in connection thus, (and taken otherwise they are not my words but yours,) I must still aver, they speak both my own experience, and that of many hundred children of God whom I personally know. And all this, with abundantly more than this, is contained in that single expression, "the loving God with all our heart, and serving him with all our strength." Nor did I ever say or mean any more by perfection, than thus loving and serving God. But I dare not say less than this; for it might be attended with worse consequences than you seem to be aware of. If there be a mistake, it is far more dangerous on the one side than on the other. If I set the mark too high, I drive men into needless fears; if you set it too low, you drive them into hell fire.

5. We agree, that true "Christianity implies a destruction of the kingdom of sin, and a renewal of the soul in righteousness; which even babes in Christ do in a measure experience, though not in so large a measure as young men and fathers." But here we divide. I believe even babes in Christ, "while they keep themselves, do not commit sin." By sin, I mean, outward sin; and the word *commit*, I take in its plain, literal meaning. And this I think is fully proved by all the texts cited by me from the sixth chapter to the Romans. Nor do I conceive there is any material difference between committing sin, and continuing therein. I tell my neighbour here, "William, you are a child of the devil, for you commit sin; you was drunk yesterday." "No, sir," says the man, "I do not live or continue in sin;" (which Mr. Dodd says is the true meaning of the text;) "I am not drunk continually, but only now and then, once in a fortnight, or once in a month." Now, sir, how shall I deal with this man? Shall I tell him he is in the way to heaven or hell? I think he is in the high road to destruction; and that if I tell him otherwise his blood will be upon my head. And all that you say of living, continuing in, serving sin, as different from committing it, and of its not reigning, not having dominion, over him who still frequently commits it, is making so many loop holes whereby any impenitent sinner may escape from all the terrors of the Lord. I dare not therefore give up the plain, literal meaning either of St. Paul's or St. Peter's words.

6. As to those of St. John, cited by me, I do not think you have proved they are not to be taken literally. In every single act of obedience, as well as in a continued course of it, ποιει δικαιοσυνην: [he doeth righteousness:] and in either an act or a course of sin, ποιει αμαρτιαν. [He doeth sin.] Therefore, that I may give no countenance to any kind or degree of sin, I still interpret these words by those in the fifth chapter, and believe, "he that is born of God" (while he keepeth himself) "sinneth not;" doth not commit outward sin.

7. But "it is absolutely necessary," as you observe, "to add sometimes explanatory words to those of the sacred penmen." It is so; to add words explanatory of their sense, but not subversive of it. The words added to this text, "Ye know all things," are such; and you yourself allow them so to be. But I do not allow the words wilfully and habitually to be such. These do not explain, but overthrow, the text. That the first Fathers thus explained it, I deny; as also that I ever spoke lightly of them.

8. You proceed: "You allow in another sermon, in evident contradiction to yourself, that the true children of God could, and did, commit sin." This is no contradiction to any thing I ever advanced. I every where allow that a child of God can and will commit sin, if he does not keep himself. "But this," you say, "is nothing to the present argument." Yes, it is the whole thing. If they keep themselves, they do not; otherwise, they can and do commit sin. I say nothing contrary to this in either sermon. But "hence," you say, "we conclude that he who is born of God, may possibly commit sin:" an idle conclusion as ever was formed; for who ever denied it? I flatly affirm it in both the sermons, and in the very paragraph now before us. The only conclusion which I deny is, that "all Christians do and will commit sin, as long as they live." Now this you yourself (though you seem to start at it) maintain from the beginning of your Letter to the end; namely, that all Christians do sin, and cannot but sin, more or less, to their lives' end. Therefore I do not "artfully put this conclusion;" but it is your own conclusion, from your own premises. Indeed were I artfully to put in any thing in expounding the word of God, I must be an arrant knave. But I do not; my conscience bears me witness, that I speak the very truth, so far as I know it, in simplicity and godly sincerity.

9. I think that all this time you are directly pleading for looseness of manners, and that every thing you advance naturally tends thereto. This is my grand objection to that doctrine of the necessity of sinning: not only that it is false, but that it is directly subversive of all holiness. The doctrine of the Gnostics was, not that a child of God does not commit sin, that is, act the things which are forbidden in Scripture, but that they are not sin in him, that he is a child of God still; so they contend, not for sinless, but sinful, perfection; just as different from what I contend for as heaven is from hell. What the Donatists were, I do not know; but I suspect they were the real Christians of that age; and were therefore served by St. Augustine and his warm adherents, as the Methodists are now by their zealous adversaries. It is extremely easy to blacken; and could I give myself leave, I could paint the consequences of your doctrine, in at least as dark and odious colours as you could paint mine.

10. The passage of St. Peter, mentioned in the Sermons, I still think proves all which I brought it to prove.

"But you allow, (Sermon xxii,) that Paul and Barnabas did commit sin. And these were, without all controversy, fathers in Christ." That is not without controversy,—that either Barnabas when he left Paul, or Peter when he dissembled at Antioch, was at that time a father in Christ in St. John's sense; though by office undoubtedly they were. Their example, therefore, only proves what no one denies, namely, that if a believer keeps not himself, he may commit sin. Would the conclusions here drawn "be made only by a very weak opponent?" Then you are a weak opponent; for you make them all, either from these or other premises: for you believe and maintain, (1.) That all the other Apostles committed sin sometimes. (2.) That all the other Christians of the Apostolic age sometimes committed sin. (3.) That all other Christians, in all ages, do and will commit sin as long as they live. And, (4.) That every man must commit sin,—cannot help it,—as long as he is in the body. You cannot deny one of these propositions, if you understand your own premises. I am, Rev. Sir, your affectionate brother,

J. Wesley.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LATE DR. DODD.

1. I have been frequently desired to give some account of the conversations I had with Dr. Dodd. I could have done this more accurately some years ago, when they were fresh in my memory.* However, I will now set down what I can recollect. And it may enable many who love to think for themselves to form an impartial judgment of one that has been so variously represented.

2. I had no knowledge of Dr. Dodd till he told that excellent woman, Mrs. Lefevre, that he was going to publish something against Mr. Wesley. She advised him to send it to me first. He did so, and was so far at least satisfied with my answer, that his treatise against Christian perfection never saw the light. This was about thirty years ago. And here our intercourse ended; which indeed was very slight, as I had never seen him, either in private or public.

3. When he was imprisoned, he sent to me, desiring to see me. But I was not willing to go, supposing he only wanted me to intercede for him with great men; which I judged would be lost labour. He sent a second time, but I did not go. The gentleman who brought the third message told me plainly, "Sir, I will not go without you." I then went with him to Wood-street Compter, where the Doctor then was. The keeper (an extremely well-behaved man) told me, "Sir, of all the prisoners that have been in this place, I have not seen such a one as Dr. Dodd. I could trust him in any part of the house. Nay, he has gained the affection of even these wretches, my turnkeys." When I came into his room, and sat down by his bed side, (for he had then a fever,) we were both of us silent for some time; till he began, "Sir, I have long desired

* Dr. Dodd was executed for forgery, June 27th, 1777; and this account was published in July, 1783.—Edit.

to see you; but I little thought our first interview would be in such a place as this." I replied, "Sir, I am persuaded God saw this was the best, if not the only, way of bringing you to himself; and I trust it will have that happy effect." He said earnestly, "God grant it may! God grant it may!" We conversed about an hour; but I was agreeably disappointed. He spoke of nothing but his own soul, and appeared to regard nothing in comparison of it. So that I went away far better satisfied than I came.

4. A few days after, I saw him again; the day before he was removed to Newgate, in order to his trial, which was to be the day following. I then stayed but about half an hour. I found him in the same temper as before, affected as one in such circumstances ought to be; but withal, calm and composed. I asked, "Sir, do not you find it difficult to preserve your recollection, amidst all these lawyers and witnesses?" He answered, "It is difficult; but I have one sure hold,—'Lord, not as I will, but as thou wilt.'"

5. Being obliged to take a long journey, I did not see him again till after he had lost the hope of life; the sentence which had been referred to the twelve judges having been confirmed by them. He was now in Newgate. Entering into that house of wo, I was utterly surprised: it was as quiet and still as a college in the university. It seemed as if even the felons were unwilling to disturb him. We conversed about an hour; but had not one word about any but spiritual things. I found his mind still quiet and composed; sorrowing, but not without hope. And I could not but observe, that all these times he never blamed any one but himself. He did not appear to have the least touch of resentment to any man, receiving every thing as at the hand of God.

6. On Wednesday (two days before his death) I paid him one visit more. As we were talking, Mrs. Dodd came in; but when she came near him, she sunk down. He catched her in his arms, and carried her to a chair; but had such a command over himself, that his eyes only spoke, though without tears, being afraid of adding to her distress. I now told him, "Sir, I think you do not ask enough, or expect enough, from God your Saviour. The present blessing you may expect from him is, to be filled with all joy, as well as peace in believing." "O sir," said he, "it is not for such a sinner as me to expect any joy in this world. The utmost I can desire is peace; and through the mercy of God, that I have." We then spent a little time in prayer, and I solemnly commended him to God.

7. On Friday morning all the prisoners were gathered together, when he came down into the court. He seemed entirely composed. But when he observed most of them lifting up their hands, praying for him, blessing him, and weeping aloud, he was melted down, burst into tears too, and prayed God to bless them all. When he came out of the gate, an innumerable multitude were waiting, many of whom seemed ready to insult him. But the moment they saw him, their hearts were changed, and they began to bless him and pray for him too. A clergyman, (Mr. P.,) being desirous to see the last of him, pressed on, though with much difficulty and danger, and kept near him quite to the place of execution. One of his fellow prisoners seemed to be in utter despair. Dr. Dodd, forgetting himself, laboured to comfort him; and strongly applied the

promises. After some time spent in prayer, he pulled his cap over his eyes; and, sinking down, seemed to die in a moment. I make no doubt, but in that moment the angels were ready to carry him into Abraham's bosom. JOHN WESLEY

THOUGHTS ON A SINGLE LIFE.*

1. THE forbidding to marry, as it is well known the Church of Rome does, and has done for several ages, (in which marriage is absolutely forbidden, not only to all religious orders, but to the whole body of clergy,) is numbered, by the great Apostle, among "the doctrines of devils." And among the same we need not scruple to number the despising or condemning marriage; as do many of those in the Romish Church who are usually termed Mystic writers. One of these does not scruple to affirm, "Marriage is only licensed fornication." But the Holy Ghost says, "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled." Nor can it be doubted but persons may be as holy in a married as in a single state.

2. In the latter clause of the sentence, the Apostle seems to guard against a mistake, into which some sincere Christians have fallen; particularly when they have just found such a liberty of spirit as they had not before experienced. They imagine a defilement where there is none, "and fear where no fear is." And it is possible this very fear of sin may betray them into sin. For it may induce persons to defraud each other, forgetting the express determination of the Apostle: "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife," 1 Cor. vii, 4.

3. And yet we must not forget what the Apostle subjoins in the following verses: "I say to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them, if they abide even as I. Art thou bound unto a wife? Seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife. But if thou marry, thou hast not sinned. Nevertheless, such shall have trouble in the flesh. I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord," that she may be holy both in body and spirit; "but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your own profit, that you may attend upon the Lord without distraction," verses 8, 27, 28, 32, 35.

4. But though "it is good for a man not to touch a woman," verse 1, yet this is not a universal rule. "I would," indeed, says the Apostle, "that all men were as myself," verse 7. But that cannot be; for "every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that." "If," then, "they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn," verse 9. "To avoid fornication, let

* In the year 1743 Mr. Wesley published a small pamphlet under the title of, "Thoughts on Marriage and a Single Life." It was afterward superseded by the tract now before the reader; which embodies the principal sentiments contained in the former publication.—EDIT.

every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." Exactly agreeable to this are the words of our Lord. When the Apostles said, "If the case be so, it is good not to marry; he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs, who were so born from their mother's womb; there are some, who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it," Matt. xix, 11, 12.

5. But who is able to "receive this saying,"—to abstain from marriage, and yet not burn? It behooves every one here to judge for himself; none is called to judge for another. In general, I believe every man is able to receive it when he is first justified. I believe every one then receives this gift; but with most it does not continue long. Thus much is clear; it is a plain matter of fact, which no man can deny. It is not so clear, whether God withdraws it of his own good pleasure, or for any fault of ours. I incline to think, it is not withdrawn without some fault on our part. But, be that as it may, I have now only to do with those who are still able to "receive this saying."

6. To this happy few I say, (1.) Know the advantages you enjoy, many of which are pointed out by the Apostle himself. You may be without carefulness. You are under no necessity of "caring for the things of the world." You have only to "care for the things of the Lord, how you may please the Lord." One care alone lies upon you, how you "may be holy both in body and spirit."

You may "attend upon the Lord without distraction;" while others, like Martha, are cumbered with much serving, and drawn hither and thither by many things, you may remain centred in God, sitting, like Mary, at the Master's feet, and listening to every word of his mouth.

You enjoy a blessed liberty from the "trouble in the flesh," which must more or less attend a married state, from a thousand nameless domestic trials which are found, sooner or later, in every family. You are exempt from numberless occasions of sorrow and anxiety, with which heads of families are entangled; especially those who have sickly, or weak, or unhappy, or disobedient children. If your servants are wicked, you may put them away, and your relation to them ceases. But what could you do with a wicked son or daughter? How could you dissolve that relation?

Above all, you are at liberty from the greatest of all entanglements, the loving one creature above all others. It is possible to do this without sin, without any impeachment of our love to God. But how inconceivably difficult! to give God our whole heart, while a creature has so large a share of it! How much more easily may we do this, when the heart is, tenderly indeed, but equally attached to more than one; or, at least, without any great inequality! What angelic wisdom does it require to give enough of our affection, and not too much, to so near a relation!

And how much easier is it (just to touch on one point more) wholly to conquer our natural desires, than to gratify them exactly so far as Christian temperance allows! just so far as every pleasure of sense prepares us for taking pleasure in God.

7. You have leisure to improve yourself in every kind, to wait upon God in public and private, and to do good to your neighbour in various ways, as Christian prudence shall suggest; whereas those who are married are necessarily taken up with the things of the world. You may give all your time to God without interruption, and need ask leave of none but yourself so to do. You may employ every hour in what you judge to be the most excellent way. But if you was married, you may ask leave of your companion; otherwise what complaints or disgust would follow! And how hard is it even to know (how much more to act suitably to that knowledge) how far you ought to give way, for peace' sake, and where to stop! What wisdom is requisite in order to know how far you can recede from what is most excellent, particularly with regard to conversation that is not "to the use of edifying," in order to please your good-natured or ill-natured partner, without displeasing God!

8. You may give all your worldly substance to God; nothing need hinder. You have no increasing family, you have no wife or children to provide for, which might occasion a thousand doubts, (without any extraordinary measure of divine light,) whether you had done either too much or too little for them. You may "make yourself friends of" all "the mammon of unrighteousness" which God entrusts you with; having none that has any right to complain, or to charge you with unkindness for so doing. You may lay out all your talents of every kind entirely for the glory of God; as you have none else to please, none to regard, but Him that lived and died for you.

9. I say, Secondly, prize the advantages you enjoy; know the value of them. Esteem them as highly while you have them, as others do after they have lost them. Pray constantly and fervently for this very thing, that God would teach you to set a due value upon them. And let it be matter of daily thanksgiving to God, that he has made you a partaker of these benefits. Indeed, the more full and explicit you are herein, the more sensible you will be of the cause you have to be thankful; the more lively conviction you will have of the greatness of the blessing.

10. If you know and duly prize the advantages you enjoy, then, (3.) Be careful to keep them. But this (as easy as it may seem) it is impossible you should do by your own strength; so various, so frequent, and so strong, are the temptations which you will meet with to cast them away. Not only the children of the world, but the children of God, will undoubtedly tempt you thereto; and that partly by the most plausible reasons, partly by the most artful persuasions. Meantime, the old deceiver will not be wanting to give an edge to all those reasons and persuasions, and to recal the temptation again and again, and press it close upon your heart. You have need therefore, to use every help and the first of these is earnest prayer. Let no day pass without this, without praying for this very thing,—that God would work what with men is impossible; that he would vouchsafe to preserve his own gift, and that you may not suffer any loss this day, either by the subtlety or power of devils or men, or the deceitfulness of your own heart.

11. A second help may be, the conversing frequently and freely with those of your own sex who are like minded. It may be of infinite

service to disclose to these the very secrets of your hearts; especially the weaknesses springing from your natural constitution, or education, or long contracted habit, and the temptations which, from time to time, most easily beset you. Advise with them on every circumstance that occurs; open your heart without reserve. By this means a thousand devices of Satan will be brought to nought; innumerable snares will be prevented; or you will pass through them without being hurt. Yea, and if at some time you should have suffered a little, the wound will speedily be healed.

12. I say, *of your own sex;* for, in the third place, it will be highly expedient to avoid all needless conversation, much more all intimacy, with those of the other sex; so expedient, that unless you observe this, you will surely cast away the gift of God. Say not, "But they have much grace and much understanding." So much the greater is the danger. There would be less fear of your receiving hurt from them, if they had less grace or less understanding. And whenever any of these are thrown in your way, "make a covenant with your eyes," your ears, your hands, that you do not indulge yourself in any that are called innocent freedoms. Above all, "keep your heart with all diligence." Check the first risings of desire. Watch against every sally of imagination, particularly if it be pleasing. If it is darted in, whether you will or no, yet, let no "vain thought lodge within you." Cry out, "My God and my all, I am thine, thine alone! I will be thine for ever! O save me from setting up an idol in my heart! Save me from taking any step toward it. Still bring my 'every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.'"

13. "But how shall I attain to, or how preserve, this strength and firmness of spirit?" In order to this, I advise you, Fourthly, (need I say, to avoid the sin of Onan, seeing Satan will not cast out Satan? or rather) avoid, with the utmost care, all softness and effeminacy; remembering the express denunciation of an inspired writer, οι μαλακοι, the *soft* or *effeminate*, whether poor or rich, (the Apostle does not make any difference upon that account,) "shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Avoid all delicacy, first in spirit, then in apparel, food, lodging, and a thousand nameless things; and this the more speedily and the more resolutely, if you have been long accustomed thereto. Avoid all needless self-indulgence, as well as delicacy and softness. All these tend to breed or cherish those appetites and passions which you have renounced for Christ's sake. They either create or increase those desires which, "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," you are determined not to gratify. Avoid all sloth, inactivity, indolence. Sleep no more than nature requires. Be never idle; and use as much bodily exercise as your strength will allow. I dare not add Monsieur Pascal's rule,—Avoid all pleasure. It is not possible to avoid all pleasure, even of sense, without destroying the body. Neither doth God require it at our hands; it is not his will concerning us. On the contrary, he "giveth us all things to enjoy," so we enjoy them to his glory. But I say, avoid all that pleasure which any way hinders you from enjoying him; yea, all such pleasure as does not prepare you for taking pleasure in God. Add to this constant and continued course of universal self-denial, the taking up your cross daily, the enduring "hardship as a good soldier of Jesus

Christ." Remember, "the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force." This is the way; walk therein; think not of a smoother path. Add to your other exercises constant and prudent fasting, and the Lord will uphold you with his hand.

14. I advise you, Lastly, if you desire to keep them, use all the advantages you enjoy. Indeed, without this, it is utterly impossible to keep them; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken the word which cannot be broken, which must be fulfilled with regard to all the good gifts of God: "To him that hath," uses what he hath, "shall be given; and he shall have more abundantly: but from him that hath not," uses it not, "shall be taken even that which he hath." Would you therefore retain what you now have, what God hath already given? If so, "giving all diligence," use it to the uttermost. "Stand fast in" every instance of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free." Be not "entangled" again in the "cares of this life;" but "cast all your care on Him that careth for you. Be careful for nothing, but in every thing make your requests known unto God with thanksgiving."

See that you "wait upon the Lord without distraction:" let nothing move you from your centre. "One thing is needful;" to see, love follow Christ, in every thought, word, and work.

Flee the "sorrow of this world;" it "worketh death." Let not your heart be troubled. In all circumstances, let your soul magnify the Lord, and your spirit rejoice in God your Saviour. Preserve a constant serenity of mind, an even cheerfulness of spirit.

Keep at the utmost distance from foolish desires, from desiring any happiness but in God. Still let all your "desire be to him, and to the remembrance of his name."

Make full use of all the leisure you have; never be unemployed, never triflingly employed; let every hour turn to some good account. Let not a scrap of time be squandered away; "gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost." Give all your time to God; lay out the whole as you judge will be most to his glory. In particular, see that you waste no part of it in unprofitable conversation; but let all your discourse "be seasoned with salt, and meet to minister grace to the hearers."

Give all your money to God. You have no pretence for laying up treasure upon earth. While you "gain all you can," and "save all you can," "give all you can," that is, all you have.

Lay out all your talents of every kind in doing all good to all men; knowing that "every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour."

15. Upon the whole, without disputing whether the married or single life be the more perfect state, (an idle dispute; since perfection does not consist in any outward state whatever, but in an absolute devotion of all our heart and all our life to God,) we may safely say, Blessed are "they who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake;" who abstain from things lawful in themselves, in order to be more devoted to God. Let these never forget those remarkable words: "Peter said, Lo, we have left all and followed thee. And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you," (a preface denoting both the certainty and importance of what is spoken,) "There is no man that hath left" (either by giving them up, or by not accepting them) "house,

or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake and the Gospel's, but he shall receive a hundred fold now in this time; and in the world to come eternal life," Mark x, 28–30.

A THOUGHT UPON MARRIAGE.

If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.

1. I AM not now about to speak to men of the world, or to them that have only the form of religion; but to you who have experienced, if you do not now, the "faith which worketh by love:" and, in speaking to you, I do not peremptorily assert any thing. I barely propose a thought that rises in my mind, and beg you to consider it.

2. You have some thoughts of altering your condition; and we know, "marriage is honourable in all men." But is your eye single herein? This is worthy your most serious consideration. Retire a little into yourself, and ask your own heart: "What is it moves me to think of this?"

3. I will tell you how it was with me: though I do not know I was ever low spirited, (my spirits being always the same, whether in sickness or in health,) yet I was often uneasy. Even in vigorous health, in plenty, and in the midst of my friends, I wanted something; I was not satisfied. I looked about for happiness, but could not find it. Then I thought, "O, if I had but such a person with me, I should surely be happy." I mused with myself, "How lovely is her look! How agreeably she talks!" I thought of Sappho's words:—

> "'Bless'd as the' immortal gods is he,
> The youth that fondly sits by thee;
> And hears and sees thee all the while
> Softly speak and sweetly smile.'

'Surely this is the very thing I want; and could I attain it, I should then no more be solitary! For,—

> Thou from all shades the darkness wouldst exclude,
> And from a desert banish solitude:

Therefore, with her I can be happy; without her I never can."

4. Perhaps your case is something like mine. Let me then ask you a few questions.

Were you ever convinced of sin? of your lost, undone state? Did you feel the wrath of God abiding on you? If so, what did you then want to make you happy? "To know, my God is reconciled." You had your wish. You were enabled to say boldly, "I know that my Redeemer liveth." And were not you then happy? "Indeed I was." In what? "In the knowledge and love of God."

5. And if you have now the same knowledge and love of God, does it not answer the same end? Will not the same cause still produce the same effect? If, therefore, you are not happy now, is it not because you have not that intercourse with God which you then had? And are you seeking to supply the want of that intercourse by the enjoyment of a creature? You imagine that near connection with a woman will make

amends for distance from God! Have you so learned Christ? Has your experience taught you no better than this?

6. You were happy once; you knew you were; happy in God, without being beholden to any creature. You did not need

> Love's all-sufficient sea to raise
> With drops of creature happiness.

And is it wise to seek it now any where else than where you found it before? You have not the same excuse with those who never were happy in God. And how little is the seeking it in any creature better than idolatry! Is it not, in effect, loving the creature more than the Creator? Does it not imply that you are "a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God?"

7. O return to Him that made you happy before, and he will make you happy again. Repeat your prayer,—

> "Keep me dead to all below;
> Only Christ resolved to know:
> Firm, and disengaged, and free;
> Seeking all my bliss in thee!"

Seek, accept of nothing in the room of God. Let all the springs of your happiness be in him. "Seek first," just as you did before, "the kingdom of God and his righteousness;" the knowledge and love of God; "fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ;" "and all other things shall be added unto you;" particularly joy in the Holy Ghost. Again,—

> Know God and teach thy soul to know
> The joys that from religion flow:
> Then every grace shall be thy guest,
> And peace be there to crown the rest.

JOHN WESLEY.

LISBURN, June 11, 1785.

ADVICE

TO THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS,

WITH REGARD TO DRESS.

I. 1. I am not fond of saying the same thing over and over; especially when I have so many things to say, that the day of life (which with me is far spent) is not likely to suffice for them. But, in some cases, it is needful for you that I should; and then it is not grievous to me. And it may be best to speak freely and fully at once, that there may be the less need of speaking on this head hereafter.

2. When we look into the Bible with any attention, and then look round into the world, to see who believes and who lives according to this book; we may easily discern that the system of practice, as well as the system of truth, there delivered, is torn in pieces, and scattered abroad like the members of Absyrtus. Every denomination of Christians retains some part either of Christian truth or practice; these hold fast one part, and those another, as their fathers did before them. What is the duty, meantime, of those who desire to follow the whole word of

God? Undoubtedly to "gather up" all these "fragments," that, if possible, "nothing be lost;" with all diligence to follow all those we see about us, so far as they follow the Bible; and to join together in one scheme of truth and practice what almost all the world put asunder

3. Many years ago I observed several parts of Christian practice among the people called Quakers. Two things I particularly remarked among them,—plainness of speech, and plainness of dress. I willingly adopted both, with some restrictions, and particularly plainness of dress; the same I recommended to you, when God first called you out of the world; and after the addition of more than twenty years' experience, I recommend it to you still.

4. But before I go any farther, I must entreat you, in the name of God, be open to conviction. Whatever prejudices you have contracted from education, custom, or example, divest yourselves of them, as far as possible. Be willing to receive light either from God or man; do not shut your eyes against it. Rather, be glad to see more than you did before; to "have the eyes of your understanding opened." Receive the truth in the love thereof, and you will have reason to bless God for ever.

II. 1. Not that I would advise you to imitate the people called Quakers in those little particularities of dress which can answer no possible end but to distinguish them from all other people. To be singular, merely for singularity's sake, is not the part of a Christian: I do not therefore, advise you to wear a hat of such dimensions, or a coat of a particular form. Rather, in things that are absolutely indifferent, that are of no consequence at all, humility and courtesy require you to conform to the customs of your country.

2. But I advise you to imitate them, First, in the neatness of their apparel. This is highly to be commended, and quite suitable to your Christian calling. Let all your apparel, therefore, be as clean as your situation in life will allow. It is certain the poor cannot be as clean as they would, as having little change of raiment. But let even these be as clean as they can, as care and diligence can keep them. Indeed, they have particular need so to be; because cleanliness is one great branch of frugality. It is likewise more conducive to health than is generally considered. Let the poor, then, especially labour to be clean, and provoke those of higher rank to jealousy.

3. I advise you to imitate them, Secondly, in the plainness of their apparel. In this are implied two things: (1.) That your apparel be cheap, not expensive; far cheaper than others in your circumstances wear, or than you would wear, if you knew not God: (2.) That it be grave, not gay, airy, or showy; not in the point of the fashion. And these easy rules may be applied both to the materials whereof it is made, and the manner wherein it is made or put on.

4. Would you have a farther rule with respect to both? Then take one, which you may always carry in your bosom: "Do every thing herein with a single eye;" and this will direct you in every circumstance. Let a single intention to please God prescribe both what clothing you shall buy, and the manner wherein it shall be made, and how you shall put on and wear it. To express the same thing in other words: let all you do, in this respect, be so done that you may offer it

to God, a sacrifice acceptable through Christ Jesus; so that, consequently, it may increase your reward and brighten your crown in heaven. And so it will do, if it be agreeable to Christian humility, seriousness and charity.

5. Shall I be more particular still? Then I "exhort all those who desire me to watch over their souls," Wear no gold, (whatever officers of state may do; or magistrates, as the ensign of their office,) no pearls, or precious stones; use no curling of hair, or costly apparel, how grave soever. I advise those who are able to receive this saying, Buy no velvets, no silks, no fine linen, no superfluities, no mere ornaments, though ever so much in fashion. Wear nothing, though you have it already, which is of a glaring colour, or which is in any kind gay, glistering, or showy; nothing made in the very height of the fashion, nothing apt to attract the eyes of the by-standers. I do not advise women to wear rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, (of whatever kind or colour,) or ruffles, which, by little and little, may easily shoot out from one to twelve inches deep. Neither do I advise men to wear coloured waistcoats, shining stockings, glittering or costly buckles or buttons, either on their coats, or in their sleeves, any more than gay, fashionable, or expensive perukes. It is true, these are little, very little things, which are not worth defending; therefore, give them up, let them drop, throw them away without another word; else, a little needle may cause much pain in your flesh, a little self-indulgence much hurt to your soul.

III. 1. For the preceding exhortation I have the authority of God, in clear and express terms: "I will that women," (and, by parity of reason, men too) "adorn themseves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered" (curled) "hair, or gold, or pearls," (one kind of precious stones, which was then most in use, put for all,) "or costly apparel; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works," 1 Tim. ii, 9, 10. Again: "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting" (curling) "the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel. But let it be the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price," 1 Peter iii, 3, 4. Nothing can be more express; the wearing of gold, of precious stones, and of costly apparel, together with curling of hair, is here forbidden by name: nor is there any restriction made, either here, or in any other scripture. Whoever, therefore, says, "There is no harm in these things," may as well say, "There is no harm in stealing or adultery."

2. There is something peculiarly observable in the manner wherein both St. Peter and St. Paul speak of these things. "Let not your adorning," says St. Peter, "be that outward adorning; but let it be the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." The latter clause is not added barely to fill up the sentence, but with strong and weighty reason. For there is a direct contrariety (as little as we may suspect it) between that outward, and this inward, adorning; and that, both with regard to their source, and with regard to their tendency. As to their source, all that adorning springs from nature; a meek and quiet spirit, from grace; the former, from conforming to our own will, and the will of man; the latter, from conformity to the will of God. And as to their tendency, nothing more directly tends to destroy meekness and quietness of spirit than all

that outward adorning, whereby we seek to commend ourselves to men, and not to God. For this cherishes all those passions and tempers which overthrow the quiet of every soul wherein they dwell.

3. Let "them adorn themselves," saith St. Paul, "not with curling of hair, or with gold, pearls, or costly apparel; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works." The latter clause is here likewise added for plain and weighty reasons. For, (1.) That kind of adorning cannot spring from godliness; from either the love or fear of God; from a desire of conforming to his will, or from the mind which was in Christ Jesus. (2.) It no way tends to increase godliness; it is not conducive to any holy temper. But, (3.) It manifestly tends to destroy several of the tempers most essential to godliness. It has no friendly influence on humility; whether we aim at pleasing others or ourselves hereby. Either in one case or the other, it will rather increase pride or vanity than lowliness of heart. It does not at all minister to the seriousness which becomes a sinner born to die. It is utterly inconsistent with simplicity; no one uses it merely to please God. Whoever acts with a single eye, does all things to be seen and approved of God; and can no more dress, than he can pray, or give alms, "to be seen of men."

4. "O, but one may be as humble in velvet and embroidery, as another is in sackcloth." True; for a person may wear sackcloth, and have no humility at all. The heart may be filled with pride and vanity, whatever the raiment be. Again: Women under the yoke of unbelieving parents or husbands, as well as men in office, may, on several occasions, be constrained to put on gold or costly apparel; and in cases of this kind, plain experience shows, that the baleful influence of it is suspended. So that wherever it is not our choice, but our cross, it may consist with godliness, with a meek and quiet spirit, with lowliness of heart, with Christian seriousness. But it is not true that any one can choose this from a single eye to please God; or, consequently, without sustaining great loss as to lowliness and every other Christian temper.

5. But, however this be, can you be adorned at the same time with costly apparel and with good works; that is, in the same degree as you might have been, had you bestowed less cost on your apparel? You know this is impossible; the more you expend on the one, the less you have to expend on the other. Costliness of apparel, in every branch, is therefore immediately, directly, inevitably destructive of good works. You see a brother, for whom Christ died, ready to perish for want of needful clothing. You would give it him gladly; but, alas, "it is corban, whereby he might have been profited." It is given already, not indeed for the service of God, not to the treasury of the temple; but either to please the folly of others, or to feed vanity or the lust of the eye in yourself. Now (even suppose these were harmless tempers, yet) what an unspeakable loss is this, if it be really true, that "every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour!" if there be indeed a reward in heaven for every work of faith, for every degree of the labour of love!

IV. 1. As to the advice subjoined, it is easy to observe, that all those smaller things are, in their degree, liable to the same objections as the greater. If they are gay, showy, pleasing to the eye, the putting them

on does not spring from a single view to please God. It neither flows from, nor tends to advance, a meek and quiet spirit. It does not arise from, nor any way promote, real, vital godliness.

2. And if they are in any wise costly, if they are purchased with any unnecessary expense, they cannot but, in proportion to that expense, be destructive of good works. Of consequence, they are destructive of that charity which is fed thereby; hardening our heart against the cry of the poor and needy, by inuring us to shut up our bowels of compassion toward them.

3. At least, all unnecessary expenses of this kind, whether small or great, are senseless and foolish. This we may defy any man living to get over, if he allows there is another world. For there is no reward in heaven for laying out your money in ornaments, or costly apparel; whereas you may have an eternal reward for whatever you expend on earth.

4. Consider this more closely: here are two ways proposed of laying out such a sum of money. I may lay it out in expensive apparel for myself, or in necessary clothing for my neighbour. The former will please my own eye, or that of others; the latter will please God. Now suppose there were no more harm in one than in the other; in that which pleases man, than in that which pleases God; is there as much good in it? If they were equally innocent, are they equally wise? By the one, I gratify the desire of the eye, and gain a pleasure that perishes in the using; by the other, I gain a larger share of those pleasures that are at God's right hand for evermore. By the former, I obtain the applause of men; by the latter, the praise of God. In this way I meet with the admiration of fools; in that, I hear from the Judge of all, "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

5. Brethren, whatever ye are accounted by men, I would not have you fools in God's account. "Walk ye circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise;" not in those ways which God may possibly forgive, (to put things in the most favourable light,) but in those which he will certainly reward. "In wickedness be ye children" still; "but in understanding be ye men." I want to see a visible body of people who are standing examples of this wisdom; patterns of doing all things, great and small, with an eye to God and eternity.

V. 1. But we may be assured, the wisdom of the world will find out abundance of objections to this. Accordingly, it is objected, First, "If God has given us plentiful fortunes, if we are placed in the higher ranks of life, we must act suitably to our fortune. We ought to dress according to our rank; that is, in gold and costly apparel." Not to insist that none of you are of this rank, I answer, Where is this written? Our Saviour once occasionally said, "Behold, they who wear gorgeous" (splendid) "apparel, are in kings' courts;" but he does not say, they ought to be even there; he neither enjoins nor countenances it. And where is this either enjoined or allowed by him or any of his Apostles? Bring me plain, Scriptural proof for your assertion, or I cannot allow it.

2. "But did not God give express command by Moses, that some even among his chosen people should be adorned in the most exquisite manner with gold and precious stones, and costly array?" Indeed he did; he expressly commanded this with regard to Aaron and his suc-

cessors in the high priesthood. But to this I answer, First, This direction which God gave, with regard to the Jewish high priest, can certainly affect no person in England, unless the archbishop of Canterbury; and I apprehend, he does not plead the precedent. Secondly, The Jews and we are under different dispensations. The glory of the whole Mosaic dispensation was chiefly visible and external; whereas the glory of the Christian dispensation is of an invisible and spiritual nature.

3. "But what then are gold and precious stones for? Why have they a place in the creation?" What, if I say I cannot tell? There are abundance of things in the creation which I do not know the use of. What are crocodiles, lions, tigers, scorpions for? Why have so many poisons a place in the creation? Some of them are for medicine: but whatever they are for, in whatever manner they may be useful, they are certainly not to be used in such a manner as God has expressly forbidden.

4. "But if they were not thus adorned, kings and generals would be despised by their subjects and soldiers." Supposing they would, that is nothing to you; for you are neither kings nor generals. But it is absolutely certain they would not, if they were not despised on other accounts. If they are valiant and wise, they will never be despised for the plainness of their dress. Was ever general or king more esteemed or beloved by his subjects and soldiers than King Charles of Sweden? And it is sure he wore no gold or costly apparel, not so much as a common officer. But we need not go so many years back. Who is the prince that is now honoured and beloved both by his subjects and soldiers, far beyond any other king or general in Europe? There is no need to repeat his name. But does he gain this honour and love by the costliness of his apparel? So far from it, that he rarely uses any other dress than the uniform of his own guards.

5. "But if all men were to dress like him, how would tradesmen live?" I answer, (1.) God certainly considered this before ever he gave these commands. And he would never have given them, had he not seen, that, if they were universally observed, men in general would live better than they otherwise could; better in this world, as well as that to come. But, (2.) There is no danger at all that they should be universally observed. Only a little flock in any civilized nation will observe them, till the knowledge of God covers the earth. (3.) If those who do observe them, employ the money they thus save in the most excellent manner, then a part of what before only served to fat a few rich tradesmen for hell, will suffice to feed and clothe and employ many poor that seek the kingdom of heaven. (4.) And how will those tradesmen themselves live? They will live like men, by honest labour; most of whom before lived like swine, wallowing in all gluttony and sensuality. But, (5.) This is all mere trifling. It is only a copy of your countenance; for it is not this, it is not a regard to trade, or the good of the nation, that makes you disobey God. No; it is pride, vanity, or some other sinful temper, which is the real cause of these sinful actions.

6. "But we cannot carry on our own trade without dressing like other people." If you mean only conforming to those customs of your country that are neither gay nor costly, why should you not dress like other people? I really think you should. Let an Englishman dress like other Englishmen, not like a Turk or a Tartar. Let an English woman

dress like other English women, not like a French woman, or a German. But if you mean conformity to them in what God has forbidden, the answer is ready at hand: If you cannot carry on your trade without breaking God's command, you must not carry it on. But I doubt the fact; I know no trade which may not be carried on by one who uses plain and modest apparel. I fear, therefore, this too is but a copy of your countenance; you love these things, and therefore think them necessary. Your heart carries away your judgment; if you were not fond of them, you would never dream of their necessity.

7. In one single case these things may be necessary, that is, unavoidable; namely, that of women who are under the yoke of self-willed, unreasonable husbands or parents. Such may be constrained to do, in some degree, what otherwise they would not. And they are blameless herein, if, (1.) They use all possible means, arguments, entreaties, to be excused from it; and, when they cannot prevail, (2.) Do it just so far as they are constrained, and no farther.

VI. 1. And now, brethren, what remains, but that I beseech you who are not under the yoke, who are under God the directors of your own actions, to set prejudice, obstinacy, fashion aside, and to yield to Scripture, to reason, to truth. Suppose, as some affirm, you acted on no higher motive than to please me herein, I know not that you would have need to be ashamed; even this you might avow in the face of the sun. You owe something to me; perhaps it is not my fault if you owe not your own souls also. If then you did an indifferent thing only on this principle, not to give me any uneasiness, but to oblige, to comfort me in my labour, would you do much amiss? How much more may you be excused in doing what I advise, when truth, reason, and Scripture advise the same? when the thing in question is not an indifferent thing, but clearly determined by God himself?

2. Some years ago, when I first landed at Savannah, in Georgia, a gentlewoman told me, "I assure you, sir, you will see as well-dressed a congregation on Sunday, as most you have seen in London." I did so; and, soon after, took occasion to expound those scriptures which relate to dress, and to press them freely upon my audience, in a plain and close application. All the time that I afterward ministered at Savannah, I saw neither gold in the church, nor costly apparel; but the congregation in general was almost constantly clothed in plain, clean linen or woollen.

3. And why should not my advice, grounded on Scripture and reason, weigh with you as much as with them? I will tell you why: (1.) You are surrounded with saints of the world, persons fashionably, reputably religious. And these are constant opposers of all who would go farther in religion than themselves. These are continually warning you against running into extremes, and striving to beguile you from the simplicity of the Gospel. (2.) You have near you still more dangerous enemies than these,—Antinomians, whether German or English; who, when any Christian practice is enforced, come in with the cuckoo's note, "The law, the law!" and, while they themselves glory in their shame, make you ashamed of what should be your glory. (3.) You have suffered by false teachers of our own, who undermined the doctrine you had received; negatively, in public, by not insisting upon it, by

not exhorting you to dress as persons professing godliness; (and not to speak for a Christian duty is, in effect, to speak against it;) and positively, in private, either by jesting upon your exactness in observing the Scripture rule, or by insinuations, which, if you did not mind them then, yet would afterward weaken your soul.

4. You have been, and are at this day, "in perils among false brethren;" I mean, not only those of other congregations, who count strictness all one with bondage, but many of our own; in particular those who were once clearly convinced of the truth; but they have sinned away the conviction themselves, and now endeavour to harden others against it, at least by example; by returning again to the folly from which they were once clean escaped. But what is the example of all mankind, when it runs counter to Scripture and reason? I have warned you a thousand times not to regard any example which contradicts reason or Scripture. If it ever should be, (pray that it may not be, but if ever it should,) that I or my brother, my wife or his, or all of us together, should set an example contrary to Scripture and reason, I entreat you, regard it not at all; still let Scripture and reason prevail.

5. You who have passed the morning, perhaps the noon, of life, who find the shadows of the evening approach, set a better example to those that are to come, to the now rising generation. With you the day of life is far spent; the night of death is at hand. You have no time to lose; see that you redeem every moment that remains. Remove every thing out of the way, be it ever so small, (though indeed gay or costly apparel is not so,) that might any ways obstruct your lowliness and meekness, your seriousness of spirit, your single intention to glorify God, in all your thoughts and words and actions. Let no needless expense hinder your being, in the highest degree you possibly can, "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate," till you are clothed with glory and immortality.

Our carcasses will soon fall into the dust; then let the survivors adorn them with flowers. Meantime, let us regard those ornaments only that will accompany us into eternity.

6. You that are in the morning of your days, either your form is agreeable, or it is not. If it is not, do not make your person remarkable; rather let it lie hid in common apparel. On every account, it is your wisdom to recommend yourself to the eye of the mind; but especially to the eye of God, who reads the secrets of your hearts, and in whose sight the incorruptible ornaments alone are of great price. But if you would recommend yourself by dress, is any thing comparable to plain neatness? What kind of persons are those to whom you could be recommended by gay or costly apparel? None that are any way likely to make you happy; this pleases only the silliest and worst of men. At most, it gratifies only the silliest and worst principle in those who are of a nobler character.

7. To you, whom God has entrusted with a more pleasing form, those ornaments are quite needless:

> The' adorning thee with so much art
> Is but a barbarous skill;
> 'Tis like the poisoning of a dart,
> Too apt before to kill.

That is, to express ourselves in plain English, without any figure of poetry, it only tends to drag them into death everlasting, who were going fast enough before, by additional provocations to lust, or, at least, inordinate affection. Did you actually design to raise either of these in those who looked upon you? What! while you and they were in the more immediate presence of God? What profaneness and inhumanity mixed together! But if you designed it not, did you not foresee it? You might have done so without any extraordinary sagacity. "Nay, I did not care or think about it." And do you say this by way of excuse? You "scatter abroad arrows, firebands, and death," and do not care or think about it!

8. O let us walk more charitably and more wisely for the time to come! Let us all cast aside, from this very hour, whatever does not become men and women professing godliness; whatever does not spring from the love and fear of God, and minister thereto. Let our seriousness "shine before men," not our dress. Let all who see us know that we are not of this world. Let our adorning be that which fadeth not away; even righteousness and true holiness. If ye regard not weakening my hands, and grieving my spirit, yet grieve not the Holy Spirit of God. Do you ask, "But what shall I do with the gay or costly apparel, and with the ornaments, I have already? Must I suffer them to be lost? Ought I not to wear them, now I have them?" I answer, There is no loss like that of using them; wearing them is the greatest loss of all. But what then shalt thou do with them? Burn them, rather than wear them; throw them in the depth of the sea. Or, if thou canst with a clear conscience, sell them, and give the money to them that want; but buy no more at the peril of thy soul. Now be a faithful steward: after providing for those of thine own household, things needful for life and godliness, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the sick, the prisoner, the stranger, with all that thou hast: then shall God clothe thee with glory and honour in the presence of men and angels; and thou shalt "shine as the brightness of the firmament," yea, "as the stars for ever and ever."

THOUGHTS UPON DRESS.

Loud complaint has been made concerning a passage taken out of a little tract, entitled, "The Refined Courtier," which is inserted in the last April Magazine, p. 197.* The passage objected to runs thus: "Let every one, when he appears in public, be decently clothed, according to his age, and the custom of the place where he lives." There is no fault in this. It is exactly right. Accordingly, when I appear in public, I am decently appareled, according to my age and the custom of England; sometimes in a short coat, sometimes in a night gown, sometimes in a gown and cassock. "He that does otherwise, seems to affect singularity." And though a Christian frequently may, yea, must, be singular, yet he never affects singularity; he only takes up his cross so far as conscience requires. Thus far, then, there is nothing which is not capable of a fair construction. "Nor is it sufficient that our gar-

* The Arminian Magazine for 1788.—Edit.

ment be made of good cloth," (the author speaks all along of people of rank; particularly those that attend the court,) "but we should constrain ourselves to follow the garb where we reside," suppose at St. James's: "Seeing custom is the law and standard of decency, in all things of this nature." It certainly is; and I advise all the king's lords of the bedchamber, the queen's maids of honour, to follow it. All this, therefore, may bear a sound construction; nor does it contradict any thing which I have said or written.

JOHN WESLEY.

A CLEAR AND CONCISE DEMONSTRATION OF THE DIVINE INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THERE are four grand and powerful arguments which strongly induce us to believe that the Bible must be from God, viz. miracles, prophecies, the goodness of the doctrine, and the moral character of the penmen. All the miracles flow from divine power; all the prophecies from divine understanding; the goodness of the doctrine from divine goodness; and the moral character of the penmen, from divine holiness.

Thus Christianity is built upon four grand pillars, viz. the power, understanding, goodness, and holiness of God. Divine power is the source of all the miracles; divine understanding, of all the prophecies; divine goodness, of the goodness of the doctrine; and divine holiness, of the moral character of the penmen.

I beg leave to propose a short, clear, and strong argument to prove the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

The Bible must be the invention either of good men or angels, bad men or devils, or of God.

1. It could not be the invention of good men or angels; for they neither would nor could make a book, and tell lies all the time they were writing it, saying, "Thus saith the Lord," when it was their own invention.

2. It could not be the invention of bad men or devils; for they would not make a book which commands all duty, forbids all sin, and condemns their souls to hell to all eternity.

3. Therefore, I draw this conclusion, that the Bible must be given by divine inspiration.

THE REAL CHARACTER OF MONTANUS.

THERE is great variety of opinions, says a late eminent historian, about the time when Montanus first appeared to work signs and miracles; either by the operation of God, as the historian supposes, or by that of the devil transformed; and that in such a manner as nobody was able to discern, because both his life and doctrine were holy and blameless

The time when it began to be doubted, concerning the spirit which operated in him, and moved him after an extraordinary manner, whether it were a good or an evil one, is very uncertain; but it seems to be between the years of Christ, 150 and 170. However, so it was, that the sentiments of those sound in the faith, or the Christians in general, were much divided in their judgments. Of all the ancients, none was more express than he in the mystery of the incarnation, or seemed more to honour the person of Christ, and extol his merits. All the ancient heretics erred greatly from the truth, as to this; but he was clear in this respect, preaching up repentance, and faith in the name of the Lord Jesus alone, as the one Mediator between God and man. Neither is it denied that he was orthodox in the notion of the Church, as to Christian fellowship, rightly formed, according to the pattern delivered by Christ himself, and knit together by the bond of the Spirit, under pastors and officers of several orders, having a clear and certain mission from him whom they represent; but he, under the character of a prophet, as an order established in the Church, appeared (without bringing any new doctrine) for reviving what was decayed, and reforming what might be amiss; whereas others that had been judged heretics, were not only preachers of strange and monstrous opinions, but were utter enemies to all manner of discipline in the Church.

It seems, therefore, by the best information we can procure at this distance of time, that Montanus was not only a truly good man, but one of the best men then upon earth; and that his real crime was, the severely reproving those who professed themselves Christians, while they neither had the mind that was in Christ, nor walked as Christ walked; but were conformable both in their temper and practice to the present evil world.

LETTER ON PREACHING CHRIST.

London, December 20, 1751.

My Dear Friend,—The point you speak of in your letter of September 21, is of a very important nature. I have had many serious thoughts concerning it, particularly for some months last past; therefore, I was not willing to speak hastily or slightly of it, but rather delayed till I could consider it thoroughly.

I mean by *preaching the Gospel*, preaching the love of God to sinners, preaching the life, death, resurrection, and intercession of Christ, with all the blessings which, in consequence thereof, are freely given to true believers.

By *preaching the law*, I mean, explaining and enforcing the commands of Christ, briefly comprised in the Sermon on the Mount.

Now, it is certain, preaching the Gospel to penitent sinners "begets faith;" that it "sustains and increases spiritual life in true believers."

Nay, sometimes it "teaches and guides" them that believe; yea, and "convinces them that believe not."

So far all are agreed. But what is the stated means of feeding and

comforting believers? What is the means, as of begetting spiritual life where it is not, so of sustaining and increasing it where it is?

Here they divide. Some think, preaching the law only; others, preaching the Gospel only. I think, neither the one nor the other; but duly mixing both, in every place, if not in every sermon.

I think, the right method of preaching is this: at our first beginning to preach at any place, after a general declaration of the love of God to sinners, and his willingness that they should be saved, to preach the law, in the strongest, the closest, the most searching manner possible; only intermixing the Gospel here and there, and showing it, as it were, afar off.

After more and more persons are convinced of sin, we may mix more and more of the Gospel, in order to "beget faith," to raise into spiritual life those whom the law hath slain; but this is not to be done too hastily neither. Therefore, it is not expedient wholly to omit the law; not only because we may well suppose that many of our hearers are still unconvinced; but because otherwise there is danger, that many who are convinced will heal their own wounds slightly; therefore, it is only in private converse with a thoroughly convinced sinner, that we should preach nothing but the Gospel.

If, indeed, we could suppose a whole congregation to be thus convinced, we should need to preach only the Gospel: and the same we might do, if our whole congregation were supposed to be newly justified. But when these grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ, a wise builder would preach the law to them again; only taking particular care to place every part of it in a Gospel light, as not only a command, but a privilege also, as a branch of the glorious liberty of the sons of God. He would take equal care to remind them, that this is not the cause, but the fruit, of their acceptance with God; that other cause, "other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, even Jesus Christ;" that we are still forgiven and accepted, only for the sake of what he hath done and suffered for us; and that all true obedience springs from love to him, grounded on his first loving us. He would labour, therefore, in preaching any part of the law, to keep the love of Christ continually before their eyes; that thence they might draw fresh life, vigour, and strength, to run the way of his commandments.

Thus would he preach the law even to those who were pressing on to the mark. But to those who were careless, or drawing back, he would preach it in another manner, nearly as he did before they were convinced of sin. To those, meanwhile, who were earnest, but feeble-minded, he would preach the Gospel chiefly; yet variously intermixing more or less of the law, according to their various necessities.

By preaching the law in the manner above described, he would teach them how to walk in Him whom they had received. Yea, and the same means (the main point wherein, it seems, your mistake lies) would both sustain and increase their spiritual life. For the commands are food, as well as the promises; food equally wholesome, equally substantial. These, also, duly applied, not only direct, but likewise nourish and strengthen the soul.

Of this you appear not to have the least conception; therefore, I will endeavour to explain it. I ask, then, Do not all the children of God experience, that when God gives them to see deeper into his blessed

law, whenever he gives a new degree of light, he gives, likewise, a new degree of strength? Now I see, he that loves me, bids me do this; and now I feel I can do it, through Christ strengthening me.

Thus light and strength are given by the same means, and frequently in the same moment; although sometimes there is a space between. For instance: I hear the command, "Let your communication be always in grace, meet to minister grace to the hearers." God gives me more light into this command. I see the exceeding height and depth of it. At the same time I see (by the same light from above) how far I have fallen short. I am ashamed; I am humbled before God. I earnestly desire to keep it better; I pray to him that hath loved me for more strength, and I have the petition I ask of him. Thus the law not only convicts the unbeliever, and enlightens the believing soul, but also conveys food to a believer; sustains and increases his spiritual life and strength.

And if it increases his spiritual life and strength, it cannot but increase his comfort also. For, doubtless, the more we are alive to God, the more we shall rejoice in him; the greater measure of his strength we receive, the greater will be our consolation also.

And all this, I conceive, is clearly declared in one single passage of Scripture:—

"The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple; the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than honey, and the honey-comb." They are both food and medicine; they both refresh, strengthen, and nourish the soul.

Not that I would advise to preach the law without the Gospel, any more than the Gospel without the law. Undoubtedly, both should be preached in their turns; yea, both at once, or both in one: all the conditional promises are instances of this. They are law and Gospel mixed together.

According to this model, I should advise every preacher continually to preach the law; the law grafted upon, tempered by, and animated with, the spirit of the Gospel. I advise him to declare, explain, and enforce every command of God; but, meantime, to declare, in every sermon, (and the more explicitly the better,) that the first and great command to a Christian is, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ;" that Christ is all in all, our "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption;" that all life, love, strength, are from him alone, and all freely given to us through faith. And it will ever be found, that the law thus preached both enlightens and strengthens the soul; that it both nourishes and teaches; that it is the guide, "food, medicine, and stay," of the believing soul.

Thus all the Apostles built up believers; witness all the Epistles of St. Paul, James, Peter, and John. And upon this plan all the Methodists first set out. In this manner, not only my brother and I, but Mr. Maxfield, Nelson, James Jones, Westell, and Reeves, all preached at the beginning.

By this preaching it pleased God to work those mighty effects in London, Bristol, Kingswood, Yorkshire, and Newcastle. By means of

this, twenty-nine persons received remission of sins in one day at Bristol only; most of them, while I was opening and enforcing, in this manner, our Lord's Sermon upon the Mount.

In this manner John Downes, John Bennet, John Haughton, and all the other Methodists, preached, till James Wheatly came among them, who never was clear, perhaps not sound, in the faith According to his understanding was his preaching; an unconnected rhapsody of unmeaning words, like Sir John Suckling's—

> Verses, smooth and soft as cream,
> In which was neither depth nor stream.

Yet (to the utter reproach of the Methodist congregations) this man became a most popular preacher. He was admired more and more wherever he went, till he went over the second time into Ireland, and conversed more intimately than before with some of the Moravian preachers.

The consequence was, that he leaned more and more both to their doctrine and manner of preaching. At first, several of our preachers complained of this; but, in the space of a few months, (so incredible is the force of soft words,) he, by slow and imperceptible degrees, brought almost all the preachers then in the kingdom to think and speak like himself.

These, returning to England, spread the contagion to some others of their brethren. But still the far greater part of the Methodist preachers thought and spoke as they had done from the beginning.

This is the plain fact. As to the fruit of this new manner of preaching, (entirely new to the Methodists,) speaking much of the promises, little of the commands; (even to unbelievers, and still less to believers;) you think it has done great good; I think it has done great harm.

I think it has done great harm to the preachers; not only to James Wheatly himself, but to those who have learned of him,—David Trathen, Thomas Webb, Robert Swindells, and John Maddern: I fear to others also; all of whom are but shadows of what they were; most of them have exalted themselves above measure, as if they only "preached Christ, preached the Gospel." And as highly as they have exalted themselves, so deeply have they despised their brethren; calling them, "legal preachers, legal wretches;" and (by a cant name) "doctors," or "doctors of divinity." They have not a little despised their ministers also, for "countenancing the doctors," as they termed them. They have made their faults (real or supposed) common topics of conversation; hereby cherishing in themselves the very spirit of Ham; yea, of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

I think it has likewise done great harm to their hearers; diffusing among them their own prejudice against the other preachers; against their ministers, me in particular, (of which you have been an undeniable instance,) against the Scriptural, Methodist manner of preaching Christ, so that they could no longer bear sound doctrine; they could no longer hear the plain old truth with profit or pleasure, nay, hardly with patience.

After hearing such preachers for a time, you yourself (need we farther witnesses?) could find in my preaching no food for your soul; nothing to strengthen you in the way; no inward experience of a believer; it was all barren and dry; that is, you had no taste for mine or John Nelson's preaching; it neither refreshed nor nourished you.

Why, this is the very thing I assert: That the Gospel preachers, so called, corrupt their hearers; they vitiate their taste, so that they cannot relish sound doctrine; and spoil their appetite, so that they cannot turn it into nourishment; they, as it were, feed them with sweetmeats, till the genuine wine of the kingdom seems quite insipid to them. They give them cordial upon cordial, which make them all life and spirit for the present; but, meantime, their appetite is destroyed, so that they can neither retain nor digest the pure milk of the word.

Hence it is, that (according to the constant observation I have made, in all parts both of England and Ireland) preachers of this kind (though quite the contrary appears at first) spread death, not life, among their hearers. As soon as that flow of spirits goes off, they are without life, without power, without any strength or vigour of soul; and it is extremely difficult to recover them, because they still cry out, "Cordials! Cordials!" of which they have had too much already, and have no taste for the food which is convenient for them. Nay, they have an utter aversion to it, and that confirmed by principle, having been taught to call it husks, if not poison: how much more to those bitters which are previously needful to restore their decayed appetite!

This was the very case when I went last into the north. For some time before my coming, John Downes had scarce been able to preach at all; the three others in the round were such as styled themselves Gospel preachers. When I came to review the societies, with great expectation of finding a vast increase, I found most of them lessened by one-third; one entirely broken up. That of Newcastle itself was less by a hundred members than when I visited it before. And of those that remained, the far greater number in every place were cold, weary, heartless, dead. Such were the blessed effects of this Gospel preaching! of this new method of preaching Christ!

On the other hand, when, in my return, I took an account of the societies in Yorkshire, chiefly under the care of John Nelson, one of the old way, in whose preaching you could find no life, no food, I found them all alive, strong, and vigorous of soul, believing, loving, and praising God their Saviour; and increased in number from eighteen or nineteen hundred, to upwards of three thousand. These had been continually fed with that wholesome food which you could neither relish nor digest. From the beginning they had been taught both the law and the Gospel. "God loves you; therefore, love and obey him. Christ died for you; therefore, die to sin. Christ is risen; therefore, rise in the image of God. Christ liveth evermore; therefore live to God, till you live with him in glory."

So we preached; and so you believed. This is the Scriptural way, the Methodist way, the true way. God grant we may never turn therefrom, to the right hand or to the left! I am, my dear friend,

Your ever affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.

THOUGHTS ON SALVATION BY FAITH.

[Printed in the year 1779.]

1. It is now upwards of forty years since my brother and I were convinced of that important truth, which is the foundation of all real religion, that "by grace we are saved through faith." And as soon as we believed, we spoke; when we saw it ourselves, we immediately began declaring it to others. And, indeed, we could hardly speak of any thing else, either in public or private. It shone upon our minds with so strong a light, that it was our constant theme. It was our daily subject, both in verse and prose; and we vehemently defended it against all mankind.

2. But in doing this we met with abundance of difficulty; we were assaulted and abused on every side. We were every where represented as mad dogs, and treated accordingly. We were stoned in the streets, and several times narrowly escaped with our lives. In sermons, newspapers, and pamphlets of all kinds, we were painted as unheard-of monsters. But this moved us not; we went on, by the help of God, testifying salvation by faith both to small and great, and not counting our lives dear unto ourselves, so we might finish our course with joy.

3. While we were thus employed, another storm arose from a quarter whence we least expected it. Some of our familiar friends declared open war against us for preaching salvation by works! This we could not in any wise understand; we wondered what they meant. We utterly disavowed the charge; we denied it in the strongest terms. We declared over and over, both in public and private, "We believe, and constantly preach, salvation by faith. Salvation by works is a doctrine we abhor; we neither preach nor believe it." But it did not avail: say what we would, the same charge was still repeated; and that not only when we were at a convenient distance, but even before our face.

4. At first we were inclined to think, that many who affirmed this, did not believe themselves; that it was merely a copy of their countenance, spoken *ad movendam invidiam*. [To excite ill will.] And could we have been fully persuaded of this, the difficulty would have been solved. But we did not dare to give way to the thought: whatever they might think or say of us, we could not but think they were upright men, and spoke according to their real sentiments. The wonder therefore remained, how they could impute to us a doctrine which our soul abhorred, and which we were continually opposing, and confuting with all our might.

5. I was in this perplexity when a thought shot across my mind, which solved the matter at once: "This is the key: those that hold, Every one is absolutely predestinated either to salvation or damnation, see no medium between salvation by works and salvation by absolute decrees." It follows, that whosoever denies salvation by absolute decrees, in so doing (according to their apprehension) asserts salvation by works.

6. And herein I verily believe they are right. As averse as I once was to the thought, upon farther consideration, I allow there is, there

can be, no medium. Either salvation is by absolute decree, or it is (in a Scriptural sense) by works. Yea, this I will proclaim on the house top, —there is no medium between these. You must either assert unconditional decrees, or (in a sound sense) salvation by works.

7. This deserves a fuller examination: let us consider it more attentively. If the salvation of every man that ever was, is, or shall be, finally saved, depends wholly and solely upon an absolute, irresistible, unchangeable decree of God, without any regard either to faith or works foreseen, then it is not, in any sense, by works. But neither is it by faith: for unconditional decree excludes faith as well as works; since, if it is either by faith or works foreseen, it is not by unconditional decree. Therefore, salvation by absolute decree excludes both one and the other; and, consequently, upon this supposition, salvation is neither by faith nor by works.

8. If, on the other hand, we deny all absolute decrees, and admit only the conditional one, (the same which our blessed Lord hath revealed,) "He that believeth shall be saved;" we must, according to their apprehension, assert salvation by works. We must do this, (in a sound sense of the expression,) if we believe the Bible. For seeing no faith avails, but that "which worketh by love," which produces both inward and outward good works, to affirm, No man is finally saved without this, is, in effect, to affirm, No man is finally saved without works. It is plain, then, if we affirm, No man is saved by an absolute, unconditional decree, but only by a conditional one; we must expect, all who hold unconditional decrees will say, we teach salvation by works.

9. Let none, therefore, who hold universal redemption be surprised at being charged with this. Let us deny it no more; let us frankly and fairly meet those who advance it upon their own ground. If they charge you with holding salvation by works, answer plainly, "In your sense, I do; for I deny that our final salvation depends upon any absolute, unconditional decree. If, therefore, there be no medium, I do hold salvation by works. But observe: In allowing this, I allow no more than that I am no Calvinist. So that, by my making you this concession, you gain—just nothing."

10. I am therefore still consistent with myself, as well as consistent with the Bible. I still hold, (as I have done above these forty years,) that "by grace we are saved through faith;" yet so as not to contradict that other expression of the same Apostle, "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Meantime, those who maintain absolute predestination, who hold decrees that have no condition at all, cannot be consistent with themselves, unless they deny salvation by faith, as well as salvation by works. For, if only "he that believeth shall be saved," then is faith a condition of salvation; and God hath decreed, from all eternity, that it should be such. But if the decree admit of any condition, it is not an unconditional decree. Either, therefore, you must renounce your unconditional decrees, or deny that faith is the condition of salvation; or (which is just the same thing) affirm, that a man may be saved without either faith or works.

11. And I am consistent with myself, as well as with the Bible, when I affirm, that none shall be finally saved by any "faith" but that "which worketh by love," both inward and outward holiness. I fear, many of

them that hold unconditional decrees are not sensible of this. For they seriously believe themselves to be in the high road to salvation, though they are far from inward (if not outward) holiness. They have not "put on humbleness of mind, bowels of mercy, brotherly kindness." They have no gentleness, no meekness, no long-suffering; so far are they from the "love that endureth all things." They are under the power of sin; of evil surmising; of anger; yea, of outward sin. For they scruple not to say to their brother, "Thou fool!" They not only, on a slight provocation, make no scruple of rendering evil for evil, of returning railing for railing; but they bring railing accusations unprovoked; they pour out floods of the lowest, basest invectives. And yet they are within the decree! I instance in the two late publications of Mr. Rowland Hill. "O," says Mr. Hill, "but Mr. Wesley is a wicked man." What then? Is he more wicked than him that disputed with Michael about the body of Moses? How, then, durst he bring a railing accusation against a man, when an archangel durst not bring one against the devil? O fight, fight for an unconditional decree! For if there be any condition, how can you be saved?

GOD'S EYES ARE OVER ALL THE EARTH.

Many years ago, as my eldest brother was walking in the back street of Hackney, a gentleman accosted him, and said, "Sir, I am old, and I would willingly inform you of a remarkable scene of Providence, that it may be remembered when I am gone hence: I was walking here some time since, (as I frequently do,) early in a morning, when a chariot stopped at a little distance from me, and a young lady, stepping out, ran by me with all her might. A gentleman quickly followed her, caught her, and brought her back; when I just heard her say, 'What, my dear, will you serve me so?' Immediately that door over against us opened, and he thrust her in before him. I mused upon it all day and all night, and was very uneasy. In the morning, a gardener which I employed coming in, I asked him, 'Do you know such a house in Hackney?' He answered, 'Sir, I am going to trim the trees in the garden next to it; and I will make any inquiries which you desire, and bring you back the best account I can.' The account he gave me the next morning was this: When I went to work, I saw over a low hedge a gardener trimming the trees in the other garden; and I asked him, 'Pray, who lives in that house?' On his answering, 'A mad doctor;' I asked, 'Has he many patients?' He said, 'I do not know, though I dine in the house; for he never suffers any to see them.' I said, 'I will give you a pot of beer, if you can find the name of a young lady that came in a day or two ago.' He answered, 'I cannot promise; but I will do my best when I go in to dinner.' When I saw him again, he said, 'No patient in the house dares speak to any one; and I could get no pen, ink, and paper; but I got a pin and a card, on which a young woman has pricked her name: here it is.' I took the card, and knew the name. The next day I went to her father, and asked, 'Sir, where is your daughter?' He said, 'She is lately married to a very worthy

man, and is gone with her husband into the country.' I then told him the story, and we went together to the lord chief justice. Early in the morning we went to the doctor's house, and knocked at the door. He looked through a little grate, and bade us go on our way; we had no business with him. I answered, 'Here is the lord chief justice's warrant, and his tipstaff. Open the door, or we shall break it open.' He then opened it, and I asked, 'Where is the young lady that was brought in hither three days ago?' He answered, 'There is no such person in my house; you may search it from top to bottom.' We did so; but could not find any trace of her. Coming down the stairs, I said, 'Is there no one under these stairs?' The doctor answered, 'There is a poor creature; but she is so outrageous, that we are obliged to shut her up in the dark.' On his opening the door, she put out her head. My friend sighed, and said, 'I know nothing of this poor thing.' She answered, 'What, sir, am I so altered in three days, that you do not know your own daughter?' He immediately knew her voice, and took her home. Her husband was very glad to refund her fortune."

JOHN WESLEY

A REMARKABLE PROVIDENCE.

A GENTLEMAN walking with Mr. Chapoon, (uncle to Mr. Roquet,) in Moorfields, proposed stepping into Bedlam. After they had walked there awhile, they were turning to go out, when a young woman cried, "Sir, I desire to speak with you." His friend said, "Sure, you will not stay to hear a mad woman's tale." He answered, "Indeed I will:" on which the other went away. She then said, "My father left me and my fortune in the hands of my uncle. A young gentleman offered me marriage, and all things were agreed on; when one morning my uncle took me out with him in the chariot, as he said, to see a friend; but instead of this, he brought me to Bedlam, where I have been confined ever since."

"Your story is plausible," said Mr. C., "but how shall I know it is the truth?" "Very easily," said she. "The gentleman that was to marry me, lives within a day's journey of London. Write to him; and tell him you have something to say concerning me, and would be glad to meet him at such a place in town. If he does not come, let this all pass for a mad woman's dream." Mr. C. wrote, and asked the gentleman, who came to the place appointed, whether he knew such a person He answered, "Perfectly well. We were to have been married before now; but her uncle sent me word she was taken ill." Mr. C. then told him the whole story. He immediately sent to her uncle; who was very ready to take her out, and pay her fortune, to avoid farther trouble.

So the curiosity of one to see a strange place, and of another to hear a strange tale, was a means of detecting a notorious scene of villany, and of setting an innocent sufferer at liberty!

JOHN WESLEY.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BROTHERS' STEPS.

Last summer [1780] I received a letter from a friend, wherein were these words :—

"I think it would be worth your while to take a view of those wonderful marks of the Lord's hatred to duelling, called The Brothers' Steps. They are in the fields, about a third of a mile northward from Montague-house; and the awful tradition concerning them is, that two brothers quarrelled about a worthless woman, and, according to the fashion of those days, fought with sword and pistol. The prints of their feet are about the depth of three inches, and nothing will vegetate so much as to disfigure them. The number is only eighty-three; but probably some are at present filled up; for I think there were formerly more in the centre, where each unhappy combatant wounded the other to death: and a bank on which the first who fell, died, retains the form of his agonizing couch, by the curse of barrenness, while grass flourishes all about it. Mr. George Hall, who was the librarian of Lincoln's-Inn, first showed me those steps, twenty-eight years ago, when, I think, they were not quite so deep as now. He remembered them about thirty years, and the man who first showed them him, about thirty more, which goes back to the year 1692; but I suppose they originated in King Charles the Second's reign. My mother well remembered their being ploughed up, and corn sown, to deface them, about fifty years ago: but all was labour in vain; for the prints returned in a while to their pristine form; as probably will those that are now filled up. Indeed I think an account of them in your Magazine would be a pious memorial of their lasting reality.

"These hints are only offered as a small token of my good will to yourself and the work, by your son and brother in the Gospel,

"John Walsh."

This account appeared to me so very extraordinary, that I knew not what to think of it. I knew Mr. Walsh to be a person of good understanding and real piety; and he testified what he had seen with his own eyes: but still I wanted more witnesses, till, awhile ago, being at Mr. Cary's, in Copthall Buildings, I occasionally mentioned The Brothers' Footsteps; and asked the company if they had heard any thing of them. "Sir," said Mr. Cary, "sixteen years ago, I saw and counted them myself." Another added, "And I saw them four years ago." I could then no longer doubt but they had been; and a week or two after I went with Mr. Cary and another person to seek them.

We sought for near half an hour in vain. We could find no steps at all within a quarter of a mile, no, nor half a mile, north of Montague-house. We were almost out of hope, when an honest man, who was at work, directed us to the next ground, adjoining to a pond. There we found what we sought for, about three quarters of a mile north of Montague-house, and about five hundred yards east of Tottenham-court Road. The steps answer Mr. Walsh's description. They are of the size of a large human foot, about three inches deep, and lie nearly from north-east to south-west. We counted only seventy-six; but we were not exact in counting. The place where one or both the brothers are supposed to have fallen, is still bare of grass. The labourer showed us also the bank, where (the tradition is) the wretched woman sat to see the combat.

What shall we say to these things? Why, to Atheists, or Infidels of

any kind, I would not say one word about them. For "if they hear not Moses and the Prophets," they will not regard any thing of this kind But to men of candour, who believe the Bible to be of God, I would say, Is not this an astonishing instance, held forth to all the inhabitants of London, of the justice and power of God? Does not the curse he has denounced upon this ground bear some little resemblance to that of our Lord on the barren fig tree, "Henceforth let no fruit grow upon thee for ever?" I see no reason or pretence for any rational man to doubt of the truth of the story; since it has been confirmed by these open, visible tokens for more than a hundred years successively.

A PROVIDENTIAL EVENT.

The forty king's scholars at Westminster school lodge in one room, which is called the dormitory. While my eldest brother was at school the head boy cried out vehemently one morning, "Lads, lads! you oversleep yourselves! you lie too late: it is time to be at school." They all started up, dressed as quick as they could, and ran down with him. When they came into the cloisters, one who was a little before the rest saw something white, and cried out, "What have we got here?" They went up to it, and found a man stark naked, and so benumbed that he could not speak. Just then the clock struck two. They took him up, carried him into the dormitory, and put him into a warm bed. After some rest, he recovered his senses and speech; and being asked how he came into that condition, he told them, as he was coming over Chelsea Fields, he was robbed by two footpads, who then stripped him stark naked, tied him neck and heels, and threw him into a ditch. There he must have perished, but that some young women, coming to market very early in the morning, heard him groan, and, going to the ditch, untied him, and then ran away. He made toward the town as well as he could, till, being unable to walk any farther, he crept into the cloisters upon his hands and feet, where he lay till the king's scholars came. Probably in an hour or two he would have expired. After he had slept some hours, they gave him something warm to drink; then one gave him a shirt, another a coat or waistcoat, others what they could spare, till they had clothed him from head to foot. They then collected for him among themselves about forty shillings, and wished him well home.

See the wisdom of God, making the sport of a boy the means of saving a poor man's life! John Wesley.

AN EXTRAORDINARY CURE.

Bishop Hall, speaking of the good offices which angels do to God's servants, says, "Of this kind was that marvellous cure which was wrought upon a poor cripple at St. Madern's, in Cornwall; whereof, besides the attestation of many hundreds of the neighbours, I took a strict examination in my last visitation: This man, for sixteen years

together, was obliged to walk upon his hands, by reason the sinews of his legs were so contracted. Upon an admonition in his dream, to wash in a certain well, he was suddenly so restored to his limbs, that I saw him able to walk and get his own maintenance. The name of this cripple was John Trebble."

And were "many hundreds of the neighbours," together with Bishop Hall, deceived in so notorious a matter of fact? or did they all join together to palm such a falsehood on the world? O incredulity! what ridiculous shifts art thou driven to! what absurdities wilt thou not believe, rather than own any extraordinary work of God!

MURDER PREVENTED BY A THREEFOLD DREAM.

Monday, April 2, 1781, I was informed by a person in an eminent station, of a very uncommon incident:—

He had occasion to correct, with a few stripes, a lad that lived with him at Rochester, which he resented so as to leave his place. But some time after he seemed to repent, humbled himself, and was received again. He now behaved in a most becoming manner, and was doubly diligent in his service.

But his mistress dreamed one night, that this lad was going to cut her throat: and she had a twin sister, between whom and her there is so strange a sympathy, that if either of them is ill, or particularly affected at any time, the other is so likewise. This sister wrote to her from another part of the kingdom, that she had dreamed the very same thing. She carried this letter to her father, a gentleman that lives not far off, and was surprised to hear that he likewise, on the same night, had had a dream to the same effect.

The lad had been observed to come up, about noon, into his lady's apartment, with a case knife in his hand; and being asked why he did so, he said, he was going into the adjoining room, to scrape the dirt off from his master's embroidered clothes.

His master now took the lad aside, and examined him strictly. After denying it for a considerable time, it was at length extorted from him, that he had always remembered, with indignation, his master's severity to him, and that he was fully resolved to be revenged, but in what particular manner he would not confess. On this he was totally dismissed without delay.

John Wesley.

AN ANSWER TO A REPORT.

I have lately heard, to my no small surprise, that a person professing himself a Quaker, and supposed to be a man of some character, has confidently reported, that he has been at Sunderland himself, and inquired into the case of Elizabeth Hobson; that she was a woman of a very indifferent character; that the story she told was purely her own invention; and that John Wesley himself was now fully convinced that there was no truth in it.

From what motive a man should invent and publish all over England (for I have heard this in various places) a whole train of absolute, notorious falsehoods, I cannot at all imagine. On the contrary, I declare to all the world, 1. That Elizabeth Hobson was an eminently pious woman; that she lived and died without the least blemish of any kind, without the least stain upon her character. 2. That the relation could not possibly be her own invention, as there were many witnesses to several parts of it; as Mr. Parker, the two attorneys whom she employed, Miss Hosmer, and many others. And, 3. That I myself am fully persuaded, that every circumstance of it is literally and punctually true.

I know that those who fashionably deny the existence of spirits are hugely disgusted at accounts of this kind. I know that they incessantly labour to spread this disgust among those that are of a better mind; because if one of these accounts be admitted, their whole system falls to the ground. But, whoever is pleased or displeased, I must testify what I believe to be the truth. Indeed I never myself saw the appearance of an unbodied spirit; and I never saw the commission of a murder. Yet, upon the testimony of unexceptionable witnesses, I can firmly believe both one and the other.

FROME, September 12, 1782. JOHN WESLEY

A LETTER TO A FRIEND CONCERNING TEA.

NEWINGTON, December 10, 1748.

DEAR SIR,—1. I have read your letter with attention, and much approve of the spirit with which it is wrote. You speak in love. I desire to do so too; and then no harm can be done on either side. You appear not to be wedded to your own opinion, but open to farther conviction. I would willingly be of the same temper; not obstinately attached to either side of the question. I am clearly satisfied of the necessity of this; a willingness to see what as yet I see not. For I know, an unwillingness to be convinced would utterly blind either you or me; and that if we are resolved to retain our present opinion, reason and argument signify nothing.

2. I shall not therefore think it is time or pains misemployed, to give the whole cause a second hearing; to recite the occasion of every step I have taken, and the motives inducing me so to do; and then to consider whatsoever either you or others have urged on the contrary side of the question.

3. Twenty-nine years since, when I had spent a few months at Oxford, having, as I apprehended, an exceeding good constitution, and being otherwise in health, I was a little surprised at some symptoms of a paralytic disorder. I could not imagine what should occasion the shaking of my hand; till I observed it was always worst after breakfast; and that if I intermitted drinking tea for two or three days, it did not shake at all. Upon inquiry, I found tea had the same effect upon others also of my acquaintance; and therefore saw that this was one of its natural effects, (as several physicians have often remarked,) especially when it is largely and frequently drank; and most of all on persons of weak

nerves. Upon this I lessened the quantity, drank it weaker, and added more milk and sugar. But still for above six-and-twenty years I was more or less subject to the same disorder.

4. July was two years I began to observe that abundance of the people in London, with whom I conversed, laboured under the same, and many other, paralytic disorders, and that in a much higher degree; insomuch that some of their nerves were quite unstrung; their bodily strength quite decayed, and they could not go through their daily labour. I inquired, "Are you not a hard drinker?" and was answered by one and another, and another, "No, indeed, sir, not I; I drink scarce any thing but a little tea, morning and night." I immediately remembered my own case; and, after weighing the matter throughly, easily gathered from many concurring circumstances, that it was the same case with them.

5. I considered, "What an advantage would it be to these poor enfeebled people, if they would leave off what so manifestly impairs their health, and thereby hurts their business also! Is there nothing equally cheap which they could use? Yes, surely; and cheaper too. If they used English herbs in its stead, (which would cost either nothing, or what is next to nothing,) with the same bread, butter, and milk, they would save just the price of the tea. And hereby they might not only lessen their pain, but in some degree their poverty too; for they would be able to work (as well as to save) considerably more than they can do now. And by this means, if they are in debt, they might be more just, paying away what they either earned or saved. If they are not in debt, they might be more merciful, giving it away to them that want."

6. I considered farther: "What an advantage might this be, particularly in such a body of men as those are who are united together in these societies, who are both so numerous and so poor! How much might be saved in so numerous a body, even in this single article of expense! And how greatly is all that can possibly be saved, in every article wanted daily by those who have not even food convenient for them!"

7. I soon perceived that this latter consideration was of a more general nature than the former; and that it affected many of those whom the other did not so immediately concern; seeing it was as needful for all to save needless expenses, as for some to regain the health they had impaired; especially, considered as members of a society, the wants of which they could not be unapprized of. They knew, of those to whom they were so peculiarly united, some had not food to sustain nature; some were destitute of even necessary clothing; some had not where to lay their head. They knew, or might know, that the little contributions made weekly did in nowise suffice to remove these wants, being barely sufficient to relieve the sick; and even that in so scanty a manner, that I know not if some of them have not, with their allowance, pined away, and at length died for want. If you and I have not saved all we could to relieve these, how shall we face them at the throne of God?

8. I reflected: "If one only would save all that he could in this single instance, he might surely feed or clothe one of his brethren, and perhaps save one life. What then might be done, if ten thousand, or one thousand, or only five hundred, would do it? yea, if half that number should say, 'I will compute this day what I have expended in tea.

weekly or yearly. I will immediately enter on cheaper food: and whatever is saved hereby, I will put into that poor-box weekly, to feed the hungry, and to clothe the naked.' I am mistaken, if any among us need want either food or raiment from that hour."

9. I thought farther: "It is said, nay, many tell me to my face, I can persuade this people to any thing. I will make a fair trial. If I cannot persuade them, there may be some good effect. All who do not wilfully shut their eyes will see that I have no such influence as they supposed. If I can persuade any number, many who are now weak or sick will be restored to health and strength. Many will pay those debts, which others, perhaps equally poor, can but ill afford to lose. Many will be less straitened in their own families. Many, by helping their neighbour, will lay up for themselves treasures in heaven."

10. Immediately it struck into my mind, "But example must go before precept; therefore, I must not plead an exemption for myself, from a daily practice of twenty-seven years. I must begin." I did so. I left it off myself in August, 1746. And I have now had sufficient time to try the effects, which have fully answered my expectation. My paralytic complaints are all gone; my hand is steady as it was at fifteen; although I must expect that or other weaknesses soon, as I decline into the vale of years. And so considerable a difference do I find in my expense, that I can make it appear, from the accounts now in being, in only those four families at London, Bristol, Kingswood, and Newcastle, I save upwards of fifty pounds a year.

11. The first to whom I explained these things at large, and whom I advised to set the same example to their brethren, were a few of those who rejoice to assist my brother and me, as our sons in the Gospel. A week after, I proposed it to about forty of those whom I believed to be strong in faith; and the next morning to about sixty more, entreating them all to speak their minds freely. They did so; and, in the end, saw the good which might ensue; yielded to the force of Scripture and reason; and resolved all, (but two or three,) by the grace of God, to make the trial without delay.

12. In a short time, I proposed it, but with all the tenderness I could, first, to the body of those who are supposed to have living faith, and, after staying a few days, (that I might judge the better how to speak,) to the whole society. It soon appeared (as I doubted not but it would) how far these were from calling me Rabbi, from implicitly submitting to my judgment, or implicitly following my example. Objections rose in abundance from all sides. These I now proceed to consider; whether they are advanced by you, or by others; and whether pointed at the premises, or directly at the conclusion.

13. I. Some objected: "Tea is not unwholesome at all; not in any kind prejudicial to health."

To these I reply, First, You should not be so sure of this. Even that casual circumstance, related in Dr. Short's history of it, might incline you to doubt; namely, that "while the Chinese dry the leaves, and turn it with their hands upon the tin plates, the moisture of them is so extremely corrosive, that it eats into the flesh, if not wiped off immediately." It is not probable, then, that what remains in the leaves is quite friendly to the human body.

Secondly. Many eminent physicians have declared their judgment, that it is prejudicial in several respects; that it gives rise to numberless disorders, particularly those of the nervous kind; and that, if frequently used by those of weak nerves, it is no other than a slow poison.

Thirdly. If all physicians were silent in the case, yet plain fact is against you. And this speaks loud enough. It was prejudicial to *my* health; it is so to many at this day.

14. "But it is not so to me," says the objector: "Why then should I leave it off?"

I answer, First, To give an example to those to whom it is undeniably prejudicial.

Secondly, That you may have the more wherewith to give bread to the hungry, and raiment to the naked.

15. "But I cannot leave it off; for it helps my health. Nothing else will agree with me."

I answer, First, Will nothing else agree with you? I know not how to believe that. I suppose your body is much of the same kind with that of your great grandmother. And do you think nothing else agreed with her, or with any of her progenitors? What poor, puling, sickly things must all the English then have been, till within these hundred years! But you know they were not so. Other things agreed with them; and why not with you?

Secondly. If, in fact, nothing else will, if tea has already weakened your stomach, and impaired your digestion to such a degree, it has hurt you more than you are aware. It has prejudiced your health extremely. You have need to abhor it as deadly poison, and to renounce it from this very hour.

So says a drinker of drams: "Nothing else will agree with me. Nothing else will raise my spirits. I can digest nothing without them." Indeed! Is it so? Then touch no more, if you love your life.

Thirdly. Suppose nothing else agrees with you at first; yet in a while many things will. When I first left off tea, I was half asleep all day long; my head ached from morning to night. I could not remember a question asked, even till I could return an answer; but in a week's time all these inconveniences were gone, and have never returned since.

Fourthly. I have not found one single exception yet; not one person in all England, with whom, after sufficient trial made, nothing else would agree.

It is therefore well worth while for you to try again, if you have any true regard for your own health, or any compassion for those who are perishing all around you for want of the common necessaries of life.

16. If you are sincere in this plea, if you do not talk of your health, while the real objection is your inclination, make a fair trial thus: (1.) Take half a pint of milk every morning, with a little bread, not boiled, but warmed only: a man in tolerable health might double the quantity. (2.) If this is too heavy, add as much water, and boil it together, with a spoonful of oat meal. (3.) If this agrees not, try half a pint, or a little more, of water gruel, neither thick nor thin; not sweetened, for that may be apt to make him sick, but with a very little butter, salt, and bread. (4.) If this disagrees, try sage, green balm, mint, or penny-

royal tea, infusing only so much of the herb as just to change the colour of the water. (5.) Try two or three of these mixed, in various proportions. (6.) Try ten or twelve other English herbs. (7.) Try foltron, a mixture of herbs to be had at many grocers', far healthier, as well as cheaper, than tea. (8.) Try cocoa. If, after having tried each of these for a week or ten days, you find none of them will agree with your constitution, then use (weak green) tea again; but at the same time know, that your having used it so long has brought you near the chambers of death.

17. II. "I do not know," say another, "but teas may hurt me; but there is nothing saved by leaving it off; for I am sure other things cost full as much." I pray, what other things? Sack and sugar cost more; and so do ragouts, or pheasants, or ortolans. But what is this to the point? We do not say, All things are cheaper: but any of the things above mentioned are; at least, if prudently managed. Therefore, if you really desire to save what you can, you will drink tea no more.

18. "Well, I do not design to buy any more myself; but where others drink it, there is nothing saved by my abstaining." I answer, First, Yes, something is saved, though but little; especially if you tell them before, "I shall not drink tea." And many a little, you know, put together, will make a great sum.

Secondly. If the whole saved were ever so little, if it were but two mites, when you save this for God, and your brethren's sake, it is much.

Thirdly. Your example in saving a little now, may occasion the saving of more by and by.

Fourthly. It is not a little advantage which you may reap, even now, to your own soul; by habituating yourself not to be ashamed of being singular in a good thing; by taking up your cross, and denying yourself even in so small an instance, and by accustoming yourself to act on rational grounds, whether in a little matter or a great.

19. "But what is saved will be no better employed." Do you say this with regard to yourself, or others? If with regard to yourself, it will be your fault if you do not employ it better. I do not say you will, but I am sure you may; and if you do not, it is your own sin, and your own shame.

If with regard to others, how do you know that it will not be employed better? I trust it will. It cannot be denied that it often has, and that it always may be. And it is highly probable all who save any thing from the best motive, will lay it out to the best purpose.

20. "As to example," you say, "I have lately been without hopes of doing any good by it." I suppose you mean, because so exceeding few will follow either your example or mine. I am sorry for it. This only gives me a fresh objection to this unwholesome, expensive food, viz. that it has too much hold on the hearts of them that use it; that, to use a Scriptural phrase, they are "under the power of" this trifle. If it be so, were there no other reason than this, they ought to throw it away at once; else they no more regard St. Paul than they do you or me; for his rule is home to the point: "All things are lawful for me; but I will not be brought under the power of any." Away with it then, however lawful, (that is, though it were wholesome as well as cheap,) if you are already brought "under the power of" it.

And the fewer they are who follow this rule, the greater reason there is that you should add one example more to those few. Though, blessed be God, they are not so few as you suppose. I have met with very many in London who use less of it than they had done for many years; and above a hundred who have plucked out the right eye, and cast it from them, who wholly abstain from it.

21. You add, "But I am equally, yea, abundantly more, concerned to set an example in all Christian behaviour." I grant it: this, therefore, "ought you to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

22. But "one day," you add, "I saw your brother drink tea, which he said was for fear of giving offence."

I answer, First, Learn from hence to follow neither his nor my practice implicitly; but weigh the reason of each, and then follow reason, wheresoever it stands. But,

Secondly, Examine your heart, and beware inclination does not put on the shape of reason.

Thirdly. You see with your own eyes, I do not drink it at all, and yet I seldom give offence thereby. It is not then the bare abstaining, but the manner of doing it, which usually gives the offence.

Fourthly. There is therefore a manner wherein you may do it too, and yet give no more offence than I. For instance: If any ask you, simply reply, "I do not drink tea; I never use it." If they say, "Why, you did drink it;" answer, "I did so; but I have left it off a considerable time." Those who have either good nature or good manners will say no more. But if any should impertinently add, "O, but why did you leave it off?" answer, mildly, "Because I thought water gruel (suppose) was wholesomer, as well as cheaper." If they, with still greater ill manners and impertinence, go on, "What, you do it because Mr. Wesley bids you;" reply, calmly, "True; I do it because Mr. Wesley, on good reasons, advises me so to do." If they add the trite cant phrase, "What, you follow man!" reply, without any emotion, "Yes, I follow any man, you or him, or any other, who gives me good reason for so doing." If they persist in cavilling, close the whole matter with, "I neither drink it, nor dispute about it."

23. If you proceed in this manner, with mildness and love, exceeding few will be offended. "But you ought," say some, "to give up an indifferent thing, rather than give an offence to any. So St. Paul: 'I will eat no flesh whilst the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.'" I reply, This is not an indifferent thing, if it affects the health either of myself or my brethren. Therefore that rule relating wholly to things indifferent is not applicable to this case. Would St. Paul have said, "I will drink drams while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend?" "But tea is not so hurtful as drams." I do not believe it is. But it is hurtful; and that is enough. The question does not turn on the degree of hurtfulness. "However, it is but a small thing." Nay, nothing is small if it touches conscience: much less is it a small thing to preserve my own or my brother's health, or to be a faithful steward even of the mammon of unrighteousness. O think it not a small thing, whether only one for whom Christ died be fed or hungry, clothed or naked!

To conclude the head of offence: You must at least allow that all this is no plea at all for your drinking tea at home. "Yes, it is; for my husband or parents are offended if I do not drink it." I answer, First, Perhaps this, in some rare cases, may be a sufficient reason why a wife or a child should use this food, that is, with them; but no where else. But, Secondly, try, and not once or twice only, if you cannot overcome that offence by reason, softness, love, patience, long-suffering, joined with constant and fervent prayer.

24. Your next objection is, "I cannot bear to give trouble; therefore I drink whatever others drink where I come, else there is so much hurry about insignificant me." I answer,

First, This is no plea at all for your drinking tea at home. Therefore, touch it not there, whatever you do abroad.

Secondly. Where is the trouble given, even when you are abroad, if they drink tea, and you fill your cup with milk and water?

Thirdly. Whatever trouble is taken, is not for "insignificant me," but for that poor man who is half starved with cold and hunger; for that miserable woman, who, while she is poisoning herself, wipes her mouth, and says she does no evil; who will not believe the poison will hurt her, because it does not (sensibly at least) hurt you. O throw it away! let her have one plea less for destroying her body, if not her soul, before the time!

25. You object, farther, "It is my desire to be unknown for any particularity, unless a peculiar love to the souls of those who are present." And I hope, to the souls of the absent too; yea, and to their bodies also, in a due proportion, that they may be healthy, and fed, and clothed, and warm, and may praise God for the consolation.

26. You subjoin: "When I had left it off for some months, I was continually puzzled with, Why, What, &c; and I have seen no good effects, but impertinent questions and answers, and unedifying conversation about eating and drinking."

I answer, First, Those who were so uneasy about it, plainly showed that you touched the apple of their eye. Consequently, these of all others, ought to leave it off; for they are evidently "brought under the power of it."

Secondly. Those impertinent questions might have been cut short, by a very little steadiness and common sense. You need only have taken the method mentioned above, and they would have dropped in the midst.

Thirdly. It is not strange you saw no good effects of leaving it off, where it was not left off at all. But you saw very bad effects of not leaving it off, viz. the adding sin to sin; the joining much unedifying conversation to wasteful, unhealthy self-indulgence.

Fourthly. You need not go far to see many good effects of leaving it off: you may see them in me. I have recovered thereby that healthy state of the whole nervous system, which I had in a great degree, and I almost thought irrecoverably, lost for considerably more than twenty years. I have been enabled hereby to assist, in one year, above fifty poor with food or raiment, whom I must otherwise have left (for I had before begged for them all I could) as hungry and naked as I found them. You may see the good effects in above thirty poor people just

now before you, who have been restored to health, through the medicines bought by that money which a single person has saved in this article. And a thousand more good effects you will not fail to see, when her example is more generally followed.

27. Neither is there any need that conversation should be unedifying, even when it turns upon eating and drinking. Nay, from such a conversation, if duly improved, numberless good effects may flow. For how few understand, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God!" And how glad ought you to be of a fair occasion to observe, that though the kingdom of God does not consist in "meats and drinks," yet, without exact temperance in these, we cannot have either "righteousness, or peace, or joy in the Holy Ghost!"

It may therefore have a very happy effect, if, whenever people introduce the subject, you directly close in, and push it home, that they may understand a little more of this important truth.

28. But "I find at present very little desire to change either my thoughts or practice." Shall I speak plain? I fear, by not standing your ground, by easiness, cowardice, and false shame, you have grieved the Spirit of God, and thereby lost your conviction and desire at once.

Yet you add: "I advise every one to leave off tea, if it hurts their health, or is inconsistent with frugality; as I advise every one to avoid dainties in meat, and vanity in dress, from the same principle." Enough, enough! Let this only be well pursued, and it will secure all that I contend for. I advise no persons living to leave it off, if it does not hurt the health either of them or their brethren; and if it is not inconsistent with the Christian frugality of cutting off every needless expense.

29. But "to be subject to the consequences of leaving it off again! this I cannot bear."

I answer, First, It may be so. You cannot easily bear it. For, by your giving up the point once, you have made it much harder to stand your ground now than it was at first. Yet still it is worth all your courage and labour; since the reasons for it are as strong as at the beginning.

Secondly. As to the consequences you fear, they are shadowy all; they are a mere lion in the streets. "Much trouble to others." Absolutely none at all, if you take the tea kettle, and fill your cup with water. "Much foolish discourse." Take the preceding advice, and it will be just the reverse. "Nothing helpful toward the renewal of my soul in the image of Jesus Christ." What a deep mistake is this! Is it not helpful to speak closely of the nature of his inward kingdom? to encourage one another in casting off every weight, in removing every hinderance of it? to inure ourselves to the bearing his cross? to bring Christianity into common life, and accustom ourselves to conduct even our minutest actions by the great rules of reason and religion?

30. Is it "not of any importance" to do this? I think it is of vast importance. However, "it is a very small circumstance in self-denial." It is well if you find it so. I am sure I did not. And I believe the case is the same with many others at this day. But you say, "I have so many other assaults of self-indulgence, that this is nothing." "It is nothing," said one to a young woman, "to fast once or twice a week; to deny yourself a little food. Why do not you deny yourself as to anger

and fretfulness, as to peevishness and discontent?" She replied, "That I want; so I deny myself in little things first, till I am able to do it in greater." Neither you nor I can mend her reply. Go thou and do likewise.

31. I have done what I proposed; and indeed in many more words than I at first intended. I have told you the occasions of every step I have taken, and the motives inducing me thereto; and have considered what either you or others have urged on the contrary side of the question

And now, the advice I would give upon the whole is this: First, Pray earnestly to God for clear light; for a full, piercing, and steady conviction, that this is the more excellent way. Pray for a spirit of universal self-denial, of cheerful temperance, of wise frugality; for bowels of mercies; for a kind, compassionate spirit, tenderly sensible of the various wants of your brethren; and for firmness of mind; for a mild, even courage, without fear, anger, or shame. Then you will once more, with all readiness of heart, make this little (or great) sacrifice to God; and withal present your soul and body a living sacrifice, acceptable unto God through Jesus Christ.

THOUGHTS ON NERVOUS DISORDERS;

PARTICULARLY THAT WHICH IS USUALLY TERMED LOWNESS OF SPIRITS.

1. When physicians meet with disorders which they do not understand, they commonly term them *nervous;* a word that conveys to us no determinate idea, but it is a good cover for learned ignorance. But these are often no natural disorder of the body, but the hand of God upon the soul, being a dull consciousness of the want of God, and the unsatisfactoriness of every thing here below. At other times it is conviction of sin, either in a higher or a lower degree. It is no wonder that those who are strangers to religion should not know what to make of this; and that, consequently, all their prescriptions should be useless, seeing they quite mistake the case.

2. But undoubtedly there are nervous disorders which are purely natural. Many of these are connected with other diseases, whether acute or chronical. Many are the forerunners of various distempers, and many the consequences of them. But there are those which are not connected with others, being themselves a distinct, original distemper. And this frequently arises to such a height that it seems to be one species of madness. So, one man imagines himself to be made of glass; another thinks he is too tall to go in at the door. This is often termed the *spleen*, or *vapours;* often, *lowness of spirits;* a phrase that, having scarce any meaning, is so much the fitter to be given to this unintelligible disorder. It seems to have taken its rise from hence: we sometimes say, "A man is in high spirits;" and the proper opposite to this is, "He is low spirited." Does not this imply, that a kind of faintness, weariness, and listlessness affects the whole body, so that he is disinclined to any motion, and hardly cares to move hand or foot? But the mind seems chiefly to be affected, having lost its relish of every

thing, and being no longer capable of enjoying the things it once delighted in most. Nay, every thing round about is not only flat and insipid, but dreary and uncomfortable. It is not strange if, to one in this state, life itself is become a burden; yea, so insupportable a burden, that many who have all this world can give, desperately rush into an unknown world, rather than bear it any longer.

3. But what are the causes of this strange disorder? One cause is, the use of spirituous liquors. This is one of the horrid effects which naturally follow the swallowing that fashionable poison. That liquid fire lays the foundation of numberless diseases, and of this in particular. It is amazing that the preparing or selling this poison should be permitted (I will not say in any Christian country, but) in any civilized state. "O, it brings in a considerable sum of money to government." True; but is it wise to barter men's lives for money? Surely, that gold is bought too dear, if it is the price of blood. Does not the strength of every country consist in the number of its inhabitants? If so, the lessening their number is a loss which no money can compensate. So that it is inexcusable ill husbandry, to give the lives of useful men for any sum of money whatever.

4. But a more extensive cause of this disorder than the use of drams, I apprehend, is the use of tea; particularly where it is taken either in large quantities, or strong, or without cream and sugar. "Nay, weak tea is far more hurtful." This is a senseless, shameless falsehood. I long drank hot sugar and water instead of tea; and it did me no hurt at all. But three cups of strong tea will now make my hand shake, so that I can hardly write. And let any try the experiment: if any tea make his hand shake, it will not be weak tea, but strong. This has exceedingly increased the number of nervous complaints throughout the three kingdoms. And this furnishes us with a satisfactory answer to the common question, "Why are these complaints so general now, which were scarce heard of two or three centuries ago?" For this plain reason: two or three centuries ago, no tea was drank in either Britain or Ireland.

5. But allowing both tea and spirituous liquors to have contributed largely to the increase of nervous disorders, yet it may be doubted, whether one or both of them are the principal causes of them. The principal causes of them (particularly among those who do not work for their living) are, as Dr. Cadogan justly observes, indolence, intemperance, and irregular passions.

First. Indolence, the not using such a degree of exercise as the constitution requires. To illustrate this: Our body is composed of earth, water, air, and fire; and the two latter are as necessary as the two former. To supply these, that curious engine, the lungs, continually takes in the air; to every particle of which a particle of fire is attached, which, being detached from it, is mingled with the blood. Now, exercise quickens the motion of the lungs, and enables them to collect from the air a due quantity of fire. The nerves are the conductors of this etherial fire, vulgarly called the animal spirits. If this is duly diffused through the whole body, we are lively and vigorous; if it is not, (which without exercise it cannot be,) we soon grow faint and languid. And if other disorders do not ensue, those termed nervous surely will, with

that whole train of symptoms which are usually comprised in what is termed *lowness of spirits.*

6. Intemperance is another principal cause of this ;—if not intemperance in drink, which is not quite so common, yet intemperance in meat; the taking more of it than nature requires. Dr. Cheyne well observes, it is not generally the quality, but the quantity, of what we eat which hurts us. What hurts the nerves in particular, is the eating too much animal food, especially at night; much more the eating at one meal foods of several different kinds. If we consider how few observe this, we shall not wonder that so many have nervous disorders; especially among those that have an opportunity of indulging themselves daily in variety, and who are hereby continually tempted to eat more than nature requires.

7. But there is another sort of intemperance, of which I think Dr. Cadogan does not take the least notice. And yet it is the source of more nervous disorders than even intemperance in food; I mean intemperance in sleep; the sleeping longer than nature requires. This alone will account for the weak nerves of most of our nobility and gentry. Not that I would insist upon the old rule,—

Sex horas quivis poscit, septemque scholaris;
Octo viator habet; nebulo quisque novem.

[Every person requires six hours, a student seven; the traveller is allowed eight, and every lazy knave nine.]

I would allow between six and seven hours, at an average, to a healthy man; or an hour more, between seven and eight hours, to an unhealthy man. And I do not remember, that in threescore years I have known either man or woman who laid longer in bed than this, (whether they slept or no,) but in some years they complained of lowness of spirits.

The plain reason of which seems to be, while we sleep all the springs of nature are unbent. And if we sleep longer than is sufficient, they are relaxed more than is sufficient, and of course grow weaker and weaker. And if we lie longer in bed, though without sleep, the very posture relaxes the whole body; much more when we are covered up with clothes, which throw back on the body whatever perspires from it. By this means it is stewed in the moist vapour: it sucks in again what nature had cast out, and the flesh is, as it were, parboiled therein, and becomes more and more soft and flabby; and the nerves suffer at least as much hereby as any other part of the habit. I cannot therefore but account this, the lying too long in bed, the grand cause of our nervous disorders.

8. And this alone sufficiently answers this question, "Why are we more nervous than our forefathers?" Because we lie longer in bed: they, rich and poor, slept about eight, when they heard the curfew bell,*

[* "*Curfew.*—The ringing of a bell or bells at night as a signal to the inhabitants to rake up their fires and retire to rest. This practice originated in England from an order of William the Conqueror, who directed that at the ringing of the bell, at eight o'clock, every one should put out his light and go to bed. This word is not used in America; although the practice of ringing a bell, at nine o'clock, continues in many places, and is considered in New England as a signal for people to retire from company to their own abodes; and in general, the signal is obeyed."—*Webster's American Dictionary.*

Query: Would not some such "signal for people to retire from company to their own abodes" by nine o'clock at night, at latest, be a happy contrivance every where? And whether with or without a "signal," ought not all visiters to have the consideration to practise on this rule, as well for their own convenience and health and comfort, as for those of the families in which they visit?]

and rose at four; the bell ringing at that hour (as well as at eight) in every parish in England. We rise (if not obliged to work for our living) at ten, eleven, or twelve. Is it any wonder then, were there no other cause, that we complain of lowness of spirits?

9. Yet something may be allowed to irregular passions. For as long as the soul and body are united, these undoubtedly affect the body; the nerves in particular. Even violent joy, though it raises the spirits for a time, does afterward sink them greatly. And every one knows what an influence fear has upon our whole frame. Nay, even "hope deferred maketh the heart sick;" puts the mind all out of tune. The same effect have all foolish and hurtful desires. They "pierce us through with many sorrows;" they occasion a deep depression of the spirits: so, above all, does inordinate affection; whereby so many, refusing to be comforted, sorrow even unto death.

10. But is there no cure for this sore evil? Is there no remedy for lowness of spirits? Undoubtedly there is; a most certain cure, if you are willing to pay the price of it. But this price is not silver or gold, nor any thing purchasable thereby. If you would give all the substance of your house for it, it would be utterly despised; and all the medicines under the sun avail nothing in this distemper. The whole *materia medica* [entire class of medical substances] put together, will do you no lasting service; they do not strike at the root of the disease: but you must remove the cause, if you wish to remove the effect.

But this cannot be done by your own strength; it can only be done by the mighty power of God. If you are convinced of this, set about it, trusting in him, and you will surely conquer.

First. Sacredly abstain from all spirituous liquors. Touch them not, on any pretence whatever. To others they may sometimes be of use; but to nervous persons they are deadly poison.

Secondly. If you drink any, drink but little tea, and none at all without eating, or without sugar and cream. "But you like it without." No matter; prefer health before taste.

Thirdly. Every day of your life take at least an hour's exercise, between breakfast and dinner. If you will, take another hour before supper, or before you sleep. If you can, take it in the open air; otherwise, in the house. If you cannot ride or walk abroad, use, within, a dumb-bell, or a wooden horse. If you have not strength to do this for an hour at a time, do it at twice or thrice. Let nothing hinder you. Your life is at stake. Make every thing yield to this.

Fourthly. Take no more food than nature requires. Dine upon one thing,—except pudding or pie. Eat no flesh at supper; but something light and easy of digestion.

Fifthly. Sleep early and rise early; unless you are ill, never lie in bed much above seven hours. Then you will never lie awake. Your flesh will be firm, and your spirits lively.

Sixthly. Above all,—

> Give not your passions way;
> God gave them to thee under lock and key.

Beware of anger; beware of worldly sorrow; beware of the fear that hath torment; beware of foolish and hurtful desires; beware of inordinate affection; remember the kind command, "My son, give me thy

heart!" Then shall there be no more complaining of lowness of spirits! But "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding," shall keep thy heart and mind in Christ Jesus!

MELVILL HOUSE, May 20, 1784.

A SCHEME OF SELF-EXAMINATION.

USED BY THE FIRST METHODISTS IN OXFORD

Sunday.—Love of God and Simplicity: Means of which are, Prayer and Meditation.

1. HAVE I been simple and recollected in every thing I said or did? Have I (1.) been simple in every thing, that is, looked upon God, my good, my pattern, my one desire, my disposer, parent of good; acted wholly for him; bounded my views with the present action or hour? (2.) Recollected? that is, has this simple view been distinct and uninterrupted? Have I, in order to keep it so, used the signs agreed upon with my friends, wherever I was? Have I done any thing without a previous perception of its being the will of God? or without a perception of its being an exercise or a means of the virtue of the day? Have I said any thing without it?

2. Have I prayed with fervour? at going in and out of church? in the church? morning and evening in private? Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, with my friends, at rising? before lying down? on Saturday noon? all the time I am engaged in exterior work in private? before I go into the place of public or private prayer, for help therein? Have I, wherever I was, gone to church morning and evening, unless for necessary mercy? and spent from one hour to three in private? Have I, in private prayer, frequently stopped short and observed what fervour? Have I repeated it over and over, till I adverted to every word? Have I at the beginning of every prayer or paragraph owned I cannot pray? Have I paused before I concluded in his name, and adverted to my Saviour now interceding for me at the right hand of God, and offering up these prayers?

3. Have I duly used ejaculations? that is, have I every hour prayed for humility, faith, hope, love, and the particular virtue of the day? considered with whom I was the last hour, what I did, and how? with regard to recollection, love of man, humility, self-denial, resignation, and thankfulness? considered the next hour in the same respects, offered up all I do to my Redeemer, begged his assistance in every particular, and commended my soul to his keeping? Have I done this deliberately, not in haste, seriously, not doing any thing else the while, and fervently as I could?

4. Have I duly prayed for the virtue of the day? that is, have I prayed for it at going out and coming in? deliberately, seriously, fervently?

5. Have I used a Collect at nine, twelve, and three? and grace before and after eating? aloud at my own room? deliberately, seriously, fervently?

6. Have I duly meditated? every day, unless for necessary mercy, (1.) From six, &c. to prayers? (2.) From four to five? What was particular in the providence of this day? How ought the virtue of the day to have been exerted upon it? How did it fall short? (Here faults.) (3.) On Sunday, from six to seven, with Kempis? from three to four on redemption, or God's attributes? Wednesday and Friday, from twelve to one, on the Passion? after ending a book, on what I had marked in it?

Monday.—Love of Man.

1. Have I been zealous to do, and active in doing, good? that is, (1.) Have I embraced every probable opportunity of doing good, and preventing, removing, or lessening evil? (2.) Have I pursued it with my might? (3.) Have I thought any thing too dear to part with, to serve my neighbour? (4.) Have I spent an hour at least every day in speaking to some one or other? (5.) Have I given any one up till he expressly renounced me? (6.) Have I, before I spoke to any, learned, as far as I could, his temper, way of thinking, past life, and peculiar hinderances, internal and external? fixed the point to be aimed at? then the means to it? (7.) Have I in speaking proposed the motives, then the difficulties, then balanced them, then exhorted him to consider both calmly and deeply, and to pray earnestly for help? (8.) Have I in speaking to a stranger, explained what religion is not? (not negative, not external;) and what it is? (a recovery of the image of God;) searched at what step in it he stops, and what makes him stop there? exhorted and directed him? (9.) Have I persuaded all I could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments, and in general to obey the laws of the Church Catholic, the Church of England, the state, the university, and their respective colleges? (10.) Have I, when taxed with any act of obedience, avowed it, and turned the attack with sweetness and firmness? (11.) Have I disputed upon any practical point, unless it was to be practised just then? (12.) Have I in disputing, (i.) Desired him to define the terms of the question; to limit it; what he grants, what denies? (ii.) Delayed speaking my opinion? let him explain and prove his? then insinuated and pressed objections? (13.) Have I after every visit asked him who went with me, "Did I say any thing wrong?" (14.) Have I when any one asked advice, directed and exhorted him with all my power?

2. Have I rejoiced with and for my neighbour in virtue or pleasure? grieved with him in pain, for him in sin?

3. Have I received his infirmities with pity, not anger?

4. Have I thought or spoke unkindly of or to him? Have I revealed any evil of any one, unless it was necessary to some particular good I had in view? Have I then done it with all the tenderness of phrase and manner consistent with that end? Have I any way appeared to approve them that did otherwise?

5. Has good will been, and appeared to be, the spring of all my actions toward others?

6. Have I duly used intercession? (1.) Before, (2.) After, speaking to any? (3.) For my friends on Sunday? (4.) For my pupils on Monday? (5.) For those who have particularly desired it, on Wednesday and Friday? (6.) For the family in which I am, every day?

THOUGHTS UPON DISSIPATION.

1. Perhaps nothing can be more seasonable at the present time than to bestow a few thoughts on this. It is a fashionable subject, very frequently spoken of, especially in good company. An ingenious writer has lately given us an essay upon the subject. When it fell into my hands a few days since, I was filled with a pleasing expectation of seeing it thoroughly explained. But my expectation was not answered; for although many just and lively things are said there, yet in above twenty pages I could find no definition of dissipation, either bad or good.

2. But "the love of dissipation," says the author, "is the reigning evil of the present day." Allowing it is; I ask, What do you mean by dissipation? Sometimes you use the word *pleasure* as an equivalent term. But what pleasure do you mean; the pleasures of sense, or of the imagination in general; or any particular pleasure of one or the other? At other times you seem to make dissipation the same with luxury; at least with a high degree of it. Sometimes, again, you use *the love of amusement* as the same with *the love of dissipation.* But the question recurs, What amusement do you mean? for there are number less sorts. So that still, after talking about them so long, we have only a vague, indeterminate notion of a dissipated age, a dissipated nation, or a dissipated man; without having any clear or distinct idea what the word *dissipation* means.

3. Those who are content with slight and superficial views of things, may rest in the general account, that a dissipated age is one wherein the bulk of mankind, especially those of any rank or fashion, spend the main of their time in eating and drinking, and diversions, and the other pleasures of sense and imagination. And that we live in a dissipated age, in this meaning of the word, is as plain as that the sun shines at noon-day. Most of those that are commonly termed *innocent amusements* fall under this head,—the pleasures of imagination. Whenever, therefore, a general fondness of these prevails, that is a dissipated age. A dissipated nation is one where the people in general are vehemently attached to the pleasures of sense and imagination. The smaller vulgar in England are at present passionately fond of the lowest pleasures both of sense and fancy; while the great vulgar are equally engrossed by those they account a higher kind. Meantime they are all equally dissipated, although in different ways; and so indeed is every man and woman that is passionately attached to external pleasure.

4. But without dwelling any longer on the surface of things let us search the matter to the bottom, and inquire, wherein lies the original ground of human dissipation. Let this be once pointed out, and it will place the whole question in the clearest light.

5. Man is an immortal spirit, created in the image and for the enjoyment of God. This is the one, the only end of his being; he exists for no other purpose. God is the centre of all spirits; and while they cleave to him, they are wise, holy, and happy; but in the same proportion as they are separated from him, they are foolish, unholy, and unhappy. This disunion from God is the very essence of human dissipation; which is no other than the scattering the thoughts and affections

of the creature from the Creator. Wherefore fondness for sensual enjoyments of any kind; love of silly, irrational pleasures; love of trifling amusements; luxury, vanity, and a thousand foolish desires and tempers, are not so properly dissipation itself, as they are the fruits of it, the natural effects of being unhinged from the Creator, the Father, the centre of all intelligent spirits.

6. It is this against which the Apostle guards in his advice to the Christians at Corinth: "This I speak, that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction." It might as well be rendered, *without dissipation*, without having your thoughts any way scattered from God. The having our thoughts and affections centered in God, this is Christian simplicity; the having them in any degree uncentered from God, this is dissipation. And it little differs in the real nature of things and in the eye of God, the Judge of all, whether a man be kept in a state of dissipation from God, by crowns and empires, and thousands of gold and silver, or by cards, and dancing, and drinking, and dressing, and mistressing, and masquerades, and picking straws.

7. Dissipation is then, in the very root of it, separation from God; in other words, Atheism, or the being without God in the world. It is the negative branch of ungodliness. And, in this true sense of the word, certainly, England is the most dissipated nation that is to be found under heaven. And whether our thoughts and affections are dissipated, scattered from God, by women, or food, or dress, or one or ten thousand pretty trifles, that dissipation (innocent as it may seem) is equally subversive of all real virtue and all real happiness. It carries its own punishment: though we are loaded with blessings, it often makes our very existence a burden; and, by an unaccountable anxiety, gives a foretaste of what it is to be "punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord!" JOHN WESLEY.

HILTON PARK, March 26, 1783.

A QUESTION
CONCERNING DEW ON COACH GLASSES.

WHEN two or three persons are in a coach, and draw up the glasses, it is observed they become so covered with dew, that we can scarce see through them; but when that is once wiped off, there is no more dew gathered upon the glass, but it continues transparent. You will oblige your readers with the reason of this phenomenon.

THE ANSWER.

THE reason is, that in comparison of the moist vapours that come from the persons in the coach, the glass is cold, and condenses them, remaining cold longer than any other part of the coach; as we find in damp weather, that marble will become wet by condensing the moisture of the air. Then by degrees, the glass, partaking of the warmth of the persons in the coach, is no longer able to condense the floating vapours into water. The proof of this is plain by letting down the glass into its place, because there it cools, and then being brought up it again condenses the vapour and gathers a dew; without which it would not condense the vapour, though in many hours' travelling.

SOME ACCOUNT OF AN EMINENT MAN

Philip Verheyen, doctor of physic, in the university of Louvain, and royal professor of anatomy and surgery, was, toward the end of the last, and in the beginning of the present, century, one of the most eminent physicians in Europe. He died at Louvain on the 28th of February, 1710, aged sixty-two. He was a man of eminent piety, wholly detached both from the goods and glory of this world. He gave orders not to bury him in the church, but in the church yard; all the will which he left being in the following words:—

Philippus Verheyen, medicinæ doctor et professor, partem sui materialem hoc in cœmeterio condi voluit; ne templum dehonestaret, aut nocivis halitibus inficeret. Requiescat in pace.

That is,—"Philip Verheyen, doctor and professor of physic, ordered his body to be buried in this church yard, that he might not lessen the honour of the church, or infect it with unwholesome vapours." [May he rest in peace.]

What pity it is, that so few persons, even of sense and piety, feel the force of these considerations! I am so sensible of their weight, that I have likewise left orders to bury my remains, not in the new chapel, but in the burying ground adjoining to it.

John Wesley.

LETTERS

FROM

THE REVEREND JOHN WESLEY,

TO VARIOUS PERSONS.

I.—*To his Father.*

LINCOLN COLLEGE, December 19, 1729.

DEAR SIR,—As I was looking over, the other day, Mr. Ditton's Discourse on the Resurrection of Christ, I found, toward the end of it, a sort of essay on the Origin of Evil. I fancied the shortness of it, if nothing else, would make you willing to read it; though very probably you will not find much in it which has not occurred to your thoughts before.

"Since the supreme Being must needs be infinitely and essentially good, as well as wise and powerful, it has been esteemed no little difficulty to show how evil came into the world. *Unde malum,* [whence came evil,] has been a mighty question." (p. 424.)

There were some, who, in order to solve this, supposed two supreme, governing principles; the one a good, the other an evil, one: which latter was independent on, and of equal power with, the former, and the author of all that was irregular or bad in the universe. This monstrous scheme the Manichees fell into and much improved; but were sufficiently confuted by St. Austin, who had reason to be particularly acquainted with their tenets.

But the plain truth is, the hypothesis requires no more to the confutation of it, than the bare proposing it. Two supreme, independent principles, is next door to a contradiction in terms. It is the very same thing, in result and consequence, as saying two absolute infinites; and he that says two, had as good say ten or fifty, or any other number whatever. Nay, if there can be two essentially, distinct, absolute infinites, there may be an infinity of such absolute infinites; that is as much as to say, none of them all would be an absolute infinite, or, that none of them all would be properly and really infinite. "For real infinity is strict and absolute infinity, and only that."

"From the nature of liberty and free will, we may deduce a very possible and satisfactory (perhaps the only possible just) account of the origin of evil.

"There are, and necessarily must be, some original, intrinsic agreements and disagreements, fitnesses and unfitnesses, of certain things and circumstances, to and with each other; which are antecedent to all positive institutions, founded on the very nature of those things and circumstances, considered in themselves, and in their relation to each other.

"As these all fall within the comprehension of an infinite, discerning mind, who is likewise infinite, essential rectitude and reason; so those on the one side must necessarily (to speak after the manner of men) be chosen or approved of by him, as the other disliked and disapproved; and this on the score of the eternal, intrinsic agreeableness and disagreeableness of them.

"Farther: It no way derogated from any one perfection of an infinite Being, to endow other beings which he made with such a power as we call liberty; that is, to furnish them with such capacities, dispositions, and principles of action, that it should be possible for them either to observe or to deviate from those eternal rules and measures of fitness and agreeableness, with respect to certain things and circumstances, which were so conformable to the infinite rectitude of his own will, and which infinite reason must necessarily discover. Now, evil is a deviation from those measures of eternal, unerring order and reason; not to choose what is worthy to be chosen, and is accordingly chose by such a will as the divine. And to bring this about, no more is necessary, than the exerting certain acts of that power we call free will. By which power we are enabled to choose or refuse, and to determine ourselves to action accordingly. Therefore, without having recourse to any ill principle, we may fairly account for the origin of evil, from the possibility of a various use of our liberty; even as that capacity or possibility itself is ultimately founded on the defectibility and finiteness of a created nature." I am, dear sir,

Your dutiful and affectionate son

II. —*To the Same.*

JANUARY, 1731.

DEAR SIR,—Though some of the postulata upon which Archbishop King builds his hypothesis of the Origin of Evil be such as very few will admit of, yet, since the superstructure is regular and well contrived, I thought you would not be unwilling to see the scheme of that celebrated work. He divides it into five chapters.

The sum of the first chapter is this:—The first notions we have of outward things are our conceptions of motion, matter, and space. Concerning each of these, we soon observe that it does not exist of itself; and, consequently, that there must be some first cause, to which all of them owe their existence. Although we have no faculty for the direct perception of this First Cause, and so can know very little more of him than a blind man of light, yet thus much we know of him, by the faculties we have, that he is one, infinite in nature and power, free, intelligent, and omniscient; that, consequently, he proposes to himself an end in every one of his actions; and that the end of his creating the world was, the exercise of his power, and wisdom, and goodness; which he therefore made as perfect as it could be made by infinite goodness, and power, and wisdom.

Chapter II. But, if so, how came evil into the world? If the world was made by such an agent, with such an intention, how is it that either imperfection or natural or moral evils have a place in it? Is not this difficulty best solved by the Manichæan supposition, that there is an evil as well as a good principle? By no means; for it is just as repugnant to infinite goodness to create what it foresaw would be spoiled by another, as to create what would be spoiled by the constitution of its own nature: their supposition therefore leaves the difficulty as it found it. But if it could be proved, that to permit evils in the world is consistent with, nay, necessarily results from, infinite goodness, then the difficulty would vanish; and to prove this, is the design of the following treatise.

Chapter III. All created beings, as such, are necessarily imperfect; nay, infinitely distant from supreme perfection. Nor can they all be equally perfect; since some must be only parts of others. As to their

properties too, some must be perfecter than others; for suppose any number of the most perfect beings created, infinite goodness would prompt the Creator to add less perfect beings to those, if their existence neither lessened the number nor conveniences of the more perfect. The existence of matter, for instance, neither lessens the number nor the conveniences of pure spirits. Therefore, the addition of material beings to spiritual, was not contrary to, but resulted from, infinite goodness.

Chapter IV. As the evils of imperfection necessarily spring from this, that the imperfect things were made out of nothing, so natural evils necessarily spring from their being made out of matter. For matter is totally useless without motion, or even without such a motion as will divide it into parts; but this cannot be done without a contrariety of motions; and from this necessarily flows generation and corruption.

The material part of us being thus liable to corruption, pain is necessary to make us watchful against it, and to warn us of what tends toward it; as is the fear of death likewise, which is of use in many cases that pain does not reach. From these all the passions necessarily spring; nor can these be extinguished while those remain. But if pain and the fear of death were extinguished, no animal could long subsist. Since, therefore, these evils are necessarily joined with more than equivalent goods, the permitting these is not repugnant to, but flows from, infinite goodness. The same observation holds as to hunger, thirst, childhood, age, diseases, wild beasts, and poisons. They are all, therefore, permitted, because each of them is necessarily connected with such a good as outweighs the evil.

Chapter V. Touching moral evils, (by which I mean "inconveniences arising from the choice of the sufferer,") I propose to show, 1. What is the nature of choice or election. 2. That our happiness consists in the elections or choices we make. 3. What elections are improper to be made. 4. How we come to make such elections. And, 5. How our making them is consistent with the divine power and goodness.

1. By liberty, I mean, an active, self-determining power, which does not choose things because they are pleasing, but is pleased with them because it chooses them.

That God is endued with such a power, I conclude, (1.) Because nothing is good or evil, pleasing or displeasing, to him, before he chooses it. (2.) Because his will or choice is the cause of goodness in all created things. (3.) Because if God had not been endued with such a principle, he would never have created any thing.

But it is to be observed, farther, that God sees and chooses whatever is connected with what he chooses in the same instant; and that he likewise chooses whatever is convenient for his creatures, in the same moment wherein he chooses to create them.

That man partakes of this principle I conclude, (1.) Because experience shows it. (2.) Because we observe in ourselves the signs and properties of such a power. We observe we can counteract our appetites, senses, and even our reason, if we so choose; which we can no otherwise account for, than by admitting such a power in ourselves.

2. The more of this power any being possesses, the less subject he is to the impulses of external agents; and the more commodious is his condition. Happiness rises from a due use of our faculties: if, there-

fore, this be the noblest of all our faculties, then our chief happiness lies in the due use of this; that is, in our elections. And, farther, election is the cause why things please us: he therefore who has an uncontrolled power of electing, may please himself always; and if things fall out contrary to what he chooses, he may change his choice and suit it to them, and so still be happy. Indeed in this life his natural appetites will sometimes disturb his elections, and so prevent his perfect happiness; yet is it a fair step toward it, that he has a power that can at all times find pleasure in itself, however outward things vary.

3. True it is, that this power sometimes gives pain; namely, when it falls short of what it chooses; which may come to pass, if we choose either things impossible to be had, or inconsistent with each other, or such as are out of our power; (perhaps because others chose them before us;) or, lastly, such as necessarily leads us into natural evils.

4. And into these foolish choices we may be betrayed either by ignorance, negligence, by indulging the exercise of liberty too far, by obstinacy or habit; or, lastly, by the importunity of our natural appetites. Hence it appears how cautious we ought to be in choosing; for though we may alter our choice, yet to make that alteration is painful; the more painful, the longer we have persisted in it.

5. There are three ways by which God might have hindered his creatures from thus abusing their liberty. First, by not creating any being free; but had this method been taken, then, (1.) The whole universe would have been a mere machine. (2.) That would have been wanting which is most pleasing to God of any thing in the universe, namely, the free service of his reasonable creatures. (3.) His reasonable creatures would have been in a worse state than they are now: for only free agents can be perfectly happy; as, without a possibility of choosing wrong, there can be no freedom.

The second way by which God might prevent the abuse of liberty, is, by overruling this power, and constraining us to choose right. But this would be to do and undo, to contradict himself, to take away what he had given.

The third way by which God might have hindered his creatures from making an ill use of liberty, is, by placing them where they should have no temptation to abuse it. But this too would have been the same, in effect, as to have given them no liberty at all. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate and dutiful son.

III.—*To the Same.*

June 11, 1731.

Our walk was not so pleasant to Oxford as from it, though in one respect it was more useful; for it let us see that four or five-and-twenty miles is an easy and safe day's journey in hot weather as well as cold. We have made another discovery too, which may be of some service; that it is easy to read as we walk ten or twelve miles; and that it neither makes us faint, nor gives us any other symptom of weariness, more than the mere walking without reading at all.

Since our return, our little company that used to meet us on a Sunday evening is shrunk into almost none at all. Mr. Morgan is sick at Holt; Mr. Boyce is at his father's house at Barton Mr. Kirkham

must very shortly leave Oxford, to be his uncle's curate; and a young gentleman of Christ Church, who used to make a fourth, either afraid or ashamed, or both, is returned to the ways of the world, and studiously shuns our company. However, the poor at the castle have still the Gospel preached to them, and some of their temporal wants supplied, our little fund rather increasing than diminishing. Nor have we yet been forced to discharge any of the children which Mr. Morgan left to our care: though I wish they too do not find the want of him; I am sure some of their parents will.

Some, however, give us a better prospect; John Whitelamb in particular. [He afterward married one of Mr. Wesley's sisters.] I believe with this you will receive some account from himself how his time is employed. He reads one English, one Latin, and one Greek book alternately; and never meddles with a new one in any of the languages till he has ended the old one. If he goes on as he has begun, I dare take upon me to say, that, by the time he has been here four or five years, there will not be such a one, of his standing, in Lincoln college, perhaps not in the university of Oxford.

IV.—*To the Same.*

June 13, 1733.

The effects of my last journey, I believe, will make me more cautious of staying any time from Oxford for the future; at least till I have no pupils to take care of, which probably will be within a year or two. One of my young gentlemen told me at my return, that he was more and more afraid of singularity; another, that he had read an excellent piece of Mr. Locke's, which had convinced him of the mischief of regarding authority. Both of them agreed, that the observing of Wednesday as a fast was an unnecessary singularity; the Catholic Church (that is, the majority of it) having long since repealed, by contrary custom, the injunction she formerly gave concerning it. A third, who could not yield to this argument, has been convinced by a fever, and Dr. Frewin. Our seven-and-twenty communicants at St. Mary's were on Monday shrunk to five; and the day before, the last of Mr. Clayton's pupils, who continued with us, informed me, that he did not design to meet us any more.

My ill success, as they call it, seems to be what has frightened every one away from a falling house. On Sunday I was considering the matter, a little more nearly; and imagined that all the ill consequences of my singularity were reducible to three,—diminution of fortune, loss of friends and of reputation. As to my *fortune*, I well know, though perhaps others do not, that I could not have borne a larger than I have; and as for that most plausible excuse for desiring it, "While I have so little, I cannot do the good I would;" I ask, Can you do the good God would have you do? It is enough! Look no farther. For *friends*, they were either trifling or serious: if trifiers, fare them well; a noble escape: if serious, those who are more serious are left, whom the others would rather have opposed than forwarded in the service they have done, and still do, us. If it be said, "But these may leave you too; for they are no firmer than the others were:" First, I doubt that fact; but next, suppose they should, we hope then they would only teach us a nobler and harder lesson than they have done hitherto: "It is better to trust in the

Lord, than to put any confidence in man." And as for *reputation*, though it be a glorious instrument of advancing our Master's service, yet there is a better than that,—a clean heart, a single eye, a soul full of God! A fair exchange, if by the loss of reputation we can purchase the lowest degree of purity of heart! We beg my mother and you would not cease to work together with us, that, whatever we lose, we may gain this; and that, having tasted of this good gift, we may count all things else but dung and dross in comparison of it.

V.—*To his Mother.*

JUNE 18, 1725.

YOU have so well satisfied me as to the tenets of Thomas à Kempis, that I have ventured to trouble you once more on a more dubious subject. I have heard one I take to be a person of good judgment say, that she would advise no one very young to read Dr. Taylor on Holy Living and Dying. She added, that he almost put her out of her senses when she was fifteen or sixteen years old; because he seemed to exclude all from being in a way of salvation who did not come up to his rules, some of which are altogether impracticable. A fear of being tedious will make me confine myself to one or two instances, in which I am doubtful; though several others might be produced of almost equal consequence. In reference to humility, the bishop says, "We must be sure, in some sense or other, to think ourselves the worst in every company where we come." And in treating of repentance he says, "Whether God has forgiven us or no, we know not; therefore be sorrowful for ever having sinned." I take the more notice of this last sentence, because it seems to contradict his own words in the next section, where he says, that by the Lord's Supper all the members are united to one another, and to Christ the Head. The Holy Ghost confers on us the graces necessary for, and our souls receive the seeds of, an immortal nature. Now surely these graces are not of so little force as that we cannot perceive whether we have them or not; if we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, which he will not do unless we are regenerate, certainly we must be sensible of it. If we can never have any certainty of our being in a state of salvation, good reason it is, that every moment should be spent, not in joy, but in fear and trembling; and then undoubtedly, in this life, we are of all men most miserable. God deliver us from such a fearful expectation as this! Humility is undoubtedly necessary to salvation; and if all these things are essential to humility, who can be humble, who can be saved?

VI.—*To the Same.*

JANUARY, 1727.

I AM shortly to take my master's degree. As I shall from that time be less interrupted by business not of my own choosing, I have drawn up for myself a scheme of studies, from which I do not intend, for some years at least, to vary. I am perfectly come over to your opinion, that there are many truths it is not worth while to know. Curiosity, indeed, might be a sufficient plea, for our laying out some time upon them, if we had half a dozen centuries of life to come; but methinks it

is great ill husbandry to spend a considerable part of the small pittance now allowed us, in what makes us neither a quick nor a sure return.

Two days ago I was reading a dispute between those celebrated masters of controversy, Bishop Atterbury and Bishop Hoadly; but must own, I was so injudicious as to break off in the middle. I could not conceive that the dignity of the end was at all proportioned to the difficulty of attaining it. And I thought the labour of twenty or thirty hours, if I was sure of succeeding, which I was not, would be but ill rewarded by that important piece of knowledge, whether Bishop Hoadly had misunderstood Bishop Atterbury or no.

About a year and a half ago I stole out of company at eight in the evening with a young gentleman with whom I was intimate. As we took a turn in an aisle of St. Mary's church, in expectation of a young lady's funeral, with whom we were both acquainted, I asked him if he really thought himself my friend; and if he did, why he would not do me all the good he could. He began to protest; in which I cut him short, by desiring him to oblige me in an instance, which he could not deny to be in his own power; to let me have the pleasure of making him a whole Christian, to which I knew he was at least half persuaded already; that he could not do me a greater kindness, as both of us would be fully convinced when we came to follow that young woman.

He turned exceedingly serious, and kept something of that disposition ever since. Yesterday was a fortnight, he died of a consumption. I saw him three days before he died; and, on the Sunday following, did him the last good office I could here, by preaching his funeral sermon; which was his desire when living.

VII.—*To the Same.*

March 19, 1727.

One advantage, at least, my degree has given me: I am now at liberty, and shall be in a great measure for some time, to choose my own employment. And as I believe I know my own deficiencies best, and which of them are most necessary to be supplied, I hope my time will turn to somewhat better account than when it was not so much in my own disposal.

The conversation of one or two persons, whom you may have heard me speak of, (I hope never without gratitude,) first took off my relish for most other pleasures; so far that I despised them in comparison of that. I have since proceeded a step farther; to slight them absolutely. And I am so little at present in love with even company,—the most elegant entertainment next to books,—that unless the persons have a religious turn of thought, I am much better pleased without them. I think it is the settled temper of my soul, that I should prefer, at least for some time, such a retirement as would seclude me from all the world, to the station I am now in. Not that this is by any means unpleasant to me; but I imagine it would be more improving to be in a place where I might confirm or implant in my mind what habits I would, without interruption, before the flexibility of youth be over.

A school in Yorkshire was proposed to me lately, on which I shall think more when it appears whether I may have it or not. A good salary is annexed to it. But what has made me wish for it most, is the

frightful description, as they call it, which some gentlemen who know the place gave me of it yesterday. "It lies in a little vale, so pent up between two hills, that it is scarcely accessible on any side; so that you can expect little company from without, and within there is none at all." I should therefore be entirely at liberty to converse with company of my own choosing, whom for that reason I would bring with me; and company equally agreeable, wherever I fixed, could not put me to less expense.

The sun that walks his airy way
To cheer the world and bring the day;
The moon that shines with borrow'd light;
The stars that gild the gloomy night;
All of these, and all I see,
Should be sung, and sung by me:
These praise their Maker as they can,
But want and ask the tongue of man.

I am full of business; but have found a way to write, without taking any time from that. It is but rising an hour sooner in the morning, and going into company an hour later in the evening; both which may be done without any inconvenience.

VIII.—*To the Same.*

JUNE 11, 1731.

THE motion and sun together, in our last hundred-and-fifty miles' walk, so thoroughly carried off all our superfluous humours, that we continue perfectly in health, though it is here a very sickly season. And Mr. Kirkham assures us, on the word of a priest and a physician, that if we will but take the same medicine once or twice a year, we shall never need any other to keep us from the gout. When we were with him, we touched two or three times upon a nice subject, but did not come to any full conclusion. The point debated was, What is the meaning of being *righteous over much*, or by the more common phrase of being *too strict in religion?* and what danger there was of any of us falling into that extreme?

All the ways of being too righteous or too strict which we could think of, were these: Either the carrying some one particular virtue to so great a height, as to make it clash with some others; or, the laying too much stress on the instituted means of grace, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law; or, the multiplying prudential means upon ourselves so far, and binding ourselves to the observance of them so strictly, as to obstruct the end we aimed at by them, either by hindering our advance in heavenly affections in general, or by retarding our progress in some particular virtue. Our opponents seemed to think my brother and I [were] in some danger of being too strict in this last sense; of laying burdens on ourselves too heavy to be borne, and, consequently, too heavy to be of any use to us.

It is easy to observe, that almost every one thinks that rule totally needless which he does not need himself; and as to the Christian spirit itself, almost every one calls that degree of it which he does not himself aim at, enthusiasm. If therefore we plead for either, (not as if we thought the former absolutely needful, neither as if we had attained the latter,) it is no great wonder that they who are not for us in practice

should be against us. If you, who are a less prejudiced judge, have perceived us faulty in this matter, too superstitious or enthusiastic, or whatever it is to be called; we earnestly desire to be speedily informed of our error, that we may no longer spend our strength on that which profiteth not. Or whatever there may be on the other hand, in which you have observed us to be too remiss, that likewise we desire to know as soon as possible. This is a subject which we would understand with as much accuracy as possible; it being hard to say which is of the worse consequence,—the being too strict, the really carrying things too far, the wearying ourselves and spending our strength in burdens that are unnecessary,—or the being frightened by those terrible words, from what, if not directly necessary, would at least be useful.

IX.—*To the Same*

February 28, 1732.

One consideration is enough to make me assent to his and your judgment concerning the holy sacrament; which is, that we cannot allow Christ's human nature to be present in it, without allowing either con or trans-substantiation. But that his divinity is so united to us then, as he never is but to worthy receivers, I firmly believe, though the manner of that union is utterly a mystery to me.

That none but worthy receivers should find this effect, is not strange to me, when I observe how small effect many means of improvement have upon an unprepared mind. Mr. Morgan and my brother were affected, as they ought, by the observations you made on that glorious subject; but though my understanding approved what was excellent, yet my heart did not feel it. Why was this, but because it was pre-engaged by those affections with which wisdom will not dwell? because the animal mind cannot relish those truths which are spiritually discerned? Yet I have those writings which the Good Spirit gave to that end! I have many of those which he hath since assisted his servants to give us; I have retirement to apply these to my own soul daily; I have means both of public and private prayer; and, above all, of partaking in that sacrament once a week. What shall I do, to make all these blessings effectual, to gain from them that mind which was also in Christ Jesus?

To all who give signs of their not being strangers to it, I propose this question,—and why not to you rather than any? Shall I quite break off my pursuit of all learning, but what immediately tends to practice? I once desired to make a fair show in languages and philosophy: but it is past; there is a more excellent way, and if I cannot attain to any progress in the one, without throwing up all thoughts of the other, why, fare it well! Yet a little while and we shall all be equal in knowledge if we are in virtue.

You say you "have renounced the world." And what have I been doing all this time? What have I done ever since I was born? Why, I have been plunging myself into it more and more. It is enough: "Awake, thou that sleepest." Is there not "one Lord, one Spirit, one hope of our calling?" one way of attaining that hope? Then I am to renounce the world, as well as you. That is the very thing I want to do; to draw off my affections from this world, and fix them on a better. But how? What is the surest and the shortest way? Is it not to be humble

Surely this is a large step in the way. But the question recurs, How am I to do this? To own the necessity of it is not to be humble. In many things you have interceded for me and prevailed. Who knows but in this too you may be successful? If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening, which you formerly bestowed upon me in another manner, I doubt not but it would be as useful now for correcting my heart, as it was then for forming my judgment.

When I observe how fast life flies away, and how slow improvement comes, I think one can never be too much afraid of dying before one has learned to live; I mean, even in the course of nature. For were I sure that "the silver cord" should not be violently "loosed;" that "the wheel" should not "be broken at the cistern," till it was quite worn away by its own motion; yet what a time would this give for such a work? A moment to transact the business of eternity! What are forty years in comparison of this? So that were I sure of what never man yet was sure of, how little would it alter the case! How justly still might I cry out,—

"Downward I hasten to my destined place;
There none obtain thy aid, none sing thy praise!
Soon shall I lie in death's deep ocean drown'd;
Is mercy there, is sweet forgiveness found?
O save me yet, while on the brink I stand;
Rebuke these storms, and set me safe on land!
O make my longings and thy mercy sure!
Thou art the God of power."

X.—*To the Same.*

August 17, 1733.

The thing that gives offence here, is, the being singular with regard to time, expense, and company. This is evident beyond exception. from the case of Mr. Smith, one of our fellows, who no sooner began to husband his time, to retrench unnecessary expenses, and to avoid his irreligious acquaintance. but he was set upon, by not only all those acquaintance, but many others too, as if he had entered into a conspiracy to cut all their throats; though to this day he has not advised any single person, unless in a word or two and by accident, to act as he did in any of those instances.

It is true, indeed, that "the devil hates offensive war most;" and that whoever tries to rescue more than his own soul from his hands, will have more enemies, and meet with greater opposition, than if he was content with "having his own life for a prey." That I try to do this, is likewise certain; but I cannot say whether I "rigorously impose any observances on others," till I know what that phrase means. What I do, is this: when I am intrusted with a person who is first to understand and practise, and then to teach, the law of Christ, I endeavour, by an intermixture of reading and conversation, to show him what that law is; that is, to renounce all insubordinate love of the world, and to love and obey God with all his strength. When he appears seriously sensible of this, I propose to him the means God hath commanded him to use, in order to that end; and, a week, or a month, or a year after, as the state of his soul seems to require it, the several prudential means recommended by wise and good men. As to the times, order, measure, and manner, wherein these are to be proposed, I depend upon the Holy

Spirit to direct me, in and by my own experience and reflection, joined to the advices of my religious friends here and elsewhere. Only two rules it is my principle to observe in all cases: First, to begin, continue, and end all my advices in the spirit of meekness; as knowing that "the wrath" or severity "of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" and, Secondly, to add to meekness, long-suffering; in pursuance of a rule which I fixed long since,—never to give up any one till I have tried him, at least, ten years:—How long hath God had pity on thee?

If the wise and good will believe those falsehoods which the bad invent, because I endeavour to save myself and my friends from them, then I shall lose my reputation, even among them, for (though not perhaps good, yet) the best actions I ever did in my life. This is the very case. I try to act as my Lord commands; ill men say all manner of evil of me, and good men believe them. There is a way, and there is but one, of making my peace; God forbid I should ever take it! I have as many pupils as I need, and as many friends; when more are better for me, I shall have more. If I have no more pupils after these are gone from me, I shall then be glad of a curacy near you: if I have, I shall take it as a signal that I am to remain here. Whether here or there, my desire is, to know and feel that I am nothing, that I have nothing, and that I can do nothing. For whenever I am empty of myself, then know I of a surety, that neither friends nor foes, nor any creature, can hinder me from being "filled with all the fulness of God." Let not my father's or your prayers be ever slack in behalf of your affectionate son.

XI.—*To the Same.*

March 18, 1736.

I doubt not but you are already informed of the many blessings which God gave us in our passage; as my brother Wesley must, before now, have received a particular account of the circumstances of our voyage; which he would not fail to transmit to you by the first opportunity.

We are likely to stay here some months. The place is pleasant beyond imagination; and, by all I can learn, exceeding healthful,—even in summer, for those who are not intemperate. It has pleased God that I have not had a moment's illness of any kind since I set my foot upon the continent; nor do I know any more than one, of my seven hundred parishioners, who is sick at this time. Many of them, indeed, are, I believe, very angry already: for a gentleman, no longer ago than last night, made a ball; but the public prayers happening to begin about the same time, the church was full, and the ball room so empty, that the entertainment could not go forward.

I should be heartily glad, if any poor and religious men or women of Epworth, or Wroote, would come over to me. And so would Mr Oglethorpe too: he would give them land enough, and provisions gratis till they could live on the produce of it. I was fully determined to have wrote to my dear Emmy [his sister Emelia] to-day; but time will not permit. O hope ye still in God; for ye shall yet give him thanks, who is the help of your countenance, and your God! Renounce the world; deny yourselves; bear your cross with Christ, and reign with him! My

brother Hooper, too, has a constant place in our prayers. May the good God give him the same zeal for holiness which he has given to a young gentleman at Rotterdam, who was with me last night. Pray for us, and especially for, dear mother,

Your dutiful and affectionate son.

XII.—*To his brother Samuel.*

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXON, April 4, 1726.

DEAR BROTHER,—I should have written long before now, had not a gentleman of Exeter made me put it off from day to day, in hopes of getting some little poems of his, which he promised to write out for me. Yesterday I saw them, though not much to my satisfaction, as being all on very wrong subjects, and run chiefly on the romantic notions of love and gallantry. I have transcribed one which is much shorter than any of the rest, and am promised by to-morrow night, if that will do me any service, another of a more serious nature.

I believe, I have given Mr. Leybourn, at different times, five or six short copies of verses: the latest were a translation of part of the Second Georgic, and an imitation of the sixty-fifth Psalm. If he has lost them, as it is likely he has, in so long a time, I can write them over in less than an hour, and send them by the post.

My father, very unexpectedly, a week ago, sent me, in a letter, a bill on Dr. Morley, for twelve pounds, which he had paid to the rector's use, at Gainsborough; so that, now several of my debts are paid, and the expenses of my treat defrayed, I have above ten pounds remaining; and if I could have leave to stay in the country till my college allowance commences, this money would abundantly suffice me till then.

As far as I have ever observed, I never knew a college besides ours, whereof the members were so perfectly satisfied with one another, and so inoffensive to the other part of the university. All I have yet seen of the fellows are both well-natured and well-bred; men admirably disposed as well to preserve peace and good neighbourhood among them selves, as to promote it wherever else they have any acquaintance.

THE SEVEN FORMER VERSES OF THE FORTY-SIXTH PSALM.*

ON God supreme our hope depends,
  Whose omnipresent sight
Even to the pathless realms extends
  Of uncreated night.

Plunged in the' abyss of deep distress,
  To Him we raise our cry;
His mercy bids our sorrows cease,
  And fills our tongue with joy.

Though earth her ancient seat forsake,
  By pangs convulsive torn;
Though her self-balanced fabric shake,
  And ruin'd nature mourn;

Though hills be in the ocean lost,
  With all their shaggy load;
No fear shall e'er molest the just,
  Or shake his trust in God.

* The other verses mentioned at the beginning of this letter are omitted, for the reason assigned by Mr. Wesley: they are on a "wrong subject."—EDIT.

What though the' ungovern'd, wild abyss
His fires tumultuous pours;
What though the watery legions rise,
And lash the' affrighted shores;

What though the trembling mountains nod,
Nor stand the rolling war;
Sion, secure, enjoys the flood,
Loud echoing from afar.

The God most high on Sion's hill
Has fix'd his sure abode;
Nor dare the' impetuous waves assail
The city of our God.

Nations remote, and realms unknown,
In vain reject his sway;
For, lo! Jehovah's voice is shown,
And earth shall melt away.

Let war's devouring surges rise,
And rage on every side;
The Lord of Hosts our refuge is,
And Jacob's God our guide.

Mr. Le Hunte and Mr. Sherman send their service. I am

Your loving brother.

I believe I could put off two or three more receipts if I had them. Pray, my love to my brother and sister.

On Friday, St. Peter's church in the Baily was beaten down, by the fall of the steeple. Saturday morning, a chandler here murdered two men and wounded a third; in the evening, a fire broke out at the Mitre, but was stopped in a few hours.

XIII.—*To the Same.*

[Without date.]

Dear Brother,—I return you thanks for your favourable judgment on my sermon, and for the alterations you direct me to make in it; yet, in order to be still better informed, I take the liberty to make some objections to some of them, in one or two of which I believe you misunderstood me.

I. The reasons why I conceive the Samaritans to have been idolaters, are, First, because our Saviour says of them, "Ye worship ye know not what;" which seems to refer plainly to the object of their worship: And, Secondly, because the old inhabitants of Samaria, who succeeded the Israelites, were undoubtedly so; and I never heard that they were much amended in after times: "These nations feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children and their children's children," 2 Kings xvii, 41.

II. Were the Jews obliged to love wicked men? And is not our commandment extended to some cases to which theirs did not reach? to the excluding some instances of revenge, which were indulged to them?

We are doubtless to love good men more than others; but to have inserted it, where I was only to prove that we were to love them, and not how much, would not, I think, have been to my purpose. Where our Saviour exerts his authority against his opposers, I cannot think it safe for me to follow him. I would much sooner, in those cases, act by his precepts than example; the one was certainly designed for me, the other possibly was not. The author had power to dispense with his own laws, and wisdom to know when it was necessary; I have neither.

No one would blame a man for using such sharpness of speech as St. Stephen does; especially in a prayer made in the article of death, with the same intention as his.

III. What you understand as spoken of rulers, I expressly say of private men: "As well every ruler as every private man must act in a legal way; and the latter might, with equal reason, apply the civil sword himself, as use violent means," (by which I here mean reviling, studiously and unnecessarily defaming, or handing about ill stories of wicked men) "to preserve the Church."

I believe it to be more especially the duty of governors, to try to amend scandalous offenders. 2. That flagrant immorality is a sufficient reason to shun any one. 3. That to the weak and private Christian, it is an unanswerable reason for so doing. 4. That in many cases a private Christian, in some, a clergyman, is not obliged to admonish more than once. But this being allowed, still the main argument stands that the Scripture no where authorizes a private person to do more than to shun a heretic; or (which I expressly mention) an obstinate offender. I had not the least thought of any retrospect in them, neither when I wrote or spoke those words: "If providence has pointed you out," &c.

My mother's reason for my cutting off my hair, is, because she fancies it prejudices my health. As to my looks, it would doubtless mend my complexion to have it off, by letting me get a little more colour, and perhaps it might contribute to my making a more genteel appearance. But these, till ill health is added to them, I cannot persuade myself to be sufficient grounds for losing two or three pounds a year: I am ill enough able to spare them.

Mr. Sherman says, there are garrets some where in Peckwater to be let for fifty shillings a year; that there are, too, some honest fellows in college, who would be willing to chum in one of them; and that, could my brother but find one of these garrets, and get acquainted with one of these honest fellows, he might very possibly prevail upon him to join in taking it; and then, if he could but prevail upon some one else to give him seven pounds a year for his own room, he would gain almost six pounds a year clear, if his rent were well paid. He appealed to me, whether the proposal was not exceeding reasonable; but as I could not give him such an answer as he desired, I did not choose to give him any at all.

Leisure and I have taken leave of one another; I propose to be busy as long as I live, if my health is so long indulged to me. In health and sickness I hope I shall ever continue, with the same sincerity,

Your loving brother.

My love and service to my sister.

XIV.—*To the Same.*

LINCOLN COLLEGE, November 17, 1731.

DEAR BROTHER,—Considering the other changes that I remember in myself, I shall not at all wonder if the time comes when we differ as little in our conclusions as we do now in our premises. In most we seem to agree already; especially as to rising, not keeping much company, and sitting by a fire, which I always do, if any one in the room does, whether at home or abroad. But these are the very things about which others will never agree with me. Had I given up these, or but

one of them,—rising early, which implies going to bed early, (though I never am sleepy now,) and keeping so little company, not one man in ten of those that are offended at me, as it is, would ever open their mouth against any of the other particulars. For the sake of these, those are mentioned; the root of the matter lies here. Would I but employ a third of my money, and about half my time, as other folks do, smaller matters would be easily overlooked. But I think *nil tanti est.* [Nothing is worth this cost.] As to my hair, I am much more sure that what this enables me to do is according to the Scripture, than I am that the length of it is contrary to it.

I have often thought of a saying of Dr. Hayward's when he examined me for priest's orders: "Do you know what you are about? You are bidding defiance to all mankind. He that would live a Christian priest ought to know that, whether his hand be against every man or no, he must expect every man's hand should be against him." It is not strange that every man's hand who is not a Christian should be against him that endeavours to be so. But is it not hard, that even those that are with us should be against us? that a man's enemies (in some degree) should be those of the same household of faith? Yet so it is. From the time that a man sets himself to his business, very many, even of those who travel the same road, many of those who are before, as well as behind, him, will lay stumbling blocks in his way. One blames him for not going fast enough; another, for having made no greater progress; another, for going too far, which, perhaps, strange as it is, is the more common charge of the two: for this comes from people of all sorts; not only Infidels, not only half Christians, but some of the best of men are very apt to make this reflection: "He lays unnecessary burdens upon himself; he is too precise; he does what God has no where required to be done." True, he has not required it of those that are perfect; and even as to those who are not, all men are not required to use all means; but every man is required to use those which he finds most useful to himself. And who can tell better than himself, whether he finds them so or no? "Who knoweth the things of a man better than the spirit of a man that is in him?"

This being a point of no common concern, I desire to explain myself upon it once for all, and to tell you, freely and clearly, those general positions on which I ground (I think) all those practices, for which (as you would have seen, had you read that paper through) I am generally accused of singularity. First. As to the end of my being, I lay it down for a rule, that I cannot be too happy, or, therefore, too holy; and thence infer, that the more steadily I keep my eye upon the prize of our high calling, the better, and the more of my thoughts, and words, and actions are directly pointed at the attainment of it. Secondly. As to the instituted means of attaining it, I likewise lay it down for a rule, that I am to use them every time I may. Thirdly. As to prudential means, I believe this rule holds of things indifferent in themselves: whatever I know to do me hurt, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be abstained from; whatever I know to do me good, that to me is not indifferent, but resolutely to be embraced.

But it will be said, I am whimsical. True; and what then? If by whimsical be meant simply *singular*, I own it; if *singular without any*

reason, I deny it with both my hands, and am ready to give a reason to any that asks me, of every custom wherein I wilfully differ from the world. I grant, in many single actions, I differ unreasonably from others; but not wilfully; no, I shall extremely thank any one who will teach me to help it. But can I totally help it, till I have more breeding, or more prudence? to neither of which I am much disposed naturally; and I greatly fear my acquired stock of either will give me small assistance.

I have but one thing to add, and that is, as to my being formal. If by that be meant, that I am not easy and unaffected enough in my carriage, it is very true; but how shall I help it? I cannot be genteelly behaved by instinct; and if I am to try after it by experience and observation of others, that is not the work of a month, but of years. If by formal be meant, that I am serious, this, too, is very true; but why should I help it? Mirth, I grant, is fit for you; but does it follow that it is fit for me? Are the same tempers, any more than the same words or actions, fit for all circumstances? If you are to "rejoice evermore," because you have put your enemies to flight, am I to do the same while they continually assault me? You are glad, because you are "passed from death to life:" well, but let him be afraid, who knows not whether he is to live or die. Whether this be my condition or no, who can tell better than myself? Him who can, whoever he be, I allow to be a proper judge, whether I do well to be generally as serious as I can.

John Whitelamb wants a gown much, and I am not rich enough to buy him one at present. If you are willing my twenty shillings (that were) should go toward that, I will add ten to them, and let it lie till I have tried my interest with my friends to make up the price of a new one. I am, dear brother,

Yours, and my sister's, affectionate brother.

The rector is much at your service. I fancy I shall, some time or other, have much to say to you about him. All are pretty well at Epworth, my sister Molly says.

XV.—*To the Same.*

Oxon, January 15, 1734–5.

Dear Brother,—Had not my brother Charles desired it might be otherwise, I should have sent you only an extract of the following letter. [Written to his father.] But if you will be at the pains, you will soon reduce the argument of it to two or three points, which, if to be answered at all, will be easily answered. By it you may observe my present purpose is founded on my present weakness. But it is not indeed probable that my father should live till that weakness is removed.

Your second argument I had no occasion to mention before. To it I answer, that I do not, nor ever did, resolve against undertaking a cure of souls. There are four cures belonging to our college, and consistent with a fellowship: I do not know but I may take one of them at Michaelmas. Not that I am clearly assured that I should be false to my engagement, were I only to instruct and exhort the pupils committed to my charge. But of that I should think more.

I desire your full thoughts upon the whole, as well as your prayers, for, dear brother,

Your obliged and affectionate brother

XVI.—*To the Same.*

February 13, 1734.

Dear Brother,—Neither you nor I have any time to spare; so I must be as short as I can.

There are two questions between us; one relating to being good, the other to doing good. With regard to the former,

1. You allow I enjoy more of friends, retirement, freedom from care, and divine ordinances, than I could do elsewhere; and I add, (1.) I feel all this to be but just enough: (2.) I have always found less than this to be too little for me; and therefore, (3.) Whatever others do, I could not throw up any part of it, without manifest hazard to my salvation. As to the latter,

2. I am not careful to answer, what good I have done at Oxford; because I cannot think of it without the utmost danger. I am careful about what good I may do at Epworth, (1.) Because I can think of it without any danger at all. (2.) Because I cannot, as matters now stand, avoid thinking of it without sin.

3. Another can supply my place at Epworth better than at Oxford; and the good done here is of a far more diffusive nature. It is a more extensive benefit to sweeten the fountain, than to do the same to particular streams.

4. To the objection, "You are despised at Oxford; therefore, you can do no good there:" I answer, (1.) A Christian will be despised any where. (2.) No one is a Christian till he is despised. (3.) His being dispised will not hinder his doing good, but much farther it, by making him a better Christian. Without contradicting any of these propositions, I allow that every one to whom you do good directly must esteem you, first or last. N. B. A man may despise you for one thing, hate you for a second, and envy you for a third.

5. God may suffer Epworth to be worse than before; but I may not attempt to prevent it, with so great hazard to my own soul.

Your last argument is either *ignoratio elenchi*, [a mistake of the question,] or implies these two propositions: (1.) "You resolve against any parochial cure of souls." (2.) "The priest who does not undertake the first parochial cure that offers is perjured." Let us add a third: "The tutor who, being in orders, never accepts of a parish is perjured;" and then I deny all three. I am, dear brother,

Your obliged and affectionate brother.

XVII.—*To the Same.*

March 4, 1735.

I had rather dispute with you, if I must dispute, than with any man living; because it may be done with so little expense of time and words. The question is now brought to one point, and the whole argument will lie in one single syllogism: "Neither hope of doing greater good, nor fear of any evil, ought to deter you from what you have engaged yourself to do: but you have engaged yourself to undertake the cure of a parish; therefore, neither that hope nor that fear ought to deter you from it." The only doubt which remains is, whether I have so engaged myself or not. You think I did at my ordination, "before God and his high priest;" I think, I did not. However, I own I am not the proper

judge of the oath I then took; it being certain, and allowed by all, *Verbis, in quæ quis jurejurando adigitur, sensum genuinum, ut et obligationi sacramenti modum ac mensuram, præstitui a mente non præstantis sed exigentis juramentum:* "That the true sense of the words of an oath, and the mode and extent of its obligation, are not to be determined by him who takes it, but by him who requires it." Therefore, it is not I, but the high priest of God, before whom I contracted that engagement, who is to judge of the nature and extent of it.

Accordingly, the post after I received yours, I referred it entirely to him, proposing this single question to him,—Whether I had, at my ordination, engaged myself to undertake the cure of a parish or no. His answer runs in these words: "It doth not seem to me, that, at your ordination, you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve God and his church in your present or some other station." Now, that I can, as a clergyman, better serve God and his church in my present station, I have all reasonable evidence.

XVIII.—*To the Same.*

GRAVESEND, on board the Simmonds, October 15, 1735.

DEAR BROTHER,—I presented "Job"* to the Queen on Sunday, and had many good words and smiles. Out of what is due to me on that account, I beg you would first pay yourself what I owe you; and if I live till spring, I can then direct what I would have done with the remainder.

The uncertainty of my having another opportunity to tell you my thoughts in this life obliges me to tell you what I have often thought of, and that in as few and plain words as I can. Elegance of style is not to be weighed against purity of heart; purity both from the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, and the pride of life. Therefore, whatever has any tendency to impair that purity is not to be tolerated, much less recommended, for the sake of that elegance. But of this sort (I speak not from the reason of the thing only, nor from my single experience) are the most of the classics usually read in great schools; many of them tending to inflame the lusts of the flesh, (besides Ovid, Virgil's "Æneid," and Terence's "Eunuch,") and more to feed the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. I beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of God, who would have us holy, as he is holy, that you banish all such poison from your school, that you introduce in their place such Christian authors as will work together with you in building up your flock in the knowledge and love of God. For assure yourself, dear brother, you are even now called to the converting of Heathens, as well as I.

So many souls are committed to your charge by God, to be prepared for a happy eternity. You are to instruct them, not only in the beggarly elements of Greek and Latin, but much more in the Gospel. You are to labour with all your might to convince them that Christianity is not a negation, or an external thing, but a new heart, a mind conformed to that of Christ, "faith working by love."

We recommend you and yours to God. Pray for us. I am

Your affectionate brother and servant in Christ.

* A folio volume in Latin, consisting of Dissertations on the Book of Job, by his father, and dedicated to the Queen.—EDIT.

XIX.—*To the Same.*

SAVANNAH, November 23, 1736.

O PRAY write, and, if it may be, speak, that they may remember him again, who did run well, but are now hindered!

I think the rock on which I had the nearest made shipwreck of the faith, was, the writings of the Mystics; under which term I comprehend all, and only those, who slight any of the means of grace.

I have drawn up a short scheme of their doctrines, partly from conversations I have had, and letters, and partly from their most approved writers, such as Tauler, Molinos, and the author of "Theologia Germanica." I beg your thoughts upon it as soon as you can conveniently; and that you would give me them as particularly, fully, and strongly as your time will permit. They may be of consequence not only to all this province, but to nations of Christians yet unborn.

"All means are not necessary for all men; therefore each person must use such means, and such only, as he finds necessary for him. But since we can never attain our end by being wedded to the same means; therefore, we must not obstinately cleave unto any thing, lest it become a hinderance, not a help.

"Observe, farther, when the end is attained, the means cease. Now, all he other things enjoined are means to love; and love is attained by them who are in the inferior way, who are utterly divested of free will, of self-love, and self-activity, and are entered into the passive state. These deified men, in whom the superior will has extinguished the inferior, enjoy such a contemplation as is not only above faith, but above sight, such as is entirely free from images, thoughts, and discourse, and never interrupted by sins of infirmity, or voluntary distractions. They have absolutely renounced their reason and understanding; else they could not be guided by a divine light. They seek no clear or particular knowledge of any thing; but only an obscure, general knowledge, which is far better. They know it is mercenary to look for a reward from God, and inconsistent with perfect love.

"Having thus attained the end, the means must cease. Hope is swallowed up in love. Sight, or something more than sight, takes place of faith. All particular virtues they possess in the essence, being wholly given up to the Divine will, and therefore need not the distinct exercise of them. They work likewise all good works essentially, not accidentally, and use all outward means, only as they are moved thereto; and then to obey superiors, or to avoid giving offence; but not as necessary or helpful to them.

"Public prayer, or any forms, they need not; for they pray without ceasing. Sensible devotion in any prayer they despise; it being a great hinderance to perfection. The Scripture they need not read; for it is only His letter with whom they converse face to face. And if they do read it now and then, as for expounders, living or dead, reason, philosophy, (which only puffs up, and vainly tries to bind God by logical definitions and divisions,) as for knowledge of tongues, or ancient customs, they need none of them, any more than the Apostles did, for they have the same Spirit. Neither do they need the Lord's Supper; for they never cease to remember Christ in the most acceptable manner; any more than fasting, since, by constant temperance, they can keep a continual fast.

"You that are to advise them that have not yet attained perfection, press them to nothing, not to self-denial, constant private prayer, reading the Scriptures, fasting, communicating. If they love Heathen poets, let them take their full swing in them; speak but little to them, in the meantime, of eternity. If they are affected at any time with what you say, say no more; let them apply it, not you. You may advise them to some religious books

but stop there; let them use them as they please, and form their own reflections upon them without your intermeddling. If one who was religious falls off, let him alone. Either a man is converted to God, or not: if he is not, his own will must guide him, in spite of all you can do; if he is, he is so guided by the Spirit of God, as not to need your direction.

"You that are yourselves imperfect, know love is your end. All things else are but means. Choose such means as lead you most to love; those alone are necessary for you. The means that others need are nothing to you: different men are led in different ways. And be sure be not wedded to any means. When any thing helps you no longer, lay it aside; for you can never attain your end, by cleaving obstinately to the same means: you must be changing them continually. Conversation, meditation, forms of prayer, prudential rules, fixed return of public or private prayer, are helps to some; but you must judge for yourself. Perhaps fasting may help you for a time, and perhaps the holy communion. But you will be taught by the Holy Spirit, and by experience, how soon, how often, and how long it is good for you to take it. Perhaps too you may need the Holy Scripture. But if you can renounce yourself without reading, it is better than all the reading in the world. And whenever you do read it, trouble yourself about no helps: the Holy Ghost will lead you into all truth.

"As to doing good, take care of yourself first. When you are converted, then strengthen your brethren. Beware of (what is incident to all beginners) an eager desire to set others a good example. Beware of an earnestness to make others feel what you feel yourself. Let your light shine as nothing to you. Beware of a zeal to do great things for God. Be charitable first; then do works of charity; do them when you are not dissipated thereby, or in danger of losing your soul by pride and vanity. Indeed, till then, you can do no good to men's souls; and without that, all done to their bodies is nothing. The command of doing good concerns not you yet. Above all, take care never to dispute about any of these points. Disputing can do no good. Is the man wicked? Cast not pearls before swine. Is he imperfect? He that disputes any advice, is not yet ripe for it. Is he good? All good men agree in judgment; they differ only in words, which all are in their own nature ambiguous."

May God deliver you and yours from all error, and all unholiness! My prayers will never, I trust, be wanting for you. I am, dear brother,

My sister's and your most affectionate brother.

Pray remember me to Philly.

XX.—*To the Same.*

BRISTOL, April 4, 1738.

DEAR BROTHER,—I rejoice greatly at the temper with which you now write, and trust there is not only mildness but love also in your heart. If so, you shall know of this doctrine, whether it be of God; though, perhaps, not by my ministry.

To this hour you have pursued an *ignoratio elenchi*. [Mistake of the question.] Your assurance and mine are as different as light and darkness. I mean, an assurance that I am now in a state of salvation; you, an assurance that I shall persevere therein. The very definition of the term cuts off your second and third observation. As to the First, I would take notice, 1. No kind of assurance, (that I know,) or of faith, or repentance, is essential to their salvation who die infants. 2. I believe God is ready to give all true penitents who fly to his free grace in Christ a fuller sense of pardon than they had before they fell. I know

this to be true of several: whether these are exempt cases, I know not. 3. Persons that were of a melancholy and gloomy constitution, even to some degree of madness, I have known in a moment (let it be called a miracle, I quarrel not) brought into a state of firm, lasting peace and joy.

My dear brother, the whole question turns chiefly, if not wholly, on matter of fact. You deny that God does now work these effects; at least, that he works them in such a manner. I affirm both, because I have heard those facts with my ears, and seen them with my eyes. I have seen, as far as it can be seen, very many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of horror, fear, and despair, to the spirit of hope, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, eye or ear witness. What (upon the same evidence, as to the suddenness and reality of the change) I believe, or know, touching visions and dreams. This I know: Several persons in whom this great change from the power of Satan unto God was wrought either in sleep, or during a strong representation to the eye of their minds of Christ, either on the cross or in glory. This is the fact. Let any judge of it as they please. But that such a change was then wrought, appears, not from their shedding tears only, or sighing, or singing psalms, as your poor correspondent did by the woman of Oxford, but from the whole tenor of their life, till then many ways wicked; from that time holy, just, and good.

Saw you him that was a lion till then, and is now a lamb; he that was a drunkard, but now exemplarily sober; the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very lusts of the flesh? These are my living arguments for what I assert,—that God now, as aforetime, gives remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost, which may be called visions. If it be not so, I am found a false witness; but, however, I do and will testify the things I have both seen and heard.

I do not now expect to see your face in the flesh. Not that I believe God will discharge you yet; but I believe I have nearly finished my course. O may I be found in him, not having my own righteousness!

When I thy promised Christ have seen,
And clasp'd him in my soul's embrace,
Possess'd of thy salvation, then,
Then may I, Lord, depart in peace.

The great blessing of God be upon you and yours. I am, dear brother,

Your ever affectionate and obliged brother.

I expect to stay here some time, perhaps as long as I am in the body.

XXI.—*To the Same.*

MARIENBOURN, NEAR FRANKFORT, July 7, (O. S.,) 1738.

DEAR BROTHER,—God has given me at length the desire of my heart. I am with a church whose conversation is in heaven, in whom is the mind that was in Christ, and who so walks as he walked. As they have all one Lord and one faith, so they are all partakers of one Spirit, the spirit of meekness and love, which uniformly and continually animates all their conversation. O how high and holy a thing Christianity is!

and how widely distant from that (I know not what) which is so called; though it neither purifies the heart, nor renews the life after the image of our blessed Redeemer.

I grieve to think how that holy name by which we are called, must be blasphemed among the Heathen, while they see discontented Christians, passionate Christians, resentful Christians, earthly minded Christians; yea, (to come to what we are apt to count small things,) while they see Christians judging one another, ridiculing one another, speaking evil of one another, increasing, instead of bearing, one another's burdens. How bitterly would Julian have applied to these, "See, how these Christians love one another!" I know I myself, I doubt you sometimes, and my sister often, have been under this condemnation. O may God grant we may never more think to do him service, by breaking those commands which are the very life of his religion! But may we utterly put away all anger, and wrath, and malice, and bitterness, and evil speaking.

I was much concerned when my brother Charles once incidentally mentioned a passage that occurred at Tiverton: "Upon my offering to read," said he, "a chapter in the Serious Call, my sister said, 'Who do you read that to? Not to these young ladies, I presume; and your brother and I do not want it.'" Yes, my sister, I must tell you, in the spirit of love, and before God, who searcheth the heart, you do want it; you want it exceedingly. I know no one soul that wants to read, and consider deeply, so much the chapter of Universal Love, and that of Intercession. The character of Susurrus there, is your own. I should be false to God and you, did I not tell you so. O may it be so no longer; but may you love your neighbour as yourself, both in word and tongue, and in deed and truth!

I believe in a week Mr. Ingham and I shall set out for Hernhuth, about three hundred and fifty miles from hence. O pray for us, that God would sanctify to us all those precious opportunities, that we may be continually built up more and more in the spirit of power, and love, and of a sound mind! I am, dear brother,

Your most affectionate friend and brother.

XXII.—*To the Same.*

London, October 30, 1738.

Dear Brother,—That you will always receive kindly what is so intended, I doubt not. Therefore I again recommend the character of Susurrus both to you and my sister, as (whether real or feigned) striking at the root of a fault, of which both she and you were, I think, more guilty than any other two persons I have known in my life. O may God deliver both you and me from all bitterness and evil speaking, as well as from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism!

With regard to my own character, and my doctrine likewise, I shall answer you very plainly. By a Christian, I mean one who so believes in Christ, as that sin hath no more dominion over him: and in this obvious sense of the word, I was not a Christian till May the 24th last past. For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it continually; but surely, then, from that time to this it hath not;—such is the free grace of God in Christ. What sins they were which

till then reigned over me, and from which, by the grace of God, I am now free, I am ready to declare on the house top, if it may be for the glory of God.

If you ask by what means I am made free, (though not perfect, neither infallibly sure of my perseverance,) I answer, By faith in Christ; by such a sort or degree of faith as I had not till that day. My desire of this faith I knew long before, though not so clearly till Sunday, January the 8th last, when being in the midst of the great deep, I wrote a few lines in the bitterness of my soul, some of which I have transcribed; and may the good God sanctify them both to you and me!

By the most infallible of all proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced,

1. Of unbelief; having no such faith in Christ, as will prevent my heart's being troubled; which it could not be if I believed in God, and rightly believed also in him.

2. Of pride throughout my life past; inasmuch as I thought I had what I find I had not. Lord, save, or I perish! Save me,

(1.) By such a faith in thee and in thy Christ as implies trust, confidence, peace in life and in death.

(2.) By such humility as may fill my heart, from this hour for ever, with a piercing, uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod hactenus feci;* [what I have hitherto done is nothing;] having evidently built without a foundation.

(3.) By such a recollection, that I may cry to thee every moment, but more especially when all is calm, (if it should so please thee,) "Give me faith, or I die! Give me a lowly spirit, otherwise, *mihi non sit suave vivere.*" [I cannot take pleasure in life itself.] Amen! Come Lord Jesus! Υιε Δαειδ, ελεησον μοι. [Son of David, have mercy on me.]

Some measure of this faith which bringeth salvation, or victory over sin, and which implies peace, and trust in God through Christ, I now enjoy by his free mercy; though in very deed it is in me but as a grain of mustard seed: for the πληροφορια πιςεως,—the seal of the Spirit, the love of God shed abroad in my heart, and producing joy in the Holy Ghost, "joy which no man taketh away, joy unspeakable and full of glory;" this witness of the Spirit I have not, but I patiently wait for it. I know many who have already received it; more than one or two in the very hour we were praying for it. And having seen and spoken with a cloud of witnesses abroad, as well as in my own country, I cannot doubt but that believers who wait and pray for it will find these scriptures fulfilled in themselves. My hope is, that they will be fulfilled in me: I build on Christ, the Rock of Ages; on his sure mercies described in his word and on his promises, all which I know are yea, and amen. Those who have not yet received joy in the Holy Ghost, the love of God, and the plerophory of faith, (any or all of which I take to be the witness of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the sons of God,) I believe to be Christians in that imperfect sense wherein I may call myself such; and I exhort them to pray that God would give them also "to rejoice in hope of the glory of God," and to feel "his love shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto them."

On men I build not, neither on Matilda Chipman's word, whom I have not talked with five minutes in my life; nor on any thing peculiar in the weak, well-meant relation of William Hervey, who yet is a serious

humble acting Christian. But have you been building on these? Yes; I find them, more or less, in almost every letter you have written on the subject. Yet were all that has been said on "visions, dreams, and balls of fire," to be fairly proposed in syllogisms, I believe it would not prove a jot more on one than on the other side of the question.

O brother, would to God you would leave disputing concerning the things which you know not, (if indeed you know them not,) and beg of God to fill up what is yet wanting in you! Why should not you also seek till you receive "that peace of God which passeth all understanding?" Who shall hinder you, notwithstanding the manifold temptations, from "rejoicing with joy unspeakable, by reason of glory?" Amen! Lord Jesus! May you, and all who are near of kin to you, (if you have it not already,) feel his love shed abroad in your heart, by his Spirit which dwelleth in you; and be sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of your inheritance. I am

Yours and my sister's most affectionate brother

XXIII.—*To the Same.*

November 30, 1738.

I believe every Christian who has not yet received it, should pray for the witness of God's Spirit with his spirit that he is a child of God. In being a child of God, the pardon of his sins is included; therefore I believe the Spirit of God will witness this also. That this witness is from God, the very terms imply; and this witness I believe is necessary for my salvation. How far invincible ignorance may excuse others, I know not. But this, you say, is delusive and dangerous, because it encourages and abets idle visions and dreams. It encourages,—true; accidentally, but not essentially. And that it does this accidentally, or that weak minds may pervert it to an idle use, is no objection against it; for so they may pervert every truth in the oracles of God; more especially that dangerous doctrine of Joel, cited by St. Peter: "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams." Such visions, indeed, as you mention are given up: does it follow that visions and dreams in general "are bad branches of a bad root?" God forbid. This would prove more than you desire.

XXIV.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, May 10, 1739.

Dear Brother,—The having abundance of work upon my hands is only a cause of my not writing sooner. *The* cause was rather my unwillingness to continue an unprofitable dispute.

The Gospel promises to you and me, and our children, and all that are afar off, even as many of those whom the Lord our God shall call, as are not disobedient unto the heavenly vision, "the witness of God's Spirit with their spirit, that they are the children of God;" that they are now, at this hour, all accepted in the Beloved; but it witnesses not that they shall be. It is an assurance of present salvation only; therefore, not necessarily perpetual, neither irreversible.

I am one of many witnesses of this matter of fact, that God does now

make good this his promise daily, very frequently during a representation (how made I know not, but not to the outward eye) of Christ either hanging on the cross, or standing on the right hand of God. And this I know to be of God, because from that hour the person so affected is a new creature, both as to his inward tempers and outward life. "Old things are passed away; and all things become new."

A very late instance of this I will give you: While we were praying at a society here, on Tuesday the 1st instant, the power of God (so I call it) came so mightily among us, that one, and another, and another, fell down as thunderstruck. In that hour many that were in deep anguish of spirit, were all filled with peace and joy. Ten persons, till then in sin, doubt, and fear, found such a change, that sin had no more dominion over them; and instead of the spirit of fear, they are now filled with that of love, and joy, and a sound mind. A Quaker who stood by was very angry at them, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when the Spirit of God came upon him also, so that he fell down as one dead. We prayed over him, and he soon lifted up his head with joy, and joined with us in thanksgiving.

A bystander, one John Haydon, was quite enraged at this, and, being unable to deny something supernatural in it, laboured beyond measure to convince all his acquaintance, that it was a delusion of the devil. I was met in the street the next day by one who informed me that John Haydon was fallen raving mad. It seems he had sat down to dinner, but wanted first to make an end of a sermon he was reading. At the last page he suddenly changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming terribly, and beating himself against the ground. I found him on the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept away; but he cried out, "No; let them all come; let all the world see the just judgment of God." Two or three were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes on me, and said, "Ay, this is he I said deceived the people; but God hath overtaken me. I said it was a delusion of the devil; but this is no delusion." Then he roared aloud, "O thou devil! Thou cursed devil! Yea, thou legion of devils! Thou canst not stay in me. Christ will cast thee out. I know his work is begun. Tear me to pieces if thou wilt. But thou canst not hurt me." He then beat himself again, and groaned again, with violent sweats, and heaving of the breast. We prayed with him, and God put a new song in his mouth. The words were, which he pronounced with a clear, strong voice, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from this time forth for evermore." I called again an hour after. We found his body quite worn out, and his voice lost. But his soul was full of joy and love, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

I am now in as good health (thanks be to God!) as I ever was since I remember, and I believe shall be so as long as I live; for I do not expect to have a lingering death. The reasons that induce me to think I shall not live long old are such as you would not apprehend to be of any weight. I am under no concern on this head. Let my Master see to it. O may the God of love be with you and my sister more and more!

I am, dear brother, your ever affectionate brother

XXV.—*To a Friend.*

October 10, 1735.

Dear Sir,—I have been hitherto unwilling to mention the grounds of my design of embarking for Georgia, for two reasons;—one, because they were such as I know few men would judge to be of any weight;—the other, because I was afraid of making favourable judges think of me above what they ought to think: and what a snare this must be to my own soul, I know by dear-bought experience.

But, on farther reflection, I am convinced that I ought to speak the truth with all boldness, even though it should appear foolishness to the world, as it has done from the beginning; and that, whatever danger there is in doing the will of God, he will support me under it. In his name, therefore, and trusting in his defence, I shall plainly declare the thing as it is.

My chief motive, to which all the rest are subordinate, is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the Heathen. They have no comments to construe away the text; no vain philosophy to corrupt it; no luxurious, sensual, covetous, ambitious expounders to soften its unpleasing truths, to reconcile earthly mindedness and faith, the Spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world. They have no party, no interest to serve, and are therefore fit to receive the Gospel in its simplicity. They are as little children, humble, willing to learn, and eager to do the will of God; and, consequently, they shall know of every doctrine I preach, whether it be of God. By these, therefore, I hope to learn the purity of that faith which was once delivered to the saints; the genuine sense and full extent of those laws which none can understand who mind earthly things.

A right faith will, I trust, by the mercy of God, open the way for a right practice; especially when most of those temptations are removed which here so easily beset me. Toward mortifying "the desire of the flesh," the desire of sensual pleasures, it will be no small thing to be able, without fear of giving offence, to live on water and the fruits of the earth. This simplicity of food will, I trust, be a blessed means, both of preventing my seeking that happiness in meats and drinks, which God designed should be found only in faith, and love, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and will assist me to attain such purity of thought, as suits a candidate for the state wherein they are as the angels of God in heaven.

Neither is it a small thing to be delivered from so many occasions, as now surround me, of indulging "the desire of the eye." They here compass me in on every side; but an Indian hut affords no food for curiosity, no gratification of the desire of grand, or now, or pretty things:—though, indeed, the cedars which God has planted round it may so gratify the eye as to better the heart, by lifting it to Him whose name alone is excellent, and his praise above heaven and earth.

If by "the pride of life" we understand the pomp and show of the world, that has no place in the wilds of America. If it mean pride in general, this, alas! has a place every where: yet there are very uncommon helps against it, not only by the deep humility of the poor Heathens fully sensible of their want of an instructer; but by that happy contempt which cannot fail to attend all who sincerely endeavour to instruct them

and which, continually increasing, will surely make them, in the end, as the filth and off-scouring of the world. Add to this, that nothing so convinces us of our own impotence, as a zealous attempt to convert our neighbour; nor, indeed, till he does all he can for God, will any man feel that he can do nothing.

Farther: A sin which easily besets me is, unfaithfulness to God in the use of speech. I know that this is a talent entrusted to me by my Lord, to be used, as all others, only for his glory. I know that all conversation which is not seasoned with salt, and designed at least to administer grace to the hearers, is expressly forbid by the Apostle, as "corrupt communication," and as "grieving the Holy Spirit of God;" yet I am almost continually betrayed into it, by the example of others striking in with my own bad heart. But, I hope, from the moment I leave the English shore, under the acknowledged character of a teacher sent from God, there shall be no word heard from my lips but what properly flows from that character: as my tongue is a devoted thing, I hope from the first hour of this new era to use it only as such, that all who hear me may know of a truth, the words I speak are not mine, but His that sent me.

The same faithfulness I hope to show, through his grace, in dispensing the rest of my Master's goods, if it please him to send me to those who, like his first followers, have all things common. What a guard is here against that root of evil, the love of money, and all the vile attractions that spring from it! One in this glorious state, and perhaps none but he may see the height and depth of the privilege of the first Christians, "as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, yet possessing all things."

I then hope to know what it is to love my neighbour as myself, and to feel the powers of that second motive to visit the Heathens, even the desire to impart to them what I have received,—a saving knowledge of the Gospel of Christ; but this I dare not think on yet. It is not for me, who have been a grievous sinner from my youth up, and am yet laden with foolish and hurtful desires, to expect God should work so great things by my hands; but I am assured, if I be once converted myself, he will then employ me both to strengthen my brethren, and to preach his name to the Gentiles, that the very ends of the earth may see the salvation of our God.

But you will perhaps ask, "Cannot you save your own soul in England, as well as in Georgia?" I answer, No; neither can I hope to attain the same degree of holiness here, which I may there; neither, if I stay here, knowing this, can I reasonably hope to attain any degree of holiness at all: for, whoever, when two ways of life are proposed, prefers that which he is convinced in his own mind is less pleasing to God, and less conducive to the perfection of his soul, has no reason from the Gospel of Christ to hope that he shall ever please God at all, or receive from him that grace whereby alone he can attain any degree of Christian perfection.

To the other motive,—the hope of doing more good in America, it is commonly objected, that "there are Heathens enough in practice, if not theory, at home: why, then, should you go to those in America?" Why, for a very plain reason; because these Heathens have Moses and the

Prophets, and those have not; because these who have the Gospel trample upon it, and those who have it not earnestly call for it; "therefore, seeing these judge themselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, I turn to the Gentiles."

If you object, farther, the losses I must sustain in leaving my native country, I ask, Loss of what? of any thing I desire to keep? No; I shall still have food to eat and raiment to put on;—enough of such food as I choose to eat, and such raiment as I desire to put on;—and if any man have a desire of other things, or of more food than he can eat, or more raiment than he can put on, let him know, that the greatest blessing that can possibly befal him, is, to be cut off from all occasions of gratifying those desires, which, unless speedily rooted out, will drown his soul in everlasting perdition.

"But what shall we say to the loss of parents, brethren, sisters, nay, of the friends which are as my own soul, of those who have so often lifted up my hands that hung down, and strengthened my feeble knees, by whom God hath often enlightened my understanding, and warmed and enlarged my heart?" *What shall we say!* Why, that if you add the loss of life to the rest, so much the greater is the gain. For though "the grass withereth, and the flower fadeth, the word of our God shall stand for ever;" saying, that when human instruments are removed, He, the Lord, will answer us by his own self. And the general answer which he hath already given us to all questions of this nature, is, "Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left father, or mother, or lands, for my sake, but shall receive a hundred fold now in this time, with persecutions, and in the world to come eternal life."

XXVI.—*To Mr. Oglethorpe.*

SAVANNAH, April 20, 1736.

SAVANNAH never was so dear to me as now. I believe, knowing by whom I send, I may write as well as speak freely. I found so little either of the form or power of religion at Frederica, that I am sincerely glad I am removed from it. Surely, never was any place, no, not London itself, freer from one vice, I mean hypocrisy.

O curvæ in terras animæ, et cœlestium inanes!

[O grovelling souls, and void of heaven!]

"Jesus, Master, have mercy upon them!" There is none of those who did run well, whom I pity more than Mrs. Hawkins: her treating me in such a manner would indeed have little affected me, had my own interests only been concerned. I have been used to be betrayed, scorned, and insulted, by those I had most laboured to serve. But when I reflect on her condition, my heart bleeds for her. Yet with Thee nothing is impossible!

With regard to one who ought to be dearer to me than her, I cannot but say, that the more I think of it, the more convinced I am that no one, without a virtual renouncing of the faith, can abstain from the public as well as the private worship of God. All the prayers usually read morning and evening at Frederica and here, put together, do not last seven minutes. These cannot be termed long prayers: no Christian assembly ever used shorter: neither have they any repetitions in them at

all. If I did not speak thus plainly to you, which I fear no one else in England or America will do, I should by no means be worthy to call myself, sir, Yours, &c.

XXVII.—*To the Same.*

February 24, 1737.

Sir,—You apprehended strong opposition before you went hence; and unless we are misinformed, you have found it. Yesterday morning I read a letter from London, wherein it was asserted that Sir Robert had turned against you; that the parliament was resolved to make a severe scrutiny into all that has been transacted here; that the cry of the nation ran the same way; and that even the trustees were so far from acknowledging the service you have done, that they had protested your bills, and charged you with misapplying the moneys you had received, and with gross mismanagement of the power wherewith you was intrusted. Whether these things are so, or no, I know not; for it is ill depending on a single evidence. But this I know, that if your scheme was drawn (which I shall not easily believe) from that first-born of hell, Nicholas Machiavel, as sure as there is a God that governs the earth, he will confound both it and you. If, on the contrary, (as I shall hope, till strong proof appear,) your heart was right before God, that it was your real design to promote the glory of God, by promoting peace and love among men; let not your heart be troubled; the God whom you serve is able to deliver you. Perhaps in some things you have shown you are but a man; perhaps I myself may have a little to complain of: but O what a train of benefits have I received to lay in the balance against it! I bless God that ever you was born. I acknowledge his exceeding mercy in casting me into your hands. I own your generous kindness all the time we were at sea: I am indebted to you for a thousand favours here: why, then, the least I can say, is, Though all men should revile you, yet, if God shall strengthen me, will not I: yea, were it not for the poor creatures, whom you have as yet but half redeemed from their complicated misery, I could almost wish that you were forsaken of all; that you might clearly see the difference between *men of honour*, and those who are, in the very lowest rank, the followers of Christ Jesus.

O where is the God of Elijah? Stir up thy strength, and come and help him! If the desire of his heart be to thy name, let all his enemies flee before him! Art thou not He who hast made him a father to the fatherless, a mighty deliverer to the oppressed? Hast thou not given him to be feet to the lame, hands to the helpless, eyes to the blind? Hath he ever withheld his bread from the hungry, or hid his soul from his own flesh? Then, whatever thou withholdest from him, O thou lover of men, satisfy his soul with thy likeness; renew his heart in the whole image of thy Christ; purge his spirit from self-will, pride, vanity, and fill it with faith and love, gentleness and long-suffering. Let no guile ever be found in his mouth; no injustice in his hands! And among all your labours of love, it becomes me earnestly to entreat Him that he will not forget those you have gone through for, sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant.

XXVIII.—*To Mr. Hutcheson.*

JULY 23, 1736

BY what I have seen during my short stay here, I am convinced that I have long been under a great mistake, in thinking no circumstances could make it the duty of a Christian priest to do any thing else but preach the Gospel. On the contrary, I am now satisfied, that there is a possible case wherein a part of his time ought to be employed in what less directly conduces to the glory of God, and peace and good will among men. And such a case, I believe, is that which now occurs; there being several things which cannot so effectually be done without me; and which, though not directly belonging to my ministry, yet are, by consequence, of the highest concern to the success of it. It is from this conviction that I have taken some pains to inquire into the grea controversy now subsisting between Carolina and Georgia; and in examining and weighing the letters wrote, and the arguments urged, on both sides of the question. And I cannot but think that the whole affair might be clearly stated in few words. A charter was passed a few years since, establishing the bounds of this province, and empowering the trustees therein named to prepare laws, which, when ratified by the king in council, should be of force within those bounds. The trustees have prepared a law, which has been so ratified, for the regulation of the Indian trade, requiring that none should trade with the Indians who are within this province, till he is so licensed as therein specified. Notwithstanding this law, the governing part of Carolina have asserted, both in conversation, in writing, and in the public newspapers, that it is lawful for any one not so licensed, to trade with the Creek, Cherokee, or Chicasaw Indians: they have passed an ordinance, not only asserting the same, but enacting that men and money shall be raised to support such traders; and in fact they have themselves licensed and sent up such traders, both to the Creek and Chicasaw Indians.

This is the plain matter of fact. Now, as to matter of right, when twenty more reams of paper have been spent upon it, I cannot but think it must come to this short issue at last: 1. Are the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chicasaws within the bounds of Georgia or no? 2. Is an act of the king in council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, of any force within these bounds, or not? That all other inquiries are absolutely foreign to the question, a very little consideration will show. As to the former of these, the Georgian Charter, compared with any map of these parts which I have ever seen, determines it: the latter I never heard made a question of, but in the neighbourhood of Carolina.

Mr. Johnson's brother has been with us some days. I have been twice in company with him at Mr. Oglethorpe's; and I hope there are in Carolina, though the present proceeding would almost make one doubt it, many such gentlemen as he seems to be; men of good nature, good manners, and understanding. I hope God will repay you sevenfold for the kindness you have shown to my poor mother, and in her to, sir,

Your most obliged, most obedient servant.

XXIX.—*To Mr. Vernon.*

JULY, 1736.

As short a time as I have for writing, I could not pardon myself, if I did not spend some part of it in acknowledging the continuance of your goodness to my mother; which indeed neither she, nor I, can ever lose the sense of.

The behaviour of the people of Carolina finds much conversation for this place. I dare not say, whether they want honesty or logic most: it is plain, a very little of the latter, added to the former, would show how utterly foreign to the point in question all their voluminous defences are. Here is an act of the king in council, passed in pursuance of an act of parliament, forbidding unlicensed persons to trade with the Indians in Georgia. Nothing therefore can justify them in sending unlicensed traders to the Creek, Cherokee, and Chicasaw Indians, but the proving either that this act is of no force, or that those Indians are not in Georgia. Why then are these questions so little considered by them, and others so largely discussed? I fear, for a very plain, though not a very honest, reason; that is, to puzzle the cause. I sincerely wish you all happiness in time and in eternity, and am,

Sir, &c.

XXX.—*To Mr. ———, of Lincoln College.*

SAVANNAH, AMERICA, February 16, 1736-7.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Ingham has left Savannah for some months, and lives at a house built for him a few miles hence, near the Indian town. I have now no fellow labourer but Mr. Delamotte, who has taken the charge of between thirty and forty children. There is therefore great need that God should put it into the hearts of some to come over to us, and labour with us in his harvest. But I should not desire any to come, unless on the same views and conditions with us,—without any temporal wages, other than food and raiment, the plain conveniences of life. For one or more, in whom was this mind, there would be full employment in the province, either in assisting Mr. Delamotte or me, while we were present here, or in supplying our places when abroad, or in visiting the poor people in the smaller settlements, as well as at Frederica, all of whom are as sheep without a shepherd.

By these labours of love might any that desired it be trained up for the harder task of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen. The difficulties he must then encounter, God only knows; probably martyrdom would conclude them; but those we have hitherto met with have been small, and only terrible at a distance. Persecution, you know, is the portion of every follower of Christ, wherever his lot is cast; but it has hitherto extended no farther than words, with regard to us; (unless in one or two inconsiderable instances;) yet it is sure, every man ought, if he would come hither, to be willing and ready to embrace (if God should see good) the severer kinds of it. He ought to be determined, not only to leave parents, sisters, friends, houses, and land, for his Master's sake, but to take up his cross too, and cheerfully submit to the fatigue and danger of (it may be) a long voyage, and patiently to

endure the continual contradiction of sinners, and all the inconveniences which it often occasions.

Would any one have a trial of himself, how he can bear this? If he has felt what reproach is, and can bear that for but a few weeks as he ought, I shall believe he need fear nothing. Other trials will afterward be no heavier than that little one was at first; so that he may then have a well grounded hope, that he will be enabled to do all things through Christ strengthening him.

May the God of peace himself direct you to all things conducive to his glory, whether it be by fitter instruments, or even by

Your friend and servant in Christ.

XXXI.—*To Mrs. Chapman.*

March 29, 1737.

True friendship is doubtless stronger than death, else yours could never have subsisted still in spite of all opposition, and even after thousands of miles are interposed between us. In the last proof you gave of it, there are a few things which I think it lies on me to mention: as to the rest, my brother is the proper person to clear them up, as I suppose he has done long ago.

You seem to apprehend, that I believe religion to be inconsistent with cheerfulness, and with a sociable, friendly temper. So far from it, tha I am convinced, as true religion or holiness cannot be without cheerfulness, so steady cheerfulness, on the other hand, cannot be without holiness or true religion. And I am equally convinced, that religion has nothing sour, austere, unsociable, unfriendly in it; but, on the contrary, implies the most winning sweetness, the most amiable softness and gentleness. Are you for having as much cheerfulness as you can? So am I. Do you endeavour to keep alive your taste for all the truly innocent pleasures of life? So do I likewise. Do you refuse no pleasure but what is a hinderance to some greater good, or has a tendency to some evil? It is my very rule; and I know no other by which a sincere reasonable Christian can be guided. In particular, I pursue this rule in eating, which I seldom do without much pleasure. And this I know is the will of God concerning me; that I should enjoy every pleasure that leads to my taking pleasure in him; and in such a measure as most leads to it. I know that, as to every action which is naturally pleasing, it is his will that it should be so; therefore, in taking that pleasure so far as it tends to this end, (of taking pleasure in God,) I do his will. Though, therefore, that pleasure be in some sense distinct from the love of God, yet is the taking of it by no means distinct from his will. No; you say yourself, It is his will I should take it. And here, indeed, is the hinge of the question, which I had once occasion to state in a letter to you; and more largely in a sermon, On the Love of God. If you will read over those, I believe you will find you differ from Mr. Law and me in words only. You say, the pleasures you plead for are distinct from the love of God, as the cause from the effect. Why, then, they tend to it; and those which are only thus distinct from it no one excepts against. The whole of what he affirms, and that not on the authority of men, but from the words and example of God incarnate, is, there is one thing

needful,—to do the will of God; and his will is our sanctification; our renewal in the image of God, in faith and love, in all holiness and happiness. On this we are to fix our single eye, at all times, and in all places; for so did our Lord. This one thing we are to do; for so did our fellow servant, Paul, after his example: "Whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we are to do all to the glory of God." In other words, we are to do nothing but what, directly or indirectly, leads to our holiness, which is his glory; and to do every such thing with this design, and in such a measure as may most promote it.

I am not mad, my dear friend, for asserting these to be the words of truth and soberness; neither are any of those, either in England or here, who have hitherto attempted to follow me. I am and must be an example to my flock; not, indeed, in my prudential rules, but, in some measure, (if, giving God the glory, I may dare to say so,) in my spirit, and life, and conversation. Yet all of them are, in your sense of the word, unlearned, and most of them of low understanding; and still, not one of them has been as yet entangled in any case of conscience which was not solved. And as to the nice distinctions you speak of, it is you, my friend, it is the wise, the learned, the disputers of this world, who are lost in them, and bewildered more and more, the more they strive to extricate themselves. We have no need of nice distinctions; for I exhort all, Dispute with none. I feed my brethren in Christ, as he giveth me power, with the pure unmixed milk of his word. And those who are as little children receive it, not as the word of man, but as the word of God. Some grow thereby, and advance apace in peace and holiness: they grieve, it is true, for those who did run well, but are now turned back; and they fear for themselves, lest they also be tempted; yet, through the mercy of God, they despair not, but have still a good hope that they shall endure to the end. Not that this hope has any resemblance to enthusiasm, which is a hope to attain the end without the means: this they know is impossible, and therefore ground their hope on a constant careful use of all the means. And, if they keep in this way, with lowliness, patience, and meekness of resignation, they cannot carry the principle of pressing toward perfection too far. O may you and I carry it far enough! Be fervent in spirit. "Rejoice evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks." Do every thing in the name of the Lord Jesus. Abound more and more in all holiness, and in zeal for every good word and work.

XXXII.—*To the Rev. William Law.*

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXON, June 26, 1734.

REVEREND SIR,—I must earnestly beg your immediate advice, in a case of the greatest importance. Above two years since, I was entrusted with a young gentleman of good sense, and even generous temper, and pretty good learning. Religion he had heard little of; but Mr. Jackson's "Practice of Devotion," your two treatises, and Thomas a Kempis, by the blessing of God, awakened him, by degrees, to a true notion and serious practice of it. In this he continued sensibly improving till last Lent; at the beginning of which, I advised him to do as he had done the year before, namely, to obey the order of the Church, by

using such a sort and measure of abstinence as his health permitted, and his spiritual wants required. He said he did not think his health would permit to use that abstinence which he did the year before. And, notwithstanding my reply, that his athletic habit could be in no danger by only abstaining from flesh, and using moderately some less pleasing food, he persisted in his resolution of not altering his food at all. A little before Easter, perceiving he had much contracted the time he had till then set apart for religious reading, I asked him whether he was not himself convinced that he spent too much time in reading secular authors. He answered, he was convinced any time was too much; and that he should be a better Christian, if he never read them at all. I then pressed him earnestly to pray for strength, according to that conviction; and he resolved to try for a week. When that was expired, he said his desire of classical reading was not inflamed, but a little abated: upon which, I begged him to repeat his resolution for a week or two longer. He said it signified nothing; for he could never part with the classics entirely. I desired him to read that which you say in the "Christian Perfection," on reading vain authors. He readily agreed to every word of it, but still, in his practice, denied it; though appearing, in most other particulars, an humble, active, zealous Christian. On Tuesday, April 3, being one of the days the statutes require us to communicate at St. Mary's, I called upon him just before church, being to set out for Lincolnshire as soon as the service was over. I asked whether he still halted between two opinions; and, after exhorting him as I could to renounce himself, and serve his Master with simplicity, I left him. He did not communicate that day. On my return, May 21, I immediately inquired what state he was in, and found he had never communicated since, which he used to do weekly; that he had left off rising early, visiting the poor, and almost all religious reading, and entirely given himself up to secular. When I asked him why he had left off the holy eucharist, he said fairly, because to partake of it implied a fresh promise to renounce himself entirely, and to please God alone; and he did not design to do so. I asked whether he was well convinced he ought to do so. He said, "Yes." Whether he wished he could design it. He answered, no, he did not desire it.

From time to time, particularly a few days ago, I wished him to tell me upon what he grounded his hope of salvation. He replied, after some pause, that "Christ died for all men; but if none were saved by him without performing the conditions, his death would not avail one in a thousand, which was inconsistent with the goodness of God." But this answer, and every part of it, he soon gave up, adding, with the utmost seriousness, that he cared not whether it was true or no: he was very happy at present, and he desired nothing farther.

This morning I again asked him what he thought of his own state. He said he thought nothing about it. I desired to know whether he could, if he considered it ever so little, expect to be saved by the terms of the Christian covenant. He answered, he did not consider it at all: nor did all I could say in the least move him. He assented to all, but was affected with nothing. He grants, with all composure, that he is not in a salvable state, and shows no degree of concern, while he owns he cannot find mercy.

I am now entirely at a loss what step to take: pray he cannot, or will not. When I lent him several prayers, he returned them unused, saying, he does not desire to be otherwise than he is, and why should he pray for it? I do not seem so much as to understand his distemper. It appears to me quite incomprehensible. Much less can I tell what remedies are proper for it. I therefore beseech you, sir, by the mercies of God, that you would not be slack, according to the ability he shall give, to advise and pray for him; and am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged servant.

XXXIII.—*To the Same.*

May 14, 1738.

Reverend Sir,—It is in obedience to what I think to be the call of God, that I, who have the sentence of death in my own soul, take upon me to write to you, of whom I have often desired to learn the first elements of the Gospel of Christ.

If you are born of God, you will approve of the design, though it may be but weakly executed. If not, I shall grieve for you, not for myself. For as I seek not the praise of men, so neither regard I the contempt either of you or of any other.

For two years (more especially) I have been preaching after the model of your two practical treatises; and all that heard have allowed, that the law is great, wonderful, and holy. But no sooner did they attempt to fulfil it, but they found that it is too high for man; and that by doing "the works of the law shall no flesh living be justified."

To remedy this, I exhorted them, and stirred up myself, to pray earnestly for the grace of God, and to use all the other means of obtaining that grace, which the all-wise God hath appointed. But still, both they and I were more and more convinced, that this is a law by which a man cannot live; the law in our members continually warring against it, and bringing us into deeper captivity to the law of sin.

Under this heavy yoke I might have groaned till death, had not a holy man, to whom God lately directed me, upon my complaining thereof, answered at once, "Believe, and thou shalt be saved. Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ with all thy heart, and nothing shall be impossible to thee. This faith, indeed, as well as the salvation it brings, is the free gift of God. But seek, and thou shalt find. Strip thyself naked of thy own works, and thy own righteousness, and fly to him. For whosoever cometh unto him, he will in no wise cast out."

Now, sir, suffer me to ask, How will you answer it to our common Lord, that you never gave me this advice? Did you never read the Acts of the Apostles, or the answer of Paul to him who said, "What must I do to be saved?" Or are you wiser than he? Why did I scarce ever hear you name the name of Christ? never, so as to ground any thing upon "faith in his blood?" Who is this who is laying another foundation? If you say, you advised other things as preparatory to this; what is this, but laying a foundation below the foundation? Is not Christ then the first, as well as the last? If you say you advised them because you knew that I had faith already, verily you knew nothing of me; you discerned not my spirit at all. I know that I had not faith, unless the faith of a devil, the faith of Judas, that speculative, notional

airy shadow, which lives in the head, not in the heart. But what is this to the living, justifying faith in the blood of Jesus? the faith that cleanseth from sin; that gives us to have free access to the Father; to "rejoice in hope of the glory of God;" to have "the love of God shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost" which dwelleth in us; and "the Spirit itself bearing witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God?"

I beseech you, sir, by the mercies of God, to consider deeply and impartially, whether the true reason of your never pressing this upon me, was not this,—that you had it not yourself? whether that man of God was not in the right, who gave this account of a late interview he had with you?—"I began speaking to him of faith in Christ: he was silent. Then he began to speak of mystical matters. I spake to him of faith in Christ again: he was silent. Then he began to speak of mystical matters again. I saw his state at once." And a very dangerous one, in his judgment, whom I know to have the Spirit of God.

Once more, sir, let me beg you to consider, whether your extreme roughness, and morose and sour behaviour, at least on many occasions, can possibly be the fruit of a living faith in Christ? If not, may the God of peace and love fill up what is yet wanting in you!

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your humble servant.

XXXIV.—*To the Same.*

May 30, 1738.

Reverend Sir,—I sincerely thank you for a favour I did not expect, and presume to trouble you once more.

How I have preached all my life,—how qualified or unqualified I was to correct a translation of Kempis, and to translate a preface to it,—whether I have now, or how long I have had, a living faith,—whether Peter Böhler spoke truth in what he said, when two others were present besides me,—are circumstances on which the main question does not turn, which is this and no other: "Whether you ever advised me, or directed me to books that did advise me, to seek first a living faith in the blood of Christ; and that thereby alone I could be justified."

You appeal to three facts to prove that you did: 1. That you put into my hands "Theologia Germanica." 2. That you published an answer to "The Plain Account of the Sacrament." And, 3. That you are governed through all that you have written and done by these two fundamental maxims of our Lord: "Without me ye can do nothing;" and, "If any man will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me."

The facts I allow, but not the consequence. In "Theologia Germanica," I remember something of Christ our Pattern, but nothing express of Christ our Atonement. The answer to "The Plain Account of the Sacrament" I believe to be an excellent book, but not so as to affect the main question. Those two maxims may imply, but do not express, the thing itself,—"He is our propitiation, through faith in his blood."

But how are you "chargeable with my not having had this faith?" If you intimate, that you discerned my spirit, then you are chargeable thus:

1. You did not tell me plainly I had it not. 2. You never once advised me to seek or to pray for it. 3. Your advice to me was only proper for such as had faith already; advices which led me farther from it, the closer I adhered to them. 4. You recommended books to me, which had no tendency to this faith, but a direct one to destroy good works.

However, "Let the fault be divided," you say, "between me and Kempis." No; if I understood Kempis wrong, it was your part, who discerned my spirit, and saw my mistake, to have explained him, and to have set me right.

I ask pardon, sir, if I have said any thing inconsistent with the obligations I owe you, and the respect I bear to your character.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

XXXV.—*To Count Zinzendorf, at Marienbourn.*

May our gracious Lord, who counteth whatsoever is done to the least of his brethren as done to himself, return sevenfold to you and the Countess, and to all the brethren, the kindnesses you did to us! It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if I could have spent more time with the Christians who love one another. But that could not be now; my Master having called me to work in another part of his vineyard. Nor did I return hither at all before the time; for though a great door and effectual had been opened, the adversaries had laid so many stumbling blocks before it, that the weak were daily turned out of the way. Numberless misunderstandings had arisen, by means of which the way of truth was much blasphemed: and thence had sprung anger, clamour, bitterness, evil speaking, envyings, strifes, railings, evil surmises; whereby the enemy had gained such an advantage over the little flock, that "of the rest durst no man join himself to them."

But it has now pleased our blessed Master to remove, in great measure, these rocks of offence. The word of the Lord again runs and is glorified; and his work does on and prospers. Great multitudes are every where awakened, and cry out, "What must we do to be saved?" Many of them see that there is only one name under heaven whereby they can be saved: and more and more of those who seek it, find salvation in his name; and these are of one heart and one soul. They all love one another, and are knit together in one body and one spirit, as in one faith and one hope of their calling. The love and zeal of our brethren in Holland and Germany, particularly at Hernhuth, has stirred up many among us, who will not be comforted till they also partake of the great and precious promises. I hope, if God permit, to see them at least once more, were it only to give them the fruit of my love, the speaking freely on a few things which I did not approve, perhaps because I did not understand them. May our merciful Lord give you a right judgment in all things, and make you to abound more and more in all lowliness and meekness, in all simplicity and godly sincerity, in all watchfulness and seriousness; in a word,—in all faith and love, particularly to those that are without; till you are merciful, as your Father which is in heaven is merciful! I desire your constant and earnest prayers, that he would vouchsafe me a portion of the same spirit.

XXXVI.—*To the Church of God which is in Hernhuth, John Wesley, an unworthy Presbyter of the Church of God in England, wisheth all grace and peace in our Lord Jesus Christ.*

October 14, 1738.

Glory be to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for his unspeakable gift! for giving me to be an eye witness of your faith, and love, and holy conversation in Christ Jesus! I have borne testimony thereof with all plainness of speech, in many parts of Germany, and thanks have been given to God by many on your behalf.

We are endeavouring here also, by the grace which is given us, to be followers of you, as ye are of Christ. Fourteen were added to us, since our return, so that we have now eight bands of men, consisting of fifty-six persons; all of whom seek for salvation only in the blood of Christ. As yet we have only two small bands of women; the one of three, the other of five persons. But here are many others who only wait till we have leisure to instruct them, how they may most effectually build up one another in the faith and love of Him who gave himself for them.

Though my brother and I are not permitted to preach in most of the churches in London, yet (thanks be to God!) there are others left, wherein we have liberty to speak the truth as it is in Jesus. Likewise every evening, and on set evenings in the week at two several places, we publish the word of reconciliation, sometimes to twenty or thirty, sometimes to fifty or sixty, sometimes to three or four hundred persons, met together to hear it. We begin and end all our meetings with singing and prayer; and we know that our Lord heareth our prayer, having more than once or twice (and this was not done in a corner) received our petitions in that very hour.

Nor hath he left himself without other witnesses of his grace and truth. Ten ministers I know now in England, who lay the right foundation, "The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin." Over and above whom I have found one Anabaptist, and one, if not two, of the teachers among the Presbyterians here, who, I hope, love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and teach the way of God in truth.

O cease not, ye that are highly favoured, to beseech our Lord that he would be with us even to the end; to remove that which is displeasing in his sight, to support that which is weak among us, to give us the whole mind that was in him, and teach us to walk even as he walked! And may the very God of peace fill up what is wanting in your faith, and build you up more and more in all lowliness of mind, in all plainness of speech, in all zeal and watchfulness; that he may present you to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that ye may be holy and unblamable in the day of his appearing.

XXXVII.—*To the Bishop of Bristol.*

October 13, 1741.

My Lord,—Several persons have applied to me for baptism. It has pleased God to make me instrumental in their conversion. This has

given them such a prejudice for me, that they desire to be received into the Church by my ministry. They choose likewise to be baptized by immersion, and have engaged me to give your lordship notice, as the Church requires.

XXXVIII.—*To Mr. John Smith.**

SEPTEMBER 28, 1745.

SIR,—1. I was determined, from the time I received yours, to answer it as soon as I should have opportunity. But it was the longer delayed, because I could not persuade myself to write at all, till I had leisure to write fully. And this I hope to do now, though I know you not, no, not so much as your name. But I take for granted, you are a person that fears God, and that speaks the real sentiments of his heart. And on this supposition I shall speak, without any suspicion or reserve.

2. I am exceedingly obliged by the pains you have taken to point out to me what you think to be mistakes. It is a truly Christian attempt, an act of brotherly love, which I pray God to repay sevenfold into your bosom. Methinks I can scarce look upon such a person, on one who is "a contender for truth and not for victory," whatever opinion he may entertain of me, as any adversary at all. For what is friendship, if I am to account him my enemy who endeavours to open my eyes, or to amend my heart?

I. 3. You will give me leave (writing as a friend rather than a disputant) to invert the order of your objections, and to begin with the third, because, I conceive, it may be answered in fewest words. The substance of it is this: "If in fact you can work such signs and wonders as were wrought by the Apostles, then you are entitled (notwithstanding what I might otherwise object) to the implicit faith due to one of that order." A few lines after you cite a case, related in the Third Journal, page 88, [vol. iii, p. 158, of this edition,] and add: "If you prove this to be the fact, to the satisfaction of wise and good men, then I believe no wise and good men will oppose you any longer. Let me therefore rest it upon your conscience, either to prove this matter of fact, or to retract it. If upon mature examination it shall appear that designing people imposed upon you, or that hysterical women were imposed upon themselves, acknowledge your zeal outran your wisdom."

4. Surely I would. But what, if on such examination it shall appear that there was no imposition of either kind?—to be satisfied of which, I waited three years before I told the story. What, if it appear by the only method which I can conceive, the deposition of three or four eye

* The person who addressed a series of letters to Mr. Wesley in manuscript, under the assumed name of John Smith, and to whom the following answers were directed, there is reason to believe, was Dr. Thomas Secker, at that time bishop of Oxford, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury. Secker was born in 1693. The writer of these letters says, "I was confirmed *about* the age of fourteen. What childish apprehensions I might have had before that time I cannot well say, but for ABOUT forty years since," &c.—These two periods added together will give us fifty-four years, or rather fifty-three, from his word "*about*." Let this be added to 1693, the year of Secker's *birth*, and it gives us 1746, the exact *date of this letter*. [?] His letters are given entire in the Appendix to Moore's Life of Mr. Wesley; and some account of the correspondence will be found in the same work, vol. ii, book v, chap. iv.

and ear witnesses, that the matter of fact was just as it is there related, so far as men can judge from their eyes and ears; will it follow, that I am entitled to demand the implicit faith which was due to an Apostle? By no means. Nay, I know not that implicit faith was due to any or all of the Apostles put together. They were to prove their assertions by the written word. You and I are to do the same. Without such proof I ought no more to have believed St. Peter himself, than St. Peter's pretended successor.

5. I conceive, therefore, this whole demand, common as it is, of proving our doctrine by miracles, proceeds from a double mistake: (1.) A supposition, that what we preach is not provable from Scripture;—for if it be, what need we farther witnesses? "To the law and to the testimony!" (2.) An imagination, that a doctrine not provable by Scripture might nevertheless be proved by miracles. I believe not. I receive the written word as the whole and sole rule of my faith.

II. 6. Perhaps what you object to my phraseology may be likewise answered in few words. I throughly agree, that it is best to "use the most common words, and that in the most obvious sense;" and have been diligently labouring after this very thing for little less than twenty years. I am not conscious of using any uncommon word, or any word in an uncommon sense; but I cannot call those uncommon words which are the constant language of Holy Writ. These I purposely use; desiring always to express Scripture sense in Scripture phrase. And this I apprehend myself to do, when I speak of salvation as a present thing. How often does our Lord himself do thus! how often his Apostles, St. Paul particularly! Insomuch that I doubt whether we can find six texts in the New Testament, perhaps not three, where it is otherwise taken.

7. The term *faith* I likewise use in the Scriptural sense, meaning thereby "the evidence of things not seen." And, that it is Scriptural, appears to me a sufficient defence of any way of speaking whatever. For however the propriety of those expressions may vary which occur in the writings of men, I cannot but think those which are found in the Book of God will be equally proper in all ages. But let us look back, as you desire, to the age of the Apostles. And if it appear that the state of religion now is, according to your own representation of it, the same, in substance, as it was then, it will follow that the same expressions are just as proper now, as they were in the Apostolic age.

8. "At the time of the first preaching of the Gospel," (as you justly observe,) "both Jews and Gentiles were very negligent of internal holiness, but laid great stress on external rites, and certain actions, which, if they performed according to the due forms of their respective religions, they doubted not but those works would render them acceptable to God. The Apostles therefore thought they could not express themselves too warmly against so wicked a persuasion, and often declare that we cannot be made righteous by works; (that is, not by such outward works as were intended to commute for inward holiness;) but 'by faith in Christ;' that is, by becoming Christians both in principle and practice."

9. I have often thought the same thing, namely, that the Apostles used the expression, *salvation by faith*, (importing inward holiness by the knowledge of God,) in direct opposition to the then common per

suasion of salvation by works; that is, going to heaven by outward works without any inward holiness at all.

10. And is not this persuasion as common now as it was in the time of the Apostles? We must needs go out of the world, or we cannot doubt it. Does not every one of our churches (to speak a sad truth) afford us abundant instances of those who are as negligent of internal holiness, as either the Jews or ancient Gentiles were? And do not these at this day lay so great a stress on certain external rites, that, if they perform them according to the due forms of their respective communities, they doubt not but those works will render them acceptable to God? You and I therefore cannot express ourselves too warmly against so wicked a persuasion; nor can we express ourselves against it in more proper terms than those the Apostles used to that very end.

It cannot be denied that this Apostolical language is also the language of our own Church. But I waive this. What is Scriptural in any Church, I hold fast: for the rest, I let it go.

III. 11. But the main point remains: you think the doctrines I hold are not founded on Holy Writ. Before we inquire into this, I would just touch on some parts of that abstract of them which you have given.

"Faith (instead of being a rational assent and moral virtue, for the attainment of which men ought to yield the utmost attention and industry) is altogether supernatural, and the immediate gift of God." I believe, (1.) That a rational assent to the truth of the Bible is one ingredient of Christian faith. (2.) That Christian faith is a moral virtue in that sense wherein hope and charity are. (3.) That men ought to yield the utmost attention and industry for the attainment of it. And yet, (4.) That this, as every Christian grace is properly supernatural, is an immediate gift of God, which he commonly gives in the use of such means as he hath ordained.

I believe it is generally given in an instant; but not arbitrarily, in your sense of the word; not without any regard to the fitness (I should say, the previous qualifications) of the recipient.

12. "When a man is pardoned, it is immediately notified to him by the Holy Ghost, and that (not by his imperceptibly working a godly assurance, but) by such attestation as is easily discernible from reason or fancy."

I do not deny that God imperceptibly works in some a gradually increasing assurance of his love; but I am equally certain, he works in others a full assurance thereof in one moment. And I suppose, however this godly assurance be wrought, it is easily discernible from bare reason, or fancy.

"Upon this infallible notification he is saved, is become perfect, so that he cannot commit sin."

I do not say this notification is infallible in that sense, that none believe they have it, who indeed have it not; neither do I say that a man is perfect in love, the moment he is born of God by faith. But even then, I believe, if he keepeth himself, he doth not commit (outward) sin.

13. "This first sowing of the first seed of faith, you cannot conceive to be other than instantaneous, (ordinarily,) whether you consider experience or the word of God, or the very nature of the thing. Whereas all these appear to me to be against you. To begin with experience: I believe myself to have

as steady a faith in a pardoning God as you can have; and yet I do not remember the exact day when it was first given."

Perhaps not. Yours may be another of those exempt cases, which were allowed before.

But "the experience," you say, "of all the pious persons" you "are acquainted with, is the very same with" yours. You will not be displeased with my speaking freely. How many truly pious persons are you so intimately acquainted with, as to be able to interrogate them on the subject? with twenty? with ten? If so, you are far happier than I was for many years at Oxford. You will naturally ask, with how many truly pious persons am I acquainted, on the other hand. I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not: I am acquainted with more than twelve or thirteen hundred persons, whom I believe to be *truly pious*, and not on slight grounds, and who have severally testified to me with their own mouths that they *do know* the day when the love of God was first shed abroad in their hearts, and when his Spirit first witnessed with their spirits, that they were the children of God. Now, if you are determined to think all these liars or fools, this is no evidence to you; but to me it is strong evidence, who have for some years known the men and their communication.

14. As to the word of God, you well observe, "We are not to frame doctrines by the sound of particular texts, but the general tenor of Scripture, soberly studied and consistently interpreted." Touching the instances you give, I would just remark, (1.) To have sin, is one thing; to commit sin, is another. (2.) In one particular text it is said, "Ye are saved by hope;" perhaps in one more, (though I remember it not,) "Ye are saved by repentance, or holiness." But the general tenor of Scripture, consistently interpreted, declares, "We are saved by faith." (3.) Will either the general tenor of Scripture, or your own conscience, allow you to say that faith is the gift of God in no other or higher sense than riches are? (4.) I entirely agree with you, that the children of light walk by the joint light of reason, Scripture, and the Holy Ghost.

15. "But the word of God appears to" you "to be manifestly against such an instantaneous giving of faith; because it speaks of growth in grace and faith as owing to the slow methods of instruction." So do I. But this is not the question. We are speaking, not of the progress, but of the first rise, of faith. "It directs the gentle instilling of faith, by long labour and pious industry." Not the first instilling; and we speak not now of the continuance or increase of it. "It compares even God's part of the work to the slow produce of vegetables, that, while one plants and another waters, it is God all the while who goes on giving the increase." Very true. But the seed must first be sown, before it can increase at all. Therefore, all the texts which relate to the subsequent increase, are quite wide of the present question.

Perhaps your thinking the nature of the thing to be so clearly against me, may arise from your not clearly apprehending it. That you do not, I gather from your own words: "It is the nature of faith to be a full and practical assent to truth." Surely no. This definition does in nowise express the nature of Christian faith. Christian, saving faith, is a Divine conviction of invisible things; a supernatural conviction of the things of God, with a filial confidence in his love. Now, a man

may have a full assent to the truth of the Bible, (probably attained by the slow steps you mention,) yea, an assent which has some influence on his practice, and yet not have one grain of this faith.

16. I should be glad to know to which writings in particular of he last age you would refer me, for a thorough discussion of the Calvinistical points. I want to have those points fully settled; having seen so little yet wrote on the most important of them, with such clearness and strength as one would desire.

17. I think your following objections do not properly come under any of the preceding heads: "Your doctrine of momentaneous illapse. &c, 's represented by your adversaries as singular and unscriptural; and that these singularities are your most beloved opinions and favourite tenets, more insisted upon by you than the general and uncontroverted truths of Christianity; this is their charge." And so, I doubt, it will be to the end of the world: for, in spite of all I can say, they will represent one circumstance of my doctrine (so called) as the main substance of it. It nothing avails, that I declare again and again, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." I believe this love is given in a moment. But about this I contend not. Have this love, and it is enough. For this I will contend till my spirit returns to God. Whether I am singular or no, in thinking this love is instantaneously given, this is not my "most beloved opinion." You greatly wrong me when you advance that charge. Nay, I love, strictly speaking, no opinion at all. I trample upon opinion, be it right or wrong. I want, I value, I preach, the love of God and man. These are my "favourite tenets," (if you will have the word,) "more insisted on" by me ten times over, both in preaching and writing, than any or all other subjects that ever were in the world.

18. You will observe, I do not say (and who is there that can?) that I have no singular opinion at all; but this I say, that, in my general tenor of preaching, I teach nothing, as the substance of religion, more singular than the love of God and man: and it was for preaching this very doctrine, (before I preached or knew salvation by faith,) that several of the clergy forbade me their pulpits.

"But if it be notorious, that you are frequently insisting on controverted opinions." If it be, even this will not prove the charge, viz "That those are my most beloved opinions, and more insisted upon by me, than the uncontroverted truths of Christianity."

"No singularities," is not my answer; but that no singularities are my most beloved opinions; that no singularities are more, or near so much, insisted on by me, as the general, uncontroverted truths of Christianity.

19. "Another objection," you say, "I have to make to your manner of treating your antagonists. You seem to think you sufficiently answer your adversary, if you put together a number of naked scriptures that sound in your favour. But remember, the question between you and them is, not whether such words are Scripture, but whether they are to be so interpreted."

You surprise me! I take your word, else I should never have imagined you had read over the latter Appeal; so great a part of which is employed in this very thing, in fighting my ground, inch by inch; in proving not that such words are Scripture, but that they must be interpreted in the manner there set down.

20. One point more remains, which you express in these words: "When your adversaries tax you with differing from the Church, they cannot be supposed to charge you with differing from the Church as it was a little after the Reformation, but as it is at this day. And when you profess great deference and veneration for the Church of England, you cannot be supposed to profess it for the Church and its pastors in the year 1545, and not rather in the year 1745. If then, by *the Church of England* be meant (as ought to be meant) the present Church, it will be no hard matter to show that your doctrines differ widely from the doctrines of the Church."

Well, how blind was I! I always supposed, till the very hour I read these words, that when I was charged with differing from the Church, I was charged with differing from the Articles or Homilies. And for the compilers of these, I can sincerely profess great deference and veneration. But I cannot honestly profess any veneration at all for those pastors of the present age, who solemnly subscribe to those Articles and Homilies, which they do not believe in their hearts. Nay, I think, unless I differ from these men (be they bishops, priests, or deacons) just as widely as they do from those Articles and Homilies, I am no true Church of England man.

Agreeably to those ancient records, by *Christian* or *justifying faith* I always meant, faith preceded by repentance, and accompanied or followed by obedience. So I always preached; so I spoke and wrote. But my warm adversaries, from the very beginning, stopped their ears, cried out, "A heretic! A heretic!" and so ran upon me at once.

21. But I let them alone: you are the person I want, and whom I have been seeking for many years. You have understanding to discern, and mildness to repeat, (what would otherwise be,) unpleasing truths. Smite me friendly and reprove me: it shall be a precious balm; it shall not break my head. I am deeply convinced that I know nothing yet as I ought to know. Fourteen years ago, I said, (with Mr. Norris,) "I want heat more than light;" but now I know not which I want most. Perhaps God will enlighten me by your words. O speak and spare not! At least, you will have the thanks and prayers of

Your obliged and affectionate servant.

XXXIX.—*To the Same.*

DECEMBER 30, 1745.

SIR,—I am obliged to you for your speedy and friendly answer; to which I will reply as clearly as I can.

1. If you have leisure to read the last Appeal, you will easily judge, how much I insist on any opinions.

2. In writing practically, I seldom argue concerning the meaning of texts; in writing controversially, I do.

3. In saying, "I teach the doctrines of the Church of England," I do, and always did, mean, (without concerning myself, whether others taught them or no, either this year, or before the Reformation,) I teach the doctrines which are comprised in those Articles and Homilies to which all the clergy of the Church of England solemnly profess to assent, and that in their plain, unforced, grammatical meaning.

As to the Seventeenth Article, Mr. Whitefield really believes that it asserts absolute predestination; therefore, I can also subscribe to it with sincerity. But the case is quite different with regard to those who

subscribe to the Eleventh and following Articles; which are not ambiguously worded, as the Seventeenth (I suppose, on purpose) was.

4. When I say, "The Apostles themselves were to prove their assertions by the written word," I mean the word written before their time, the law and the prophets; and so they did. I do not believe the case of Averel Spencer was natural; yet, when I kneeled down by her bed side, I had no thought at all of God's then giving any "attestation to my ministry." But I asked of God, to deliver an afflicted soul; and he did deliver her. Nevertheless, I desire none to receive my words, unless they are confirmed by Scripture and reason. And if they are, they ought to be received, though Averel Spencer had never been born.

5. That we ought not to relate a purely natural case in the Scripture terms that express our Lord's miracles; that low and common things are generally improper to be told in Scripture phrase; that Scriptural words which are obsolete, or which have changed their signification, are not to be used familiarly, as neither those technical terms which were peculiar to the controversies of those days; I can easily apprehend. But I cannot apprehend that *salvation* or *justification* is a term of this sort; and much less that *faith* and *works*, or *spirit* and *flesh*, are synonymous terms with *Christianity* and *Judaism*. I know this has frequently been affirmed; but I do not know that it has been proved.

6. However, you think there is no occasion now for the expressions used in ancient times; since the persuasions which were common then are now scarcely to be found. For "does any Church of England man," you ask, "maintain any thing like this, that men may commute external works, instead of internal holiness?" Most surely: I doubt whether every Church of England man in the nation, yea, every Protestant (as well as Papist) in Europe, who is not deeply sensible that he did so once, does not do so to this day.

I am one who, for twenty years, used outward works, not only as "acts of goodness," but as commutations, (though I did not indeed profess this,) instead of inward holiness. I knew I was not holy. But I quieted my conscience by doing such and such outward works; and therefore I hoped I should go to heaven, even without inward holiness. Nor did I ever speak close to one who had the form of godliness without the power, but I found he had split on the same rock.

Abundance of people I have likewise known, and many I do know at this day, who "are so grossly superstitious as to think devotion may be put upon God instead of honesty;" as to fancy, going to church and sacrament will bring them to heaven, though they practise neither justice nor mercy. These are the men who make Christianity vile, who, above all others, "contribute to the growth of Infidelity." On the contrary, the speaking of faith working by love, of uniform, outward religion, springing from inward, has already been the means of converting several Deists, and one Atheist, (if not more,) into real Christians.

7. "Infallible testimony" was your word, not mine. I never use it; I do not like it. But I did not object to your using that phrase, because I would not fight about words. If, then, the question be repeated, "In what sense is that attestation of the Spirit infallible?" any one has my free leave to answer, In no sense at all. And yet, though I allow

that some may fancy they have it, when in truth they have it not; I cannot allow that any fancy they have it not, at the time when they really have. I know no instance of this. When they have this faith, they cannot possibly doubt of their having it; although it is very possible, when they have it not, they may doubt whether ever they had it or no. This was Hannah Richardson's case; and it is, more or less, the case with many of the children of God.

That logical evidence, that we are the children of God, I do not either exclude or despise. But it is far different from the direct witness of the Spirit; of which, I believe, St. Paul speaks in his Epistle to the Romans; and which, I doubt not, is given to many thousand souls who never saw my face. But I spoke only of those I personally knew, concerning whom, indeed, I find my transcriber has made a violent mistake, writing 13,000, instead of 1,300: I might add, those whom I also have known by their writings. But I cannot lay so much stress on their evidence. I cannot have so full and certain a knowledge of a writer, as of one I talk with face to face; and therefore I think the experiences of this kind are not to be compared with those of the other.

One, indeed, of this kind I was reading yesterday, which is exceeding clear and strong. You will easily pardon my transcribing part of his words. They are in St. Austin's Confessions: *Intravi in intima mea, duce te: Et potui, quoniam factus es adjutor meus. Intravi et vidi qualicunque oculo animæ meæ, supra eundem oculum animæ meæ, supra mentem meam, lucem Domini incommutabilem: Non hanc vulgarem, conspicuam omni carni; nec quasi ex eodem genere grandior erat,—non hoc illa erat, sed aliud; aliud valde ab istis omnibus. Nec ita erat supra mentem meam, sicut,—cœlum super terram. Sed superior, quia ipsa fecit me. Qui novit Veritatem, novit eam. Et qui novit eam, novit æternitatem. Charitas novit eam.*

*O æterna Veritas! Tu es Deus meus! Tibi suspiro die ac nocte. Et cum te primum cognovi, tu assumpsisti me, ut viderem esse, quod viderem.—Et reverberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei, radians in me vehementer; et contremui amore et horrore: Et inveni me longe esse a te.—Et dixi, Nunquid nihil est Veritas? Et clamasti de longinquo: Immo vero; Ego sum, qui sum. Et audivi, sicut auditur in corde, et non erat prorsus unde dubitarem. Faciliusque dubitarem vivere me, quam non esse Veritatem.** (Lib. 7. cap. 10.)

9. From many such passages as these, which I have occasionally

[* Under thy guidance, I entered into my inmost self: and I was enabled to do so, because thou assistedst me. I entered, and saw with the eye of my soul, of whatsoever sort it be, the immutable light of the Lord above the same eye of my soul, above my mind: not this common light, visible to all flesh; nor as it were a greater light of the same kind,—it was not of this description, but different; entirely different from all these. Nor was it so above my mind as heaven is above the earth: but above, because it made me. Whoever knows the Truth, knows this light: and whoever knows it, knows eternity. Love knows it.

O eternal Truth! Thou art my God! Day and night I pant after thee. And when I first became acquainted with thee, thou didst take me, that I might see that there was something to behold. Thou didst also beat back the weakness of my sight, shining mightily into me; and I trembled with love and awe, and found myself to be far from thee. And I said, Has Truth no existence? And thou proclaimedst from afar: Nay, verily; I AM THAT I AM. And I heard, with the hearing of the heart, and there was no place whatever for doubt. I could more easily doubt my own existence, than that of Truth.—Book 7, chapter 10.]

read, as well as from what I have myself seen and known, I am induced to believe that God's ordinary way of converting sinners to himself is, by "suddenly inspiring them with an immediate testimony of his love, easily distinguishable from fancy." I am assured thus he hath wrought in all I have known, (except, perhaps, three or four persons,) of whom I have reasonable ground to believe that they are really turned from the power of Satan to God.

10. With regard to the definition of *faith*, if you allow, that it is such "an inward conviction of things invisible, as is the gift of God in the same sense wherein hope and charity are," I have little to object; or, that it is "such an assent to all Christian truths as is productive of all Christian practice." In terming either faith, or hope, or love supernatural, I only mean that they are not the effect of any or all of our natural faculties, but are wrought in us (be it swiftly or slowly) by the Spirit of God. But I would rather say, Faith is "productive of all Christian holiness," than "of all Christian practice;" because men are so exceeding apt to rest in practice, so called; I mean, in outside religion: whereas true religion is eminently seated in the heart, renewed in the image of Him that created us.

11. I have not found, in any of the writers you mention, a solution of many difficulties that occur on the head of predestination. And, to speak without reserve, when I compare the writings of their most celebrated successors, with those of Dr. Barrow and his contemporaries, I am amazed: the latter seem to be mere children compared with the former writers; and to throw out such frothy, unconcocted trifles, such indigested crudities, as a man of learning, fourscore or a hundred years ago, would have been ashamed to set his name to.

12. Concerning the instantaneous and the gradual work, what I still affirm is this: That I know hundreds of persons, whose hearts were one moment filled with fear, and sorrow, and pain, and the next with peace and joy in believing, yea, joy unspeakable, full of glory; that the same moment they experienced such a love of God, and so fervent a good will to all mankind, (attended with power over all sin,) as till then they were wholly unacquainted with; that nevertheless the peace and love thus sown in their hearts, received afterward a gradual increase; and that to this subsequent increase the scriptures you mention do manifestly refer. Now, I cannot see that there is any quibbling at all in this. No; it is a plain, fair answer to the objection.

Neither can I apprehend that I have given an evasive answer to any adversary whatever. I am sure I do not desire to do it; for I want us to understand each other. The sooner the better; therefore let us, as you propose, return to the main point.

"The charge is," your words are, "that the Methodists preach sundry singular and erroneous doctrines; in particular three,—unconditional predestination, perceptible inspiration, and sinless perfection. 'They set up,' say their adversaries, 'their own schemes and notions as the great standard of Christianity, so as to perplex, unhinge, terrify, and distract the minds of multitudes, by persuading them that they cannot be true Christians but by adhering to their doctrines.' This is the charge." Now you ask, "What do you mean by their own schemes, their own notions, their own doctrines? It is plain, we mean their unconditional predestination, their perceptible inspiration, and their sinless perfection."

The charge then is, that the Methodists preach unconditional predestination, perceptible inspiration, and sinless perfection. But what a charge! Shall John Wesley be indicted for murder, because George Whitefield killed a man? Or shall George Whitefield be charged with felony, because John Wesley broke a house? How monstrous is this! How dissonant from all the rules of common sense and common honesty! Let every man bear his own burden. If George Whitefield killed a man, or taught predestination, John Wesley did not: what has this charge to do with him? And if John Wesley broke a house, or preached sinless perfection, let him answer for himself. George Whitefield did neither: why then is his name put into this indictment?

Hence appears the inexcusable injustice of what might otherwise appear a trifle. When I urge a man in this manner, he could have no plea at all, were he not to reply, "Why, they are both Methodists." So when he has linked them together by one nickname, he may hang either instead of the other.

But sure this will not be allowed by reasonable men. And if not, what have I to do with predestination? Absolutely nothing; therefore set that aside: yea, and sinless perfection too. "How so? Do not you believe it?" Yes, I do; and in what sense, I have shown in the sermon on Christian Perfection. And if any man calls it an error, till he has answered that, I must say, "Sir, you beg the question." But I preach, perhaps, twenty times, and say no more of this, than even a Calvinist would allow. Neither will I enter into any dispute about it, any more than about the millennium.

Therefore the distinguishing doctrines on which I do insist in all my writings and in all my preaching, will lie in a very narrow compass. You sum them all up in perceptible inspiration. For this I earnestly contend; and so do all who are called Methodist preachers. But be pleased to observe what we mean thereby. We mean that inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, whereby he fills us with righteousness, peace, and joy, with love to him and to all mankind. And we believe it cannot be, in the nature of things, that a man should be filled with this peace, and joy, and love, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, without perceiving it as clearly as he does the light of the sun.

This is (so far as I understand them) the main doctrine of the Methodists. This is the substance of what we all preach. And I will still believe, none is a true Christian till he experiences it; and, consequently, "that people, at all hazards, must be convinced of this; yea, though that conviction at first unhinge them ever so much, though it should in a manner distract them for a season. For it is better that they should be perplexed and terrified now, than that they should sleep on and awake in hell."

I do not therefore, I will not, shift the question; though I know many who desire I should. I know the proposition I have to prove, and I will not move a hair's breadth from it. It is this: "No man can be a true Christian without such an inspiration of the Holy Ghost as fills his heart with peace, and joy, and love; which he who perceives not, has it not." This is the point for which alone I contend; and this I take to be the very foundation of Christianity.

14. The answer, therefore which you think we ought to give, is that

[which] we do give to the charge of our adversaries: "Our singularities (if you will style them so) are fundamental, and of the essence of Christianity;" therefore we must "preach them with such diligence and zeal as if the whole of Christianity depended upon them."

15. It would doubtless be wrong to insist thus on these things if they were "not necessary to final salvation:" but we believe they are; unless in the case of invincible ignorance. In this case, undoubtedly many thousands are saved who never heard of these doctrines: and I am inclined to think, this was our own case, both at Oxford and for some time after. Yet I doubt not but had we been called hence, God would first, by this inspiration of his Spirit, have wrought in our hearts that holy love without which none can enter into glory.

16. I was aware of the seeming contradiction you mention at the very time when I wrote the sentence. But it is only a *seeming* one: for it is true, that from May 24, 1738, "wherever I was desired to preach, salvation by faith was my only theme;"—that is, such a love of God and man, as produces all inward and outward holiness, and springs from a conviction, wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, of the pardoning love of God: and that when I was told, "You must preach no more in this church," it was commonly added, "because you preach such doctrine!" And it is equally true, that "it was for preaching the love of God and man, that several of the clergy forbade me their pulpits" before that time, before May 24, before I either preached or knew salvation by faith.

17. We are at length come to the real state of the question, between the Methodists (so called) and their opponents. "Is there perceptible inspiration, or is there not? Is there such a thing (if we divide the question into its parts) as faith producing peace, and joy, and love, and inward (as well as outward) holiness? Is that faith which is productive of these fruits wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, or not? And is he in whom they are wrought necessarily conscious of them, or is he not?" These are the points on which I am ready to join issue with any serious and candid man. Such I believe you to be. If, therefore, I knew on which of those you desired my thoughts, I would give you them freely, such as they are; or (if you desire it) on any collateral question. The best light I have, I am ready to impart; and am ready to receive farther light from you. My time, indeed, is so short, that I cannot answer your letters so particularly, or so correctly, as I would. But I am persuaded you will excuse many defects where you believe the design is good. I want to know what, as yet, I know not. May God teach it me by you or by whom he pleaseth! "Search me, O Lord, and prove me! Try out my reins and my heart! Look well if there be error or wickedness in me; and lead me in the way everlasting!"

January 3, 1745–6.

XL.—*To the Same.*

London, June 25, 1746.

Sir,—At length I have the opportunity, which I have long desired, of answering the letter you favoured me with some time since. O that God may still give us to bear with each other, and to speak what we believe is the truth, in love!

1. I detest all zeal which is any other than the flame of love. Yet

I find it is not easy to avoid it. It is not easy (at least to me) to be "always zealously affected in a good thing," without being sometimes so affected in things of an indifferent nature. Nor do I find it always easy to proportion my zeal to the importance of the occasion; and to temper it duly with prudence, according to the various and complicated circumstances that occur. I sincerely thank you for endeavouring to assist me herein, to guard me from running into excess. I am always in danger of this, and yet I daily experience a far greater danger of the other extreme. To this day, I have abundantly more temptation to lukewarmness than to impetuosity; to be a saunterer *inter sylvas Academicas*, [among Academic shades,] a philosophical sluggard, than an itinerant preacher. And, in fact, what I now do is so exceeding little, compared with what I am convinced I ought to do, that I am often ashamed before God, and know not how to lift up mine eyes to the height of heaven!

2. But may not love itself constrain us to lay before men "the terrors of the Lord?" And is it not better that sinners "should be terrified now, than that they should sleep on, and awake in hell?" I have known exceeding happy effects of this, even upon men of strong understanding; yet I agree with you, that there is little good to be done by "the profuse throwing about hell and damnation;" and the best way of deciding the points in question with us is, cool and friendly argumentation.

I agree too, "That scheme of religion bids fairest for the true, which breathes the most extensive charity." Touching the charity due to those who are in error, I suppose, we both likewise agree, that really invincible ignorance never did, nor ever shall, exclude any man from heaven. And hence, I doubt not, but God will receive thousands of those who differ from me, even where I hold the truth. But still, I cannot believe he will receive any man into glory (I speak of those under the Christian dispensation) "without such an inspiration of the Holy Ghost as fills his heart with peace, and joy, and love."

3. In this Mr. Whitefield and I agree; but in other points we widely differ. And therefore I still apprehend it is inexcusably unjust to link us together, whether we will or no. For by this means each is constrained to bear, not only his own, but another's, burden. Accordingly, I have been accused a hundred times of holding unconditional predestination. And no wonder: for wherever this charge is advanced,—"The Methodists preach sundry erroneous doctrines; in particular three, unconditional predestination, perceptible inspiration, and sinless perfection," the bulk of mankind will naturally suppose, that the Methodists in general hold these three doctrines. It will follow, that if any of these afterward hears, "Mr. Wesley is a Methodist," he will conclude, "Then he preaches unconditional predestination, perceptible inspiration, and sinless perfection." And thus one man is made accountable (by others, if not by you) for all the errors and faults of another.

4. The case of many who subscribe to the Eleventh and following Articles, I cannot yet think, is exactly the same with the case of Mr. Whitefield and me subscribing the Seventeenth. For each of us can truly say, "I subscribe this Article in that which I believe from my heart is its plain, grammatical meaning." Twenty years ago, I sub

scribed the Fifteenth Article likewise, in its plain, unforced, grammatical meaning. And whatever I do not now believe in this sense, I will on no terms subscribe at all.

5. I speak variously, doubtless, on various occasions; but I hope not inconsistently. Concerning the seeming inconsistency which you mention, permit me to observe, briefly, (1.) That I have seen many things which I believe were miraculous; yet I desire none to believe my words any farther than they are confirmed by Scripture and reason. And thus far I disclaim miracles. (2.) That I believe, "he that marrieth doeth well; but he that doth not, (being a believer,) doeth better." However, I have doubts concerning the tract on this head, which I have not yet leisure to weigh thoroughly. (3.) That a newly justified person has, at once, in that hour, power over all sin; and finds from that hour the work of God in his soul slowly and gradually increasing. And, Lastly, that many, who, while they have faith, cannot doubt, do afterward doubt whether they ever had it or no. Yea, many receive from the Holy Ghost an attestation of their acceptance, as perceptible as the sun at noon-day; and yet those same persons, at other times, doubt whether they ever had any such attestation; nay, perhaps more than doubt, perhaps wholly deny, all that God has ever done for their souls; inasmuch as, in "this hour and power of darkness," they cannot believe they ever saw light.

6. I think St. Austin's description of his own case (whether it prove any thing more or less) greatly illustrates that light, that assurance of faith, whereof we are now speaking. He does not appear, in writing this confession to God, to have had any adversary in view, nor to use any rhetorical heightening at all; but to express the naked experience of his heart, and that in as plain and unmetaphorical words as the nature of the thing would bear.

7. I believe firmly, and that in the most literal sense, that "without God we can do nothing;" that we cannot think, or speak, or move a hand or an eye, without the concurrence of the divine energy; and that all our natural faculties are God's gift, nor can the meanest be exerted without the assistance of his Spirit. What then do I mean by saying that faith, hope, and love, are not the effect of any, or all, our natural faculties? I mean this: That supposing a man to be now void of faith, and hope, and love, he cannot effect any degree of them in himself by any possible exertion of his understanding, and of any or all his other natural faculties, though he should enjoy them in the utmost perfection. A distinct power from God, not implied in any of these, is indispensably necessary, before it is possible he should arrive at the very lowest degree of Christian faith, or hope, or love. In order to his having any of these, (which, on this very consideration, I suppose St. Paul terms the "fruits of the Spirit,") he must be created anew, throughly and inwardly changed, by the operation of the Spirit of God; by a power equivalent to that which raises the dead, and which calls the things which are not as though they were.

8. The "living soberly, righteously, and godly" in this present world, or the uniform practice of universal piety, presupposes some degree of these "fruits of the Spirit," nor can possibly subsist without them. I never said men were too apt to rest on this practice. But I still say

I know abundance of men, who quiet their conscience without either faith or love, by the practice of a few outward works; and this keeps them as easy and contented, though they are without hope and without God in the world, as either the doctrine of irresistible decrees could do, or any theory whatsoever.

Now, what is this but using outward works as commutations for inward holiness? For, (1.) These men love not inward holiness; they love the world; they love money; they love pleasure or praise: therefore, the love of God is not in them; nor, consequently, the Christian love of their neighbour. Yet, (2.) They are in no wise convinced that they are in the broad way which leads to destruction. They sleep on, and take their rest. They say, "Peace, peace," to their soul, though there is no peace. But on what pretence? Why, on this very ground, because, (3.) They do such and such outward works; they go to church, and perhaps to the Lord's table; they use, in some sort, private prayer; they give alms; and therefore they imagine themselves to be in the high road to heaven. Though they have not "the mind that was in Christ," yet they doubt not but all is safe, because they do thus and thus, because their lives are not as other men's are. This is what I mean by using outward works as commutations for inward holiness. I find more and more instances every day of this miserable self-deceit. The thing is plain and clear. But if you dislike the phrase, we will drop it, and use another.

Nearly allied to this is the "gross superstition of those who think to put devotion upon God instead of honesty." I mean, who practise neither justice nor mercy, and yet hope to go to heaven because they go to church and sacrament. Can you find no such men in the Church of England? I find them in every street. Nine times in ten, when I have told a tradesman, "You have cheated me; sold me this for more than it is worth, which I think is a breach both of justice and mercy. Are you a Christian? Do you hope to go to heaven?" his answer, if he deigned any answer at all, has been to this effect: "As good a Christian as yourself! *Go to heaven!* Yes, sure; for I keep my church as well as any man."

Now, what can be plainer, than that this man keeps his church, not only as an act of goodness, but as a commutation instead of goodness; as something which he hopes will do as well, will bring him to heaven, without either justice or mercy? Perhaps, indeed, if he fell into adultery or murder, it might awaken him out of his dream, and convince him, as well as his neighbours, that this worship is not a mitigation, but an aggravation, of his wickedness: but nothing short of this will. In spite of all your reasoning and mine, he will persist in thinking himself a good Christian; and that if his "brother have aught against him," yet all will be well, so he do but constantly "bring his gift to the altar."

I entreat you, sir, to make the experiment yourself; to talk freely with any that come in your way. And you will surely find it is the very thing which almost destroys the (so called) Christian world. Every nominal Christian has some bit or scrap of outward religion, either negative or positive: either he does not do, in some respect, like other men, or he does something more than they. And by this, however freely he may condemn others, he takes care to excuse himself; and stifles what

ever convictions he might otherwise have, "that the wrath of God abideth on him."

After a few impartial inquiries of this kind, I am persuaded you will not say, "As a commutation, surely no Protestant ever did [receive the sacrament] but yourself." Is there not something wrong in these words, on another account; as well as in those, "You should not treat others as the children of the devil, for taking the same liberty which you and Mr. Whitefield take, who continue, notwithstanding, to be the children of God?" Is there not in both these expressions (and perhaps in some others which are scattered up and down in your letters) something too keen? something that borders too much upon sarcasm? upon tartness, if not bitterness? Does not any thing of this sort, either make the mind sore, or harden it against conviction? Does it not make us less able to bear plainness of speech? or at least less ready to improve by it? Give me leave to add one word more, before I proceed. I cannot but be jealous over you. I fear you do not know, near so well as you suppose, even what passes in your own mind. I question not but you believe, that without inward holiness no man shall see the Lord; but are you sure you never once entertained a thought that something else might be put upon him in the stead? Perhaps not grossly, not if it appeared just in that shape: no, nor have I, for these twenty years. But I find the same thought to this day, stealing in continually, under a thousand different forms. I find a continual danger of stopping short of a full renewal in the image of God; a continual propensity to rest in whatever comes between; to put some work or other that I do, even for God's sake, or some gift that I receive in the stead of that great work of God, "the renewal of my soul after his likeness in righteousness and true holiness."

9. One point of doctrine remains: "Is there any such thing as perceptible inspiration or not?" I asserted, "there is;" but at the same time subjoined, "Be pleased to observe what we mean thereby: we mean, that inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, whereby he fills us [every true believer] with righteousness, and peace, and joy; with love to him and all mankind. And we believe it cannot be, in the nature of things, that a man should be filled with this peace, and joy, and love, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, without perceiving it as clearly as he does the light of the sun."

You reply, "You have now entirely shifted the question." I think not. You objected, that I held perceptible inspiration. I answered, "I do;" but observe in what sense; otherwise I must recall my concession: I hold, God inspires every Christian with peace, joy, and love, which are all perceptible. You reply, "The question is not, whether the fruits of inspiration are perceptible, but whether the work of inspiration itself be so." This was not my question; nor did I till now understand that it was yours. If I had, I should have returned a different answer, as I have elsewhere done already.

When one warmly objected, near two years ago, "All reasonable Christians believe that the Holy Spirit works his graces in us in an imperceptible manner;" my answer was, "You are here disproving, as you suppose, a proposition of mine. But are you sure you understand it? By the operations [inspirations or workings] of the Spirit, I do not

mean the manner in which he operates, but the graces which he operates [inspires or works] in a Christian."

If you ask, But do not you hold, "That Christian faith implies a direct, perceptible testimony of the Spirit, as distinguishable from the suggestion of fancy, as light is distinguishable from darkness; whereas we suppose he imperceptibly influences our minds?" I answer, I do hold this. I suppose that every Christian believer, over and above that imperceptible influence, hath a direct perceptible testimony of the Spirit, that he is a child of God.

As I have little time, I must beg you to read and consider what I have already spoken upon this subject, in the First Part of the "Farther Appeal," at the thirty-eighth and following pages; [vol. v, p. 56, &c, of this edition;] and then to let me know what kind of proof it is which you expect in a question of this nature, over and above that of Scripture, as interpreted by the writers of the earliest Christian church.

I have not studied the writings of the Quakers enough, (having read few of them beside Robert Barclay,) to say precisely what they mean by *perceptible inspiration*, and whether their account of it be right or wrong. And I am not curious to know; since between me and them there is a great gulf fixed. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper keep us at a wide distance from each other; insomuch that, according to the view of things I have now, I should as soon commence Deist as Quaker.

I would just add, that I regard even faith itself, not as an end, but a means only. The end of the commandment is love, of every command, of the whole Christian dispensation. Let this love be attained, by whatever means, and I am content; I desire no more. All is well if we love the Lord our God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves.

10. I am aware of one inconvenience, in answering what you say touching the consequences of my preaching. It will oblige me to speak what will try your temper beyond any thing I have said yet. I could, indeed, avoid this by standing on my guard, and speaking with great reserve. But had you not rather that I should deal frankly with you, and tell you just what is in my heart?

I am the more inclined to do this, because the question before us is of so deep importance; insomuch that, were I convinced you had decided it right, there would be an end at once of my preaching. And it lies in a small compass, as you say, "I am not making conjectures of what may happen, but relating mischiefs which actually have happened." These, then, "the mischiefs which have actually happened," let us consider as calmly as possible.

But first we may set aside the "thousands whom (it is said) we should have had pretending a mission from God, to preach against the wickedness of the great, had not the rebels been driven back." The rebels, blessed be God, are driven back.* So that mischief has not actually happened. We may waive, also, "the legion of monstrous errors and wickednesses, the sedition, murder, and treason of the last century;" seeing whatever may be hereafter, it is certain these mischiefs also have not yet actually happened. Nor have I any thing to do with that poor

* Referring to the discomfiture of the Pretender's forces in the year 1745.—Edit.

madman, (I never heard of any more than one such,) who came some time since, "preaching in London streets against Prelacy" and Methodism; and "denouncing curses against George Whitefield, John Wesley, and all bishops, priests, and deacons."

I was more nearly concerned in what has actually happened at Wednesbury, Darlaston, and Walsal. And these were "shameful disorders" indeed. Publish them not in Gath or Askelon! Concerning the occasion of which I may speak more freely to you than it was proper to do to the public.

When I preached at Wednesbury first, Mr. Egginton (the vicar) invited me to his house, and told me, that the oftener I came, the welcomer I should be; for I had done much good there already, and he doubted not but I should do much more. But the next year I found him another man. He had not only heard a vehement visitation-charge, but had been informed that we had publicly preached against drunkards, which must have been designed for satire on him. From this time, we found more and more effects of his unwearied labours, public and private, in stirring up the people on every side, "to drive these fellows out of the country." One of his sermons I heard with my own ears. I pray God I may never hear such another! The minister of Darlaston, and the curate of Walsal, trod in the same steps. And these were they who (not undesignedly) occasioned all the disorders which followed there.

You add: "In countries which you have not much frequented, there have appeared Antinomian preachers, personating your disciples." These have appeared most in countries I never frequented at all, as in the west of Lancashire, in Dorsetshire, and in Ireland. When I came, they disappeared, and were seen no more there; at least, not personating our disciples. And yet, by all I can learn, even these poor wretches have done as little harm as good. I cannot learn that they have destroyed one soul that was before truly seeking salvation.

But you think, I myself, "do a great deal of harm, by breaking and setting aside order. For, order once ever so little set aside, confusion rushes in like a torrent."

What do you mean by *order?* a plan of church discipline? What plan? the Scriptural, the primitive, or our own? It is in the last sense of the word that I have been generally charged with breaking or setting aside order; that is, the rules of our own Church, both by preaching in the fields, and by using extemporary prayer.

I have often replied, (1.) It were better for me to die, than not to preach the Gospel of Christ; yea, and in the fields, either where I may not preach in the church, or where the church will not contain the congregation: (2.) That I use the service of the Church every Lord's day; and it has never yet appeared to me, that any rule of the Church forbids my using extemporary prayer on other occasions.

But methinks I would go deeper. I would inquire, What is the end of all ecclesiastical order? Is it not to bring souls from the power of Satan to God; and to build them up in his fear and love? Order, then, is so far valuable, as it answers these ends; and if it answers them not, it is nothing worth. Now, I would fain know, where has order answered these ends? Not in any place where I have been; not among the tinners in Cornwall, the keelmen at Newcastle, the colliers in Kings-

wood or Staffordshire; not among the drunkards, swearers, Sabbath breakers of Moorfields, or the harlots of Drury-lane. They could not be built up in the fear and love of God, while they were open, barefaced servants of the devil; and such they continued, notwithstanding the most orderly preaching both in St. Luke's and St. Giles's Church. One reason whereof was, they never came near the church; nor had any desire or design so to do, till, by what you term *breach of order*, they were brought to fear God, to love him, and keep his commandments.

It was not, therefore, so much the want of order, as of the knowledge and love of God, which kept those poor souls for so many years in open bondage to a hard master. And, indeed, wherever the knowledge and love of God are, true order will not be wanting. But the most Apostolical order, where these are not, is less than nothing and vanity.

But you say, "Strict order once set aside, confusion rushes in like a torrent." It has been so far from rushing in where we have preached most, that the very reverse is true. Surely, never was "confusion worse confounded," than [it] was a few years since in the forest of Kingswood. But how has it been since the word of God was preached there, even in this disorderly manner?

> Confusion heard his voice; and wild uproar
> Stood ruled; and order from disorder sprung.

O sir, be not carried away with the torrent; the clamour either of the great vulgar, or the small! Reëxamine your very first notions of these things; and then review that sentence, "The devil makes use of your honest zeal, to his dishonest and diabolical purposes. He well knows, you do him more service by breach of order, than dis-service by all your laborious industry." I hope not, (1.) Because I bring the very order you contend for into places where it never was before: and, (2.) Because I bring (yet not I, but the grace of God) that knowledge and love of God also, in conjunction wherewith order is of great price, but without them a worthless shadow.

I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified, by faith that is in him.

XLI.—*To the Same.*

NEWCASTLE, March 25, 1747.

SIR,—1. In your last, I do not find much reason to complain either of tartness or bitterness. But is it so serious as the cause requires? If it be asked,—

> *Ridentem dicere verum*
> *Quid vetat?*
> [What forbids one laughingly to speak truth?]

I think the nature of the things whereof we speak should forbid it. For surely, it is a very serious concern, whether we dwell in the eternal glory of God, or in the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.

2. If those who subscribe the Eleventh and following Articles do subscribe in what they believe from their hearts to be the plain, unforced, grammatical meaning of the words, then they are clear before God. I

trust you can answer for yourself herein; but you cannot for all our brethren.

3. I am glad that our dispute concerning commutations in religion proves to be "entirely verbal:" as we both agree, (1.) That abundance of those who bear the name of Christians put a part of religion for the whole; generally some outward work or form of worship: (2.) That whatever is thus put for the whole of religion, (in particular where it is used to supersede or commute for the religion of the heart,) it is no longer a part of it, it is gross irreligion, it is mere mockery of God.

4. When you warned me against "excess of zeal," I did not say, this was not my weak side; that it was not one weakness to which I am exposed. My words were: "I am always in danger of this; and yet I daily experience a far greater danger of the other extreme." I do. I am, to this day, ashamed before God, that I do so little to what I ought to do. But this you call "overdone humility," and suppose it to be inconsistent with what occurs in the ninety-third and ninety-fourth paragraphs of the "Earnest Appeal." I believe it is not at all inconsistent therewith; only one expression there is too strong,—"all his time and strength;"—for this very cause, "I am ashamed before God." I do not spend all my time so profitably as I might, nor all my strength; at least, not all I might have, if it were not for my own lukewarmness and remissness; if I wrestled with God in constant and fervent prayer.

You mention four other instances of self-contradiction. The First: "You claim and you disclaim miracles. You claim them, as having seen many miraculous attestations to your ministry. You disclaim them, desiring none to believe your words farther than they are confirmed by Scripture and reason;" that is, you claim them in one sense, and disclaim them in another. Perhaps so; but this is no contradiction (2.) "You are not at leisure yet, either to permit or forbid to marry." Indeed I am. Although I commend those who are as "eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake;" yet I know "all men cannot receive this saying," and that "it is better to marry than to burn." (3.) "The newly justified has at once, in that hour, power over all sin, and finds, from that hour, the work of God in the soul slowly and gradually increasing. What, until he has power over more than all sin?" No; but until he has more power over all sin; the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit gradually decreasing; and till he has more peace, more joy in the Holy Ghost, more of the knowledge and love of God. (4.) "But surely, the tip-top of all inconsistencies is what follows, even as explained in your own way: many receive from the Holy Ghost an attestation of their acceptance, as perceptible as the sun at noon-day; and yet these same persons, at other times, doubt or deny that they ever had such attestation."

The fact stands thus: (1.) A man feels in himself the testimony of God's Spirit, that he is a child of God; and he can then no more deny or doubt thereof, than of the shining of the sun at noon-day. (2.) After a time, this testimony is withdrawn. (3.) He begins to reason within himself concerning it; next, to doubt whether that testimony was from God; and, perhaps, in the end, to deny that it was. And yet he may be, all this time, in every other respect, "of sound memory as well as understanding." Now, whether these propositions are true or false,

they are not contradictory to each other. They cannot, unless it were affirmed, that the same person has and has not the same testimony at the same time.

5. However, you think I assert a thing impossible. What is impossible? that the Spirit of God should bear a clear, perceptible witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God? Surely no! Whether this be the fact or not, no man of reason will say it is impossible. Or that the Spirit of God should cease to bear this witness? Neither can the possibility of this be denied. The thing, then, which is supposed impossible is this, that a man who once had it should ever doubt, whether he had it or no; that is, (as you subjoin,) "if he continue sound in mind" (or understanding) "and memory." Right! "If he continue:" but the very supposition is, that, in this respect, he does not continue so. While he did so continue, he could not doubt. But his understanding is now darkened, and the very traces of that divine work well nigh erased out of his memory. Nor can I think, "it is vain to have recourse here to the ενεργεια [working] of the power of darkness." I verily believe, as it was the God of heaven who once shone in his heart, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God; so it is the god of this world who hath now blinded his heart, so that the glorious light cannot shine upon it.

6. If the Quakers hold the same perceptible inspiration with me, I am glad; and it is neither better nor worse for their holding it; although, if I "distinguish it away," I do not hold it at all. But do I distinguish it away? or any point which I believe to be the truth of God? I am not conscious of this. But when men tack absurdities to the truth of God, with which it hath nothing to do, I distinguish away those absurdities, and let the truth remain in its native purity.

It was several months before my correspondence with you, that I thus distinguished away perceptible inspiration; declaring to all men, "by *perceiving* or *feeling the operations of the Spirit*, I mean, being inwardly conscious of them." "By *the operations of the Spirit*, I do not mean the *manner* in which he operates in a Christian."

This I mentioned in my last. But it is certain, over and above those other graces which the Holy Spirit inspires into, or operates in, a Christian, and over and above his imperceptible influences; I do intend all mankind should understand me to assert, (what I therefore express in the clearest language I am master of,) every Christian believer hath a perceptible testimony of the Spirit, that he is a child of God. I use the phrase, *testimony of the Spirit*, rather than *inspiration*, because it has a more determinate meaning. And I desire men to know what I mean, and what I do not; that I may not fight as one that beateth the air.

7. Is there "not one word said of this, either in the 'Farther Appeal,' or in any one place in the Bible?" I think there is in the Bible; in the sixteenth verse of the eighth chapter to the Romans. And is not this very place proved to describe the ordinary privilege of every Christian believer, in the "Farther Appeal," from the forty-fifth to the forty-ninth, and from the fifty-sixth to the fifty-ninth, page? (Vol. v, p. 60–63, and 67–69, of this edition.)

Give me leave to remind you of some of the words. In the forty-

ninth page the argument concludes thus: "It will follow, that this witness of the Spirit is the private testimony given to our own consciences, which, consequently, all sober Christians may claim, without any danger of enthusiasm." In the fifty-seventh page are these words: 'Every one that is born of God, and doth not commit sin, by his very actions, saith, 'Our Father, which art in heaven;' the Spirit itself bearing witness with their spirit, that they are the children of God. According to Origen, therefore, this testimony of the Spirit is not any public testimony by miracles, but an inward testimony belonging in common to all that are born of God." Once more: In the fifty-eighth page are these words: "He brings yet another proof of the superiority of those who had this Spirit of adoption: 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.' 'I prove this,' says he, 'not only from the voice itself, but also from the cause whence that voice proceeds. For the Spirit suggests the words while we thus speak, which he hath elsewhere expressed more plainly, *God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father!* But what is, *The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit?*' He means the Paraclete by the gift given unto us." (But that this was an extraordinary gift, we have no intimation at all, neither before nor after.) "And when the Spirit beareth witness, what doubt is left? If a man or an angel spake, some might doubt; but when the Most High beareth witness to us, who can doubt any longer?"

I am mistaken if this does not come home to the point, to the question now before us; describing a perceptible testimony of the Holy Ghost, "directly felt to be worked by himself."

8. But I will waive all authorities, that of Origen and Chrysostom, as well as of Hannah Richardson (though not a weak woman, but eminently the reverse) and Averel Spencer; (though not a wicked one;) only observing that your argument proves too much. I am as fully assured to-day, as I am of the shining of the sun, that the Scriptures are of God. I cannot possibly deny or doubt of it now; yet I may doubt of it to-morrow; as I have done heretofore a thousand times, and that after the fullest assurance preceding. Now, if this be "a demonstration that my former assurance was a mere fancy," then farewell all revelation at once!

But to come closer yet, and weigh the point in debate in the balance of plain reason: You must allow there is a testimony of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the children of God. "But," you say, "it is not a perceptible one." How is this? Let us examine it throughly. It is allowed, (1.) The Spirit of God, (2.) Bears testimony to my spirit, (3.) That I am a child of God. But I am not to perceive it. Not to perceive what? the first, second, or third particular? Am I not to perceive what is testified,—that I am a child of God? Then it is not testified at all. This is saying and unsaying in the same breath. Or am I not to perceive, that it is testified to my spirit? Yea, but I must perceive what passes in my own soul. Or, lastly, am I to perceive that I am a child of God, and that this is testified to my spirit; but not to perceive who it is that testifies, not to know it is the Spirit of God? O sir, if there really be a man in the world who hath this testimony in himself, can it be supposed that he does not know who it is that

testifies? who it is that speaks to his heart? that speaks in his inmost soul as never man spake? If he does not, he is ignorant of the whole affair. If you are in this state, I pray God you may say from the heart, "Lord, what I know not, teach thou me." How much better were this, than to canonize your own ignorance, as the only knowledge and wisdom; and to condemn all the generation of God's children of "idiotism and madness!"

9. Under your last head, you do not confine yourself now within the bounds you at first proposed; when you said, "I am not making conjectures of what may happen, but relating mischiefs which actually have happened." Take care you do not grow warm when I reply to this; you will have need of all your patience to bear it.

You begin: "Will you ask what I mean by *order?* Was it not manifest I meant to speak against lay preaching?" It was: but not against that alone. Therefore, before I entered upon the question, I defined the term in a wider sense, so as to include both this and every irregularity you had objected. You go on: "How could you give so strange an answer, 'I bring this order you contend for into places where it never was before?'" I reply, This is not my whole answer; it is but one, and that the most inconsiderable, part of it: but it is strictly true. "Do you then bring in the ministry of regularly ordained ministers, where, before, people were used to the preaching of lay brethren?" Yes; them who were before used to no preaching at all, or to that of those whom you would term lay brethren, I bring to attend on the ministry of those regular preachers who have the charge of their several parishes.

But very "ill consequences" of our irregular preaching, you say have "actually happened: a number of unsent persons going about the kingdom, and preaching the worst of heresies." *A number!* Where? Within these nine years past, I have heard of two, and no more, (besides that lunatic clergyman,) who have gone about thus, though I doubt sent neither of God nor man. But I have heard of no heresy which they preached; only a little smooth, undigested nonsense. Nor can the ill done by these balance the thousandth part of the good already done by the preaching of other laymen: viz. the turning so many bold, barefaced servants of the devil, into humble, holy servants of God.

However, evil "will happen if any state faction shall join the irregulars." If they shall! Yea, if they shall attempt it, (which is far enough off,) the irregulars will not join them. We bless God that the government is at present very fully convinced of this.

"But if unsent, well-meaning laymen may preach, unsent ill-meaning laymen will, upon the first opportunity, spread sedition like wildfire." Yea, and clergymen as well as laymen, sent as well as unsent. Thus it ever was, and I presume ever will be.

10. That "the irregularities of Mr. Cartwright did more harm in the course of a century, than all the labours of his life did good," is by no means plain to me: and the less so, because I cannot learn from Mr. Strype, or any other impartial writer, (whatever his mistakes in judgment were,) that he fell into any irregularities at all. I look upon him, and the body of Puritans in that age, (to whom the German Anabap-

tists bore small resemblance,) to have been both the most learned and most pious men that were then in the English nation. Nor did they separate from the Church; but were driven out, whether they would or no. The vengeance of God which fell on the posterity of their persecutors, I think, is no imputation on Mr. Cartwright or them; but a wonderful scene of Divine providence, visiting the sins of the fathers upon their children, (when they also had filled up the measure of their iniquities,) unto the third and fourth generation.

I am not careful for what may be a hundred years hence. He who governed the world before I was born, shall take care of it likewise when I am dead. My part is to improve the present moment. And, whatever may be the fruits of lay preaching, when you and I are gone to our long home, every serious man has cause to bless God for those he may now see with his eyes; for the saving so many souls from death; and hiding a multitude of sins. The instances glare in the face of the sun. Many indeed God hath taken to himself; but many more remain, both young and old, who now fear God and work righteousness.

11. Perhaps a parallel drawn from physic may hold more exactly than you was apprised of. For more than twenty years I have had numberless proofs that regular physicians do exceeding little good. From a deep conviction of this, I have believed it my duty, within these four months last past, to prescribe such medicines to six or seven hundred of the poor as I knew were proper for their several disorders. Within six weeks, nine in ten of them who had taken these medicines were remarkably altered for the better; and many were cured of diseases under which they had laboured for ten, twenty, forty years. Now, ought I to have let one of these poor wretches perish, because I was not a regular physician? to have said, "I know what will cure you: but I am not of the college: you must send for Dr. Mead." Before Dr. Mead had come in his chariot, the man might have been in his coffin. And when the doctor was come, where was his fee? What! he cannot live upon nothing! So, instead of an orderly cure, the patient dies; and God requires his blood at my hands!

12. But you think "if one should look out of his grave in the middle of the next century, he would find the orderly preaching at St. Luke's and St. Giles's church had done more good than the disorderly preaching at Kennington." I cannot learn by all the inquiries I have made, that at present it does any good at all; that either Dr. B. or Dr. G. has, in all these years, converted one sinner to God. And if a man saves no souls while he is alive, I fear he will save few after he is dead.

But "it does abundance less harm." Perhaps not so, neither. "He that gathereth not with me scattereth;" more especially if he be a preacher. He must scatter from Him, if he does not gather souls to God. Therefore, a lifeless, unconverting minister is the murderer-general of his parish. He enters not into the kingdom of heaven himself, and those that would enter in he suffers not. He stands in the gap between them and true religion. Because he has it not, they are easy without it. Dead form contents him, and why not them? "Sure, it is enough if we go as far as our guide!" And if he is not outwardly vicious he the more effectually secures them from all inward, solid

virtue. How choice a factor for hell is this! destroying more souls than any Deist in the kingdom! I could not have blamed St. Chrysostom, if he had only said, "Hell is paved with the skulls of such Christian priests!"

13. I must be short on what remains. You suppose the impression made on men's minds by this irregular way of preaching is chiefly owing to "the force of novelty." I believe it was to obviate this very supposition, that my preaching has so rarely made any impression at all, till the novelty of it was over. When I had preached more than sixscore times at this town, I found scarce any effect; only that abundance of people heard, and gaped, and stared, and went away much as they came. And it was one evening, while I was in doubt if I had not laboured in vain, that such a blessing of God was given, as has continued ever since, and I trust will be remembered unto many generations.

You ascribe it likewise in part to "a natural knack of persuasion." If either by a natural or an acquired power of persuasion I can prevail upon sinners to turn to God, am I to bury even that talent in the earth? "No; but try if you cannot do more good in a college or in a parish." I have tried both, and I could not do any substantial good, either to my pupils or my parishioners. Among my parishioners in Lincolnshire, I tried for some years; but I am well assured I did far more good to them by preaching three days on my father's tomb, than I did by preaching three years in his pulpit.

But you "know no call I have to preach up and down; to play the part of an itinerant evangelist." Perhaps you do not. But I do; I know God hath required this at my hands. To me, his blessing my work is an abundant proof; although such a proof as often makes me tremble. But "is there not pride or vanity in my heart?" There is; yet this is not my motive to preaching. I know and feel that the spring of this is a deep conviction, that it is the will of God, and that were I to refrain, I should never hear that word, "Well done, good and faithful servant;" but, "Cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness, where is weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth."

XLII.—*To the Same.*

St. Ives, July 10, 1747.

Sir,—1. You put me in mind of an eminent man, who, preaching at St. James's, said, "If you do not repent, you will go to a place which I shall not name before this audience." I cannot promise so much, either in preaching or writing, before any audience, or to any person whatever. Yet I am not conscious of doing this very often,—of "profusely flinging about everlasting fire;" though it is true, I mentioned it in my last letter to you, as I have done now, a second time; and perhaps I may mention it yet again. For, to say the truth, I desire to have both heaven and hell ever in my eye, while I stand on this isthmus of life, between these two boundless oceans; and I verily think the daily consideration of both highly becomes all men of reason and religion.

2. I think likewise, (or I would not spend five words upon the head,) that these are nearly concerned in our present question. To touch only on one branch of it: If I live in wilful sin, in a sinful "deviation from established order," am I not in the way to hell? I cannot take it

any otherwise. I cannot help "blending these two inquiries together." I must therefore speak seriously, or not at all; and yet, I trust, "without losing my temper." Do you complain of this first, that I may not complain? It appears to me that you show more eagerness of spirit, more warmth and resentment, in your last, than you ever have done from the beginning.

3. You spoke of "a number of unsent persons going about and preaching the worst of heresies." I answered, "Within these nine years I have heard of two, and no more, who have gone about thus, though I doubt neither sent of God nor man." Their names were Jonathan Wildboar, and Thomas Smith, *alias* Moor, *alias* I know not what; for I fear he changed his name as often as his place. It is not unlikely that either of these might steal as well as lie, which they have done abundantly, particularly in claiming acquaintance with Mr. Whitefield or me, wherever they judged it would recommend them to their hearers. I should not be surprised to hear of two more such; but I have not yet, in all the counties I have gone through between London and Berwick-upon-Tweed, or between Deal and the Land's End.

4. I would to God, all the clergy throughout the land were "zealous for inward, solid virtue." But I dare not say one in ten of those I have known are so in any degree. The two clergymen of this place, on a late public occasion, were led home at one or two in the morning in such a condition as I care not to describe. One of them is rector of Lelant also, (a parish east of St. Ives,) of Twidnack to the south, and Zennor, to the west. At Zennor he keeps another assistant, and one who is just as sober himself, and near as zealous,—not indeed for inward or outward virtue, but against these "scoundrels that pretend to preach in his parish."

5. I never "attempted to deny," that the novelty of our manner of preaching has induced thousands and ten thousands to hear us, who would otherwise never have heard us at all, nor perhaps any other preacher. But I utterly deny, that "the effects wrought on many of them that heard were owing to novelty, and that only." The particular effects wrought at Epworth, were these: many drunkards, many unjust and profane men, on whom both my father and I had for several years spent our strength in vain, from that time began to live, and continue so to do, a sober, righteous, and godly life. Now, I deny that this effect can be owing to novelty, or to any principle but the power of God.

If it be asked, But were there not "the same hearers, the same preachers, and the same God to influence, in the church, as on the tomb stone?" I answer, (1.) There were not all the same hearers in the church; not above one third of them. (2.) There was the same preacher in the church, but he did not then preach the same doctrine; and therefore, (3.) Though there was the same God, there was not the same influence, or blessing from him.

6. The sum of what I offered before, concerning perceptible inspiration, was this: "Every Christian believer has a perceptible testimony of God's Spirit, that he is a child of God." You objected, that there was not one word said of this, either in the Bible or in the "Appeal," to which I referred. I replied, "I think there is in the Bible, in the

sixteenth verse of the eighth chapter to the Romans. And in the 'Farther Appeal,' this place is proved to describe the ordinary privilege of every Christian believer."

This is there shown, both by Scripture, by reason, and by authority, particularly that of Origen and Chrysostom, whom his lordship of Lichfield had cited in his Charge, as asserting just the contrary. But waiving authorities, I reasoned thus: "You allow there is a testimony of the Spirit, with our spirit, that we are the children of God. But you say, it is not a perceptible one. How is this? Let us examine it throughly. It is allowed, (1.) The Spirit of God, (2.) Bears testimony to my spirit, (3.) That I am a child of God. But I am not to perceive it. Not to perceive what? the first, second, or third particular? Am I not to perceive what is testified; that I am a child of God? Then it is not testified at all. This is saying and unsaying in the same breath. Or am I not to perceive, that it is testified to my spirit? Yea, but I must perceive what passes in my own soul! Or, lastly, am I to perceive that I am a child of God, and that this is testified to my spirit, but not to perceive who it is that testifies? not to know it is the Spirit of God? O sir, if there be really a man in the world who hath this testimony in himself, can it be supposed that he does not know who it is that testifies? who it is that speaks to his heart?"

7. Instead of giving a direct answer to this, you have recourse to the same supposition with his lordship of Lichfield and Coventry, viz. that there was once an inward, perceptible testimony of the Spirit, but that it was peculiar to the early ages of the Church.

"There are three ways," say you, "in which the Holy Spirit may be said to bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: (1.) By external, miraculous attestations. (2.) By internal, plainly perceptible whispers." (I must add, "not in words, at least not always, but by some kind of impressions equivalent thereto.") (3.) "By his standing testimony in the Holy Scriptures. The Apostle had all these three. Origen and Chrysostom, probably the two latter. But if St. Bernard, several hundred years after, pretended to any other than the third, his neighbours would naturally ask for proof, either that it should be so by Scripture, or that it was so by facts."

Well, then, let us suppose St. Bernard, and one of his neighbours, to be talking together on this subject. On St. Bernard's saying, "The Spirit of God bears witness with my spirit, that I am a child of God;" his neighbour replies, "I suppose he does, but not by an inward, plainly perceptible testimony."—"Yes, by an inward, plainly perceptible testimony. I now have this testimony in myself; I plainly perceive that I am a child of God, and that it is his Spirit who testifies it to my spirit." —"I fear you are somewhat enthusiastically given. I allow God's standing testimony in the Scriptures; but I cannot allow that there is now any such thing as this inward testimony, unless you can either prove by Scripture that it should be so, or by facts that it is so."—"Are not these words Scripture: 'The Spirit itself beareth testimony with our spirit, that we are the children of God?'"—"Yes; but the question is, how they are to be understood; for I deny that they speak of an inward testimony. They speak of the outward, standing testimony of God in the Holy Scriptures."—"You put a manifest force upon the text. You cannot prove that it speaks of any outward testimony at all. But the

words immediately preceding prove to a demonstration, that it speaks of an inward testimony: 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage unto fear;' (is not fear an inward thing?) 'but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!' The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God, even the same Spirit which 'God hath sent forth into our hearts, crying Abba, Father!'"—"I do not deny that the Spirit bears witness with our spirit. But I deny your peculiar interpretation of this text. I deny that this text at all favours an inward, perceptible testimony."—"The Spirit which God hath sent into my heart, and which now cries in my heart, 'Abba, Father,' now beareth testimony with my spirit, that I am a child of God. How can these words be interpreted at all, but of an inward, perceptible testimony?"—"I tell you, of God's standing testimony in Scripture,"—"This is a palpable violence to the words. They no more speak of Scripture, than of miracles. They manifestly speak of what passes in the heart, the spirit, the inmost soul of a believer, and that only."

8. But you would say, "Suppose this scripture to prove that it should be so, can you show by facts that it is so?" Not if you take it for granted, that every one who speaks of having this witness in himself is an enthusiast. You are then in no danger of proof from this quarter. You have a short answer to every fact which can be alleged.

But you turn the tables. You say it is I who allow that "many of God's children do not continue in sound mind and memory." I allowed, (1.) A man feels the testimony of God's Spirit, and cannot then deny or doubt his being a child of God. (2.) After a time this testimony is withdrawn: not from every child of God; many retain the beginning of their confidence steadfast unto the end. (3.) Then he may doubt whether that testimony was of God, and perhaps, at length, deny that it was; especially if his heart be hardened by the deceitfulness of his sin. And yet he may be all this time, in every other respect, of "sound memory, as well as understanding." In this respect I allowed he is not; that is, "his understanding is now darkened, and the very traces of that divine work well nigh erased out of his memory." So I expressly determined the sense wherein I allowed, "he does not continue in sound mind and memory." But did I allow that even then he was *non compos mentis*,—a madman, in the common sense? Nothing less; I allowed no more, than, the divine light being withdrawn, his mind was again dark as to the things of God; and that he had forgotten τȣ καθαρισμȣ των παλαι αυτȣ αμαρτιων, [the purification from his former sins,] (2 Peter i, 9,) well nigh, as if had it never been.

9. But you say, "If variable facts be produced, to-day asserted, to-morrow denied"—Nay, the facts, whether asserted or denied, are still invariable. "But if they be ever doubted or denied, they never were plainly perceptible." I cannot discern any force in that consequence: However, if they are afterward "denied, they are not from Him, 'in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.'" Neither is this consequence good. Though God is ever the same, man may either assert or deny his works. "The spirit of man, and his fancies or opinions, may vary; but God and his facts cannot." Thus far they can and do: God does not now bear witness as he did before.

And this variation of the fact makes way for a variation in the judgment of him who had that witness, but now hath it not. "You may be fully of opinion to-day, that the Scriptures are of God, and doubt of this to-morrow. But what is this to the purpose?" Very much. I am as fully convinced to-day that the Scriptures are of God, as that the sun shines. And this conviction (as every good gift) cometh from the Father of lights. Yet I may doubt of it to-morrow. I may throw away the good gift of God. "But we were speaking not of man's opinions, but of God's facts." We were speaking of both; of man's opinions, or judgment, concerning God's facts. "But could he to whom Christ said, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' ever doubt or deny that Christ said so?" I question not but in process of time he might; particularly if he drew back unto perdition. But however that be, it is no "blasphemous supposition," but a plain, undeniable truth, that the god of this world can obliterate what the God of heaven has strongly imprinted upon the soul; yea, and that he surely will, unless we stir up the gift of God, which is in us, by earnestly and continually watching unto prayer.

I presume, you do not deny that a believer, one who has the witness in himself, may make "shipwreck of the faith;" and, consequently, lose the witness (however it be explained) which he once had of his being a child of God. The darkness which then covers his soul again, I ascribe (in part) to the energy of Satan, who ενεργει,—*worketh*, according to the Apostle, in the children of unbelief, whether they did once believe or no. And has he not much power even on the children of God? to disturb, though not to destroy? to throw fiery darts without number; especially against those who, as yet, are but weak in the faith? to inject doubts and fears? sometimes unbelieving, sometimes even blasphemous thoughts? And how frequently will they be wounded thereby, if they have not put on the whole armour of God!

10. You add: "If we reply, There are enthusiasts in the world, you can keep your temper no longer; and the only answer is, If we perceive not that witness in ourselves, we are ignorant of the whole affair, and doomed to the 'everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.'" I said not so. I can keep my temper (blessed be God) if you call me a hundred enthusiasts; if you affirm, I am ten times more of an enthusiast than that poor Quaker probably was. The sharpest word I said, was, "If a man does not know who it is that testifies with his spirit, he is a child of God, he is ignorant of the whole affair." But I felt no anger when I said this. Nor do I now. Though I still think (because you say it yourself) that you are ignorant of this whole affair, of the inward testimony for which I contend. Yet am I far from dooming you to everlasting fire. What you know not, I trust God will reveal unto you. Least of all, was this my "only answer" to your supposition, "that this perceptible testimony is only an imagination, unless I am altogether in a dream." I have given some other answer, and a pretty full one, to the objection; such a one, I think, as the nature of the thing admits, at least as my capacity would allow.

11. I have largely considered, both in the Third Part of the Appeal, and, in the latter part of the Second Letter to Mr. Church, the unreasonableness of the common demand, to prove our doctrine by miracles.

I cannot but refer you to those tracts, having neither time nor inclination *actum agere*. [To do a thing already done.] Only I would weigh what you have now advanced, in support of that demand. "If the enthusiast is as confident of his inspiration, as one really inspired is of his, a third person has a right to call for other proof than confident assertions;" that is, for miracles. So you explain yourself in the following sentence. Let us try how this consequence will hold in a particular instance: "The Spirit said unto Paul, Go not into Macedonia." When he related this to his companions, ought they to have replied, "We call for other proof of this than your confident assertion; seeing enthusiasts are as confident of theirs, as you are of this revelation?" If you say, "They had seen his miracles at other times;" I know not that; perhaps they had, perhaps they had not. But to step a little forward: "If, in the days of Origen and Chrysostom, external miraculous powers were ceased, while internal inspiration still remained:" what becomes of your demand here? It is totally excluded; although there were, in those days also, pretenders to what they had not.

And yet there might have been other sufficient reasons for believing the assertion of Origen, Chrysostom, and St. Bernard too, that they had this internal testimony. Such was, besides the holiness of their lives, that great and standing miracle,—their saving so many souls from death, and hiding a multitude of sins.

12. There are at least as many pretenders to the love of God, as there are to the witness of his Spirit. But does this give me a right, if a man asserts, he loves God, to demand his proving that assertion by miracles? Not so; but by their fruits I shall know a real and a pretended love of God. And in the same manner may I know him that has the witness of God's love, from an enthusiastic pretender to it. But if a man disclaims it, he sets himself out of the question. It is beyond dispute that he has it not.

Neither do I want miracles in order to determine my judgment with regard to scriptures variously interpreted. I would not say, in this case, "Show me a sign;" but, "Bring forth your strong reasons;" and according to these, weighed in an even, impartial scale, would I incline to one side or the other.

13. From the beginning of our correspondence, I did not expect you to alter your judgment touching those points wherein we differed. But I was willing (and am so still) to hear and consider whatever you should advance concerning them; and so much the rather, because in the greatest points we do agree already; and in the smaller, we can bear with each other, and speak what we apprehend to be the truth in love. Let us bless God for this, and press on to the mark. It cannot be long before we shall be quite of one mind; before the veil of flesh shall drop off, and we shall both see pure light, in the unclouded face of God.

XLIII.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, March 22, 1747-8.

SIR,—I rejoice to find that in some points we come nearer each other, and that we can bear with each other where we do not. I entirely agree that hell was designed only for stubborn, impenitent sinners, and, consequently, that it would be absurd to "threaten damnation to any, merely

for differing from me in speculations." But it is an absurdity which I have nothing to do with; for it never yet entered into my thoughts.

2. I rejoice likewise in your allowing that my "speculations, though false, yea, and leading to a deviation from order, may yet possibly be neither wilful nor sinful;" and much more in that which follows: "I question not but God's mercy may both forgive and reward," even that zeal which is not according to knowledge.

3. Yet "such deviation," you think, "may open a door to much disorder and error." I grant it may; but I still insist, (1.) That accidental ill consequences may flow from a good thing. (2.) That the good consequences in the present case, overbalance the evil beyond all possible degrees of comparison. The same I believe of Mr. Whitefield's public preaching, (which was not the consequence, but the cause, of mine,) whose doctrine in general (though he is mistaken in some points) I believe to be the truth of the Gospel.

4. I never did censure the whole body of clergy; and God forbid that I ever should. I do not willingly censure any, even the grossly immoral. But you advise to "complain of these to the bishop of the diocess." In what way? "Be so public spirited as to present them." Much may be said on that question. I should ask, (1.) Have I a right to present them? I apprehend not. The churchwardens of each parish are to do this; which they will hardly do, at my instance. (2.) If I could do it myself, the presenting them to the court is not presenting them to the bishop: the bishop, you cannot but know, has no more authority in what is called the bishop's court, than the pope of Rome. (3.) I cannot present, suppose thirty persons in as many counties, to the lay chancellors or officials, (men whom I apprehend to have just as much authority from Scripture to administer the sacraments, as to try ecclesiastical causes,) without such an expense both of labour, and money, and time, as I am by no means able to sustain. And what would be the fruit, if I could sustain it? if I was the informer general against the immoral clergy of England? O sir, can you imagine, or dare you say, that I should "have the thanks of the bishops, and of all good men, both clergy and laity?" If you allow only those to be good men who would thank me for this, I fear you would not find seven thousand good men in all our Israel.

5. But you have been "assured there are proofs about to be produced of very shocking things among us also." It is very possible you may. And, to say the truth, I expected such things long ago. In such a body of people, must there not be some hypocrites, and some who did for a time serve God in sincerity, and yet afterward turn back from the holy commandment once delivered to them? I am amazed there have been so few instances of this, and look for more every day. The melancholy case of that unhappy man, Mr. Hall, I do not rank among these; for he had renounced us long ago, and that over and over, both by word and writing. And though he called upon me once or twice a year, and lately made some little overtures of friendship, yet I have it under his own hand, he could have no fellowship with us, because we would not leave the Church. But *quia intellexi minus, protrusit foras.* [Because I was not so wise, he turned me out of doors.] To make it quite plain and clear how close a connection there was between him and me, when

I lately called on his poor wife at Salisbury, he fairly turned me out of doors, and my sister after me.

6. My father did not die unacquainted with the faith of the Gospel, of the primitive Christians, or of our first Reformers; the same which, by the grace of God, I preach, and which is just as new as Christianity. What he experienced before, I know not; but I know that during his last illness, which continued eight months, he enjoyed a clear sense of his acceptance with God. I heard him express it more than once although at that time I understood him not. "The inward witness, son, the inward witness," said he to me, "that is the proof, the strongest proof of Christianity." And when I asked him, (the time of his change drawing nigh,) "Sir, are you in much pain?" he answered aloud, with a smile, "God does chasten me with pain, yea, all my bones with strong pain; but I thank him for all, I bless him for all, I love him for all!" I think the last words he spoke, when I had just commended his soul to God, were, "Now you have done all." And with the same serene, cheerful countenance he fell asleep, without one struggle, or sigh, or groan. I cannot therefore doubt but the Spirit of God bore an inward witness with his spirit, that he was a child of God.

7. That "God blesses a doctrine preached (new or old) to the saving of souls from death, does not prove that every circumstance of it is true; for a predestinarian preacher may save souls." But it undoubtedly proves, that the main of what is preached is the truth as it is in Jesus; for it is only the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation. Human wisdom, as human laws, may restrain from outward sin; but they cannot avail to the saving of the soul. If God gives this blessing to what is preached, it is a sufficient "proof of his approbation." But I will not contend about words, or, when his blessing is allowed, dispute whether it has his approbation or not.

8. But to argue on your own supposition: You say, "It only shows, that novelty, which has a natural tendency to awakening, may, when God pleases, have an efficacious tendency to amending." Well, then, if the novelty of an indifferent circumstance, such as place, has a natural tendency to awakening, surely we may use it according to its natural tendency, in order to awaken those that sleep in sin! And if God has, in fact, been pleased to use it beyond its natural tendency, to make it efficacious for amending as well as awakening, ought we not to acquiesce, yea, and rejoice therein?

9. But are sinners amended? Are they saved from their sins? Are they truly converted to God? Here is, what always must be, the main question. That many are in some sort converted, is owned. But to what are they converted? "to the belief of such proofless, incredible stuff as transubstantiation? or to the Popish severities of flesh fasting, celibacies, and other monkeries?" Not so. If they are converted at all, they are converted from all manner of wickedness, "to a sober, righteous, and godly life." Such a uniform practice is true outward holiness. And wherever this is undeniably found, we ought to believe there is holiness of heart; seeing the tree is known by its fruits.

10. That "the conversion of sinners to this holiness is no miracle at all," is new doctrine indeed! So new to me, that I never heard it before, either among Protestants or Papists. I think a miracle is a work

of omnipotence, wrought by the supernatural power of God. Now, if the conversion of sinners to holiness is not such a work, I cannot tell what is. I apprehend our Lord accounts it a greater work, than giving sight to the blind, yea, or raising the dead; for it was after he had raised Lazarus from the dead, that he told his Apostle, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also. And greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father." Greater outward works they could not do. It remains, therefore, that we understand those solemn words, of converting souls to God; which is indeed a greater work than any that can be wrought on the body.

11. I am glad you do "not demand miracles in proof of doctrines." Thus far, then, we are agreed. But you demand them, (1.) "As things to which I lay claim;" and in order to show that claim cannot be supported. (2.) As necessary to give me "a right to be implicitly believed." And, (3.) To justify my "assuming the Apostolate of England."

If this be all, your demand must soon fall to the ground, since the whole foundation sinks beneath it. For, (1.) I lay no claim (in your sense) to miracles; for the clearing of which, suffer me to refer you once more (that I may not be surfeited with *crambe decies repetita*) [the same thing ten times repeated,] to the Second Letter to Mr. Church. (2.) I claim no implicit faith: I neither pay it to, nor expect it from, any man living. (3.) I no otherwise assume the Apostolate of England, (if you choose to use the phrase,) than I assume the Apostolate of all Europe, or, rather, of all the world; that is, in plain terms, wherever I see one or a thousand men running into hell, be it in England, Ireland, or France, yea, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, I will stop them if I can: as a minister of Christ, I will beseech them, in his name, to turn back, and be reconciled to God. Were I to do otherwise, were I to let any soul drop into the pit, whom I might have saved from everlasting burnings, I am not satisfied God would accept my plea, "Lord, he was not of my parish."

12. If a single parish takes up your whole time and care, and you spend and are spent upon it, well. And yet I will be bold to say, that no blessing from God will accompany your ministry, but the drunkard will be a drunkard still, (and so the covetous, the brawler, the adulterer,) unless you both believe and teach, what you love to call, my "new notions of inspiration:" I mean as to the substance, not the particular manner of explication. You will all the day long stretch out your hands in vain, unless you teach them to pray, that the Spirit of God may inwardly witness with their spirits, that they are the children of God. I apprehend you are the person that "wriggle on this head," because the argument pinches: You appear to me to twist and wind to and fro, because I "distinguish away," not my doctrines, but your objections;—unravelling the fallacies, showing what part is false, and what part true, but nothing to the purpose. Since you move it again, I will resume the point once more. You will pardon me if I speak home, that it may be seen which of us two it is, that has hitherto given the "evasive answers."

13. You say, "Notwithstanding all your pains to distort that text, for any thing which has yet been said to the contrary, it may be understood of the Spirit's witness by miracles, by prophecy, or by the imper-

ceptibly wrought assurances of the Holy Ghost." This (unless it gives up the whole cause, as indeed it must, if it does not imply a contradiction; seeing imperceptible assurance is no assurance at all) is neither an evasive nor an unevasive answer. It is just no answer at all. Instead of refuting my arguments, you reply, "You distort the text. *Ipse dixi.*" [I say so.]

"The Quakers maintain divine illapses, and sensible communications always; you only sometimes." If you speak to the purpose, if you mean the inward witness of God's Spirit, I maintain it always as well as they.

"The Methodist writings abound with intimations of divine communications, prophetic whispers, and special guidances." Perhaps so; but that is another question. We are now speaking of the inward witness of the Spirit.

14. "They teach the notification of justification to be as perceptible as the sun at noon-day." Now you come to the point, and I allow the charge. From the beginning of our correspondence to this day, I have, without any shifting or evasion at all, maintained flatly and plainly: (1.) A man feels the testimony of God's Spirit, and cannot then deny or doubt his being a child of God. (2.) After a time this testimony is withdrawn. (Not from every child of God: many retain the beginning of their confidence steadfast unto the end.) (3.) Then he may doubt whether this testimony was of God; and perhaps at length deny that it was.

There is no shadow of contradiction between this and the case of H. R. For, (1.) She felt the testimony of God's Spirit, and could not then deny or doubt her being a child of God. (2.) After a time this testimony was withdrawn. (3.) Then she doubted whether it was of God. Observe: She never forgot or denied that she had such a testimony; but she then doubted whether it was of God.

But you have still more to remark upon this head: so I attend you step by step.

15. "The instances produced" (it should be *instance*, for you cite but one) "in support of these high claims, instead of supporting, utterly subvert them. Thus H. R. had her justification notified; and yet she denied that her sins were forgiven." You should say, She doubted of it, after a time, when the testimony of God's Spirit was withdrawn. "Now, either this notification was not so distinct as is pretended, or, if distinct, was notified by one of suspected credit, whom she could not believe. Or if it was both distinct and credible, she was not of sound understanding if she disbelieved it, nor of sound memory if she" (*afterward*, it should be) "doubted or denied that she had ever received such a message."

You say, (1.) "Either that notification was not so distinct." It was so distinct that she could not then doubt. "Or, (2.) Was notified to her by one of suspected credit, whom she could not believe." Yes, she then believed, and knew it was the voice of God. "Or, (3.) She was not of sound understanding, if she disbelieved it." When she disbelieved it, she was not. For as the serpent deceived Eve, so he then deceived her, φθειρων το νοημα αυτης, [corrupting her understanding.]

"But could she possibly deny a plain matter of fact?" You add, as

if I have said so, "Yes, in process of time she might, particularly if she drew back to perdition;" and then subjoin, "But what is this evasive answer to the case of H. R.?" I think nothing at all. I never applied it to her case. She never denied her having had such a testimony. But after a time she doubted (as I said before) whether that testimony was true.

16. I presume, Eve in paradise was as least equal in understanding with any of her posterity. Now, unto her God said, "In the day that thou eatest of the tree of knowledge thou shalt surely die." And doubtless "this notification was as distinct and perceptible to her as the sun at noon-day." Yet after a time (perhaps only a few days) she utterly disbelieved it.

You exclaim, "Absurd! Impossible! There could be no such thing; as I shall prove immediately."

"Either this notification was not so distinct as is pretended, or, if distinct, was notified by one of suspected credit, whom she could not believe. Or else, if it was both distinct and credible, she was not of sound understanding if she disbelieved it, nor of sound memory if she doubted of it." Therefore the whole story is absurd, and a self-inconsistent (not a cunningly devised) fable.

Is not the plain answer this? This notification was as distinct as [is] pretended; and it was not notified by one of suspected credit, whom she did then firmly believe. But afterward Satan deceived her by his subtilty, φθειρων το νοημα αυτης,—*corrupting*, *spoiling*, *destroying*, *the soundness of her understanding*, and of her memory too; and then she disbelieved God, and believed him who said, "Ye shall not surely die." How much more is he able, by the same subtilty, to deceive any of the fallen children of men!

17. What follows you did not design for argument, but wit. "I cannot help thinking that Paul, with all his infirmities, might more reasonably be looked upon as an inspired prophet than Mr. Wesley, though arrived, in his own imagination, to a sinless perfection." I never told you so, nor any one else. I no more imagine that I have already attained, that I already love God with all my heart, soul, and strength than that I am in the third heavens.

But you make me abundant amends for this by your charitable belief, that though I may now imagine things that are not, and be mistaken in many points, yet He who remembers I am but dust, will at last "forgive and reward me." It is enough: the time of error and sin is short; for eternity is at hand.

Strangers and pilgrims here below,
  This earth we know is not our place;
And hasten through the vale of wo,
  And, restless to behold thy face,
Swift to our heavenly country move
Our everlasting home above.

XLIV.—*To his Brother Charles.*

SAVANNAH, April 20, 1736.

I STILL extremely pity poor Mrs. Hawkins; but what can I do more, till God show me who it is that continually exasperates her against me?

Then I may perhaps be of some service to her. There is surely some one who does not play us fair; but I marvel not at the matter. He that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there is that is mightier than they. Yet a little while and God will declare who is sincere. Tarry thou the Lord's leisure and be strong, and he shall comfort thy heart.

XLV.—*To the Same.*

BRISTOL, June 23, 1739.

DEAR BROTHER,—My answer to them which trouble me is this: God commands me to do good unto all men; to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man commands me not to do this in another's parish; that is, in effect, not to do it at all. If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge ye.

"But," say they, "it is just that you submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." True; to every ordinance of man which is not contrary to the command of God. But if any man, bishop or other, ordain that I shall not do what God commands me to do, to submit to that ordinance would be to obey man rather than God.

And to do this, I have both an ordinary call and an extraordinary. My ordinary call is, my ordination by the bishop: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God." My extraordinary call is witnessed by the works God doeth by my ministry; which prove that he is with me of a truth in this exercise of my office.

Perhaps this might be better expressed in another way: God bears witness in an extraordinary manner, that my thus exercising my ordinary call is well pleasing in his sight.

But what if a bishop forbids this? I do not say as St. Cyprian, *Populus a scelerato antistite separare se debet.* [The people ought to separate themselves from a wicked bishop.] But I say, God being my helper, I will obey him still: and if I suffer for it, his will be done. Adieu!

XLVI.—*To the Same.*

ISLINGTON, September 21, 1739.

DEAR BROTHER,—A Scotch gentleman, who was present here, gave us a plain account of Mr. Erskine and his associates, the substance of which was this:—

Some years since, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, preaching before the assembly, reproved them for several faults with all simplicity. This was so resented by many, that in a following assembly he was required to make an open recantation; and, persisting in the charge, the assembly determined that he, with three other ministers who spoke in his behalf, should be deprived, and their livings declared vacant. Four messengers were sent for this purpose; but they returned *re infectâ;* [without having accomplished their business;] fearing the people lest they should stone them. In another assembly, directions were given to the neighbouring ministers to procure informations concerning the doctrine of Mr. Erskines and their adherents. Out of these informations an indictment was formed, to which they were summoned to answer in the next assembly.

Here it was debated whether they should be suffered to come in; and carried by a small majority that they should. The moderator then spoke to this effect: "My reverend brethren, you are summoned to answer an indictment, charging you with erroneous doctrine and irregular practices; but if ye will submit to the Kirk, and testify your amendment, we will receive you with open arms."

Mr. Erskine answered for himself and brethren (they were now increased to eight) to this purpose: "Moderator, both you, and those that are with you, have erred from the faith; and your practices are irregular too: and you have no discipline: therefore you are no Kirk. We are the Kirk, and we alone, who continue in her faith and discipline, and if ye will submit to us, and testify your amendment, we will receive you with open arms."

None answered a word; so, after a short time, they withdrew. The moderator then asked, "My reverend brethren, what shall we do?" One replied, "Moderator, I must answer you in our proverb,—'You have put the cat into the kirn;'" (that is, the churn;) "'and ye must get her out again how ye can.'"

Again silence ensued: after which, the moderator asked, "Shall these men be excommunicated, or only deposed?" Answer was made, "The question is not right. Let it be asked, 'Shall they be deposed, or not?'" This was accordingly done; and it was carried by five votes, that they should not be deposed. Having received help from God, they continue to this day; declaring to all, that their congregation is the Kirk of Scotland; that they, the ministers, (now ten in all,) are the proper presbytery; and there is no other: those commonly so called having "made shipwreck of the faith" and discipline once delivered to the saints.

Friday, Sept. 14.—I expounded again at Islington; but the house being too small for the company, I stood in the garden, and showed them how vainly they trusted in baptism for salvation, unless they were holy of heart; without which their circumcision was actually become uncircumcision. Afterward I went to Fetter-lane, where I brought down the high looks of the proud, by an exposition of those words, "All things are lawful for me; but all things edify not."

Saturday, 15.—I expounded those words, on which the book opened at Lady H——'s, "The cares of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the desires of other things, choke the word; and it becometh unfruitful." At Fetter-lane I was directed to those words, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever." Many were cut to the heart both here and at Mr. Exall's, where I enforced those words of our Lord, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

Sunday, 16.—I preached at Moorfields to about ten thousand, and at Kennington Common to between twenty and thirty thousand, on those words: "We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against." At both places I described, in very plain terms, the difference between true old Christianity, commonly called by the new name of Methodism, and the Christianity now generally taught. Hence I went to Lambeth, where I found our congregation considerably increased; and exhorted

them to cry mightily to our Lord, that he might say unto them, as unto the sick of the palsy, "Be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee." From our love feast at Fetter-lane I went to Islington-house. Sufficient for this day was the labour thereof.

Pray give my love to brother Mitchell; and let the leaden cistern be gone about. On Monday se'nnight I intend, God willing, to set out. Tuesday I hope to spend at Oxford. On Wednesday night let James Ellis meet me at Gloucester. Then I will lay out the three or four following days, as we shall agree, if God permit. I heartily thank our brothers Westall, Oldfield, Cross, Haydon, and Wynne; and our sisters Deffel, Shafto, Oldfield, Thomas, Stephens, Mrs. Thomas, and Mrs. Deschamps. I wish any would write by the Wednesday post. Pray for us. Adieu.

Saturday night, Mrs. Exall's.

XLVII.—*To the Same.*

London, April 21, 1741

It is not possible for me to set out yet. I must go round and glean after Mr. Whitefield. I will take care of the books you mention. My Journal is not written yet. The bands and society are my first care. The bands are purged; the society is purging; and we continually feel whose hand is in the work.

Send the new printed hymns immediately. We presented a thousand of Barclay to Mr. Whitefield's congregation on Sunday. On Sunday next I propose to distribute a thousand more at the Foundery.

I am settling a regular method of visiting the sick here. Eight or ten have offered themselves for the work, who are likely to have full employment; for more and more are taken ill every day. Our Lord will throughly purge his floor.

I rejoice in your speaking your mind freely. O let *our* love be without dissimulation!

I am not clear that brother Maxfield should not expound at Grey hound-lane: nor can I as yet do without him. Our clergymen have miscarried full as much as the laymen; and that the Moravians are other than laymen I know not.

As yet I dare in no wise join with the Moravians: 1. Because their whole scheme is mystical, not Scriptural,—refined in every point above what is written, immeasurably beyond the plain doctrines of the Gospel. 2. Because there is darkness and closeness in all their behaviour, and guile in almost all their words. 3. Because they not only do not practise, but utterly despise and deny, self-denial and the daily cross. 4. Because they, upon principle, conform to the world, in wearing gold or costly apparel. 5. Because they extend Christian liberty, in this and many other respects, beyond what is warranted by Holy Writ. 6. Because they are by no means zealous of good works; or, at least, only to their own people. And, lastly, because they make inward religion swallow up outward in general. For these reasons chiefly I will rather, God being my helper, stand quite alone, than join with them: I mean, till I have full assurance that they will spread none of the errors among the little flock committed to my charge.

O my brother, my soul is grieved for you: the poison is in you: fair

words have stolen away your heart. "No English man or woman is like the Moravians!" So the matter is come to a fair issue. Five of us did still stand together a few months since; but two are gone to the right hand, Hutchins and Cennick; and two more to the left, Mr. Hall and you. Lord, if it be thy Gospel which I preach, arise and maintain thine own cause! Adieu!

XLVIII.—*To the Same.*

May 17, 1742.

Dear Brother,—I am in a great strait. I wrote to Lady Huntingdon, (just as I did to you,) "I am inclined to believe one of us must soon take a journey into Yorkshire." It was then in my mind to desire you to go first; only I was afraid you would think I shifted off the labouring oar. But on the receipt of your last I altered my design, and determined to think of it no farther yet. I sent word this morning to Brentford and Windsor of my preaching there on Thursday, in my way to Bristol: but within two or three hours I received a letter from Lady Huntingdon; part of which is as follows:—"My dear friend, the very thought of seeing you here has filled us with great joy. Poor Miss Cowper is still living; and it is very remarkable, in the beginning of her illness she said she should be glad to see one of you, just before she died. Her eyes were even overflowing with the loving kindness of our Lord, who has a regard even to the desires of our hearts. I beg you will set out as soon as may be after you receive this; as every day she has lived this last fortnight seems a fresh miracle, for some purpose which is not yet known."

She then tells me she has ordered a horse for John Taylor to go down with me. It seems to me I ought to go, and that without delay. I think of going early in the morning to Bexley, and correcting Mr. Piers's sermon; and of setting out for Donnington on Wednesday. If you write thither as soon as you receive this, your letter will be there nearly as soon as me; and I will either go on into Lincolnshire for a week, or go straight to Bristol, as you will. Let all the brethren pray for me. Adieu!

XLIX.—*To the Same.*

Newcastle, September 22, 1745.

My Dear Brother,—I have only just time to inform you, that since the account is confirmed by an express to the mayor, that General Cope is fled, and his forces defeated, (all that did not run away,) the consternation of the poor people is redoubled. The townsmen are put under arms; the walls planted with cannon; and those who live without the gates are removing their goods with all speed. We stand our ground as yet, glory be to God, to the no small astonishment of our neighbours. Brethren, pray for us, that, if need be, we may

> True in the fiery trial prove,
> And pay Him back his dying love.

Adieu!

L.—*To the Same.*

Dear Brother,—Yesterday I was thinking on a *desideratum* among us, a *genesis problematica* on justifying faith. A skeleton of it (which you may fill up, or any one that has leisure,) I have roughly set down:—

Is justifying faith a sense of pardon? *Negatur.* [It is denied.]

1. Every one is deeply concerned to understand this question well: but preachers most of all; lest they either make them sad whom God hath not made sad, or encourage them to say, Peace, where there is no peace.

Some years ago we heard nothing of justifying faith, or a sense of pardon; so that when we did hear of them, the theme was quite new to us; and we might easily, especially in the heat and hurry of controversy, lean too much either to the one hand or to the other.

2. By *justifying faith*, I mean that faith which whosoever hath not is under the wrath and the curse of God. By *a sense of pardon*, I mean a distinct explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven.

I allow, (1.) That there is such an *explicit assurance.* (2.) That it is the common privilege of real Christians. (3.) That it is the proper Christian faith, which "purifieth the heart," and "overcometh the world."

But I cannot allow, that justifying faith is such an assurance, or *necessarily* connected therewith.

3. Because, if justifying faith necessarily implies such an explicit assurance of pardon, then every one who has it not, and every one so long as he has it not is under the wrath and under the curse of God. But this is a supposition contrary to Scripture, as well as to experience.

Contrary to Scripture; to Isaiah l, 10: "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God."

Contrary to Acts x, 34, 35: "Of a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."

Contrary to experience; for J. R. &c, &c, had peace with God, no fear, no doubt, before they had that sense of pardon. And so have I frequently had.

Again: The assertion, "that justifying faith is a sense of pardon," is contrary to reason: it is flatly absurd. For how can a sense of our having received pardon be the *condition* of our receiving it?

4. If you object, (1.) "J. T., St. Paul, &c, had this sense:" I grant they had: But they were justified, or rather had justifying faith, before they had it. (2.) "We know fifteen hundred persons who have this assurance." Perhaps so: but this does not prove, they had not justifying faith till they received it. (3.) "We have been exceedingly blessed in preaching this doctrine." We have been blessed in preaching the great truths of the Gospel; although we tacked to them, in the simplicity of our hearts, a proposition which was not true. (4.) "But does not our Church give this account of justifying faith?" I am sure she does of saving or Christian faith: I think she does of justifying faith too. But to the law and to the testimony. All men may err. But the word of the Lord shall stand for ever.

LI.—*To the Same.*

London, June 20, 1755.

Dear Brother,—Do not you understand that they all promised by Thomas Walsh, not to administer, even among themselves? I think

that a huge point given up; perhaps more than they could give up with a clear conscience.

They "showed an excellent spirit" in this very thing. Likewise when I (not to say you) spoke once and again, spoke *satis pro imperio*, [authoritatively enough,] when I reflected on their answers, I admired their spirit, and was ashamed of my own.

The practical conclusion was, 'Not to separate from the Church." Did we not all agree in this? Surely either you or I must have been asleep, or we could not differ so widely in a matter of fact!

Here is Charles Perronet raving "because his friends have given up *all*;" and Charles Wesley, "because they have given up nothing;" and I in the midst staring and wondering both at one and the other.

I do not want to do any thing more, unless I could bring them over to my opinion; and I am not in haste for that.

I have no time to write any thing more till I have finished the notes. Nor am I in haste. I stand open to the light.

Let it be worded any way. I will give ten pounds between this and Christmas. This I think I can do, though I am just now saddled with Suky Hare, [a relation,] to pay for her board, as well as learning her trade. Why do not you send for the boy to Bristol? I do not object.

If Mr. Lampe's tunes are in print already, it is enough. I wish you had told me this six months ago, and the rest (which only we want) should have been printed before now. Pray send them by Michael Fenwick to me here. He will be in Bristol next week.

Cyprian is a terrible witness of the sense of the then Church; for he speaks it not as his own private sense, but an incontestable, allowed rule. And by *antistes* there, I really believe he means the minister of a parish. That pinches me. Nevertheless, I think with you, till I see more light; though I should be hard set to defend myself against a skilful adversary. When I am convinced it is my duty, I will follow Cyprian's advice. The same say you, and no more. I do not fluctuate yet; but I cannot answer the arguments on that side the question. Joseph Cownley says, "For such and such reasons, I dare not hear a drunkard preach, or read prayers." I answer I dare. But I cannot answer his reasons.

I can stay here four or five weeks. Then I purpose for Cornwall. Can you come hither when I go? My love to my sister. Adieu!

LII.—*To the Same.*

London, June 28, 1755.

Dear Brother,—Let G. St—— write and welcome. When we are both together, I trust we may read safely.

Go to Ireland, if you think so, and save Ireland. Wherever I have been in England, the societies are far more firmly and rationally attached to the Church than ever they were before. I have no fear about this matter. I only fear the preachers or the people's leaving, not the Church, but the love of God, and inward or outward holiness. To this I press them forward continually. I dare not, in conscience, spend my time and strength on externals. If, as my Lady says, all outward establishments are Babel, so is this establishment. Let it stand for me

I neither set it up, nor pull it down. But let you and I build up the city of God.

I have often desired our preachers to bury a corpse at Wapping; I mean, to give an exhortation closed with prayer. I do not know that this is any branch of the sacerdotal office.

None of our societies have received James Wheatly yet. I suppose none will. Yet we may give a caution wherever we write.

Thomas Walsh (I will declare it on the house top) has given me all the satisfaction I desire, and all that an honest man could give. I love, admire, and honour him; and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit. But enough of this. Let us draw the saw no longer, but use all our talents to promote the mind that was in Christ.

"Not yet" is totally out of the question. We have not one preacher who either proposed, or desires, or designs (that I know) to separate from the Church at all. Their principles in this single point of ordination I do not approve: but I pray for more and more of their spirit (in general) and practice.

I have talked with Mr. Graves, and shall do again.

Driving me may make me fluctuate; though I do not yet.

"When the preachers in Ireland set up for themselves, must you not disown them?" I answer, "When."

If you can go to Cornwall in the end of July, it is soon enough. I wish you would see each of the country societies: and why not New Kingswood too? Adieu!

LIII.—*To the Same.*

PLYMOUTH DOCK, September 28, 1760.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have no objection to the bestowing another reading upon Mr. Law's Letters. But I think I have answered them *quantum sufficit*, [sufficiently,] by the letter in "the London Chronicle;" [See vol. iv, p. 73;] only if need be, it may be inserted in some of the monthly Magazines. Since I wrote that letter, I have procured (which I could not before) the "Address to the Clergy." It is amazing! Nothing is more plain, than that he has never *read* it. I doubt whether he ever *saw* it.

I care not a rush for ordinary means; only that it is our duty to try them. All our lives, and all God's dealings with us, have been extraordinary from the beginning. We have all reason, therefore, to expect, that what has been will be again. I have been preternaturally restored more than ten times. I suppose you will be thus restored *for* the journey; and that *by* the journey, as a natural means, your health will be reëstablished; provided you determine to spend all the strength which God shall give you in his work.

Cornwall has suffered miserably by my long absence, and the unfaithfulness of the preachers. I left seventeen hundred in the societies, and I find twelve hundred. If possible, you should see Mr. Walker. He has been near a month at the Hot Wells. He is absolutely a Scot in his opinions, but of an excellent spirit. Mr. Stonehouse's horse performs to a miracle. He is considerably better than when I had him. On Friday evening (if nothing extraordinary occur) I hope to be at Bristol

between five and six. Probably I shall leave Shepton Mallet at two. My love to Sally.

If John Fisher is at Bristol, pray desire him to send what Thomas Seccomb left (with an account) for his poor mother. Adieu!

LIV.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, September 8, 1761.

DEAR BROTHER,—Our conference ended, as it began, in peace and love. All found it a blessed time:

Excepto, quod non simul esses, cætera lætí.
[Happy in every respect, except your absence.]

The Minutes John Jones can help you to, who sets out hence in two or three days. The right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass.

Why should not Bath be supplied from Bristol? Order it so. I have no objection. They will by that means often have a more able preacher than they would otherwise have. If he does not linger by the way, a preacher may be at Bristol on Thursday night.

I do not at all think (to tell you a secret) that the work will ever be destroyed, Church or no Church. What has been done to prevent the Methodists leaving the Church, you will see in the Minutes of the Conference. I told you before, with regard to Norwich, *dixi.* I have done at the last conference all I *can* or *dare* do. Allow me liberty of conscience, as I allow you. My love to Sally. Adieu!

LV.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, December 26, 1761.

DEAR BROTHER,—Spend as many hours in the congregation as you can. but exercise alone will strengthen your lungs; or electrifying, which I wonder you did not try long ago. Never start at its being a quack medicine. I desire no other; particularly since I was so nearly murdered by being cured of my ague *secundum artem.* [Scientifically.] You should always (and I hope you do) write standing and sloping.

We are always in danger of enthusiasm: but I think no more now than any time these twenty years. The word of God runs indeed; and loving faith spreads on every side. Do not take my word, or any one's else; but come and see. It is good to be in London now.

It is impossible for me to correct my own books. I sometimes think it strange, that I have not one preacher that will and can. I think every one of them owes me so much service.

Pray tell R. Sheen, I am hugely displeased at his reprinting the Nativity Hymns, and omitting the very best hymn in the collection,—

All glory to God in the sky, &c.

I beg theym ay never more be printed without it. Omit one or two and I will thank you. They are *namby-pambical.* I wish you would give us two or three invitatory hymns. We want such exceedingly. My love to Sally. My wife gains ground. Adieu!

LVI.—*To the Same.*

London, January 5, 1762.

Dear Brother,—You take me right. I am far from pronouncing my remarks *ex cathedrâ.* [Dogmatically.] I only desire they may be fairly considered.

I was a little surprised to find Bishop Warburton so entirely unacquainted with the New Testament: and, notwithstanding all his parade of learning, I believe he is no critic in Greek.

If Thomas Maxfield continues as he is, it is impossible he should long continue with us. But I live in hope of better things. Meantime, *festina lenté!* [Hasten slowly.]

I baptized two Turks two or three weeks ago. They *seem* to be strong in faith; and their story is very probable; but I am not *sure* it is true. I wait for farther evidence.

This week I have begun to speak my mind concerning five or six honest enthusiasts. But I move only a hair's breadth at a time; and by this means we come nearer and nearer to each other. No sharpness will profit. There is need of a lady's hand, as well as a lion's heart.

Mr. Whitefield has fallen upon me in public open-mouthed, and only not named my name. So has Mr. Madan. But let them look to it. I go on my way. I have a sufficient answer as to George Bell; but I will not give it, before the time.

We join in love to you both. My wife gains ground. Adieu!

LVII.—*To the Same.*

London, December 11, 1762.

Dear Brother,—For eighteen or twenty days I heard with both ears, but rarely opened my mouth. I think I now understand the affair, *at least*, as well as any person in England.

The sum is this: 1. The meeting in Beach-lane, before I came to town, was like a bear garden; full of noise, brawling, cursing, swearing, blasphemy, and confusion. 2. Those who prayed were partly the occasion of this, by their horrid screaming, and unscriptural, enthusiastic expressions. 3. Being determined either "to *mend* them, or *end* them," I removed the meeting to the Foundery. 4. Immediately the noise, brawling, cursing, swearing, blasphemy, and confusion ceased. 5. There was less and less screaming, and less unscriptural and enthusiastic language. 6. Examining the society, I found about threescore persons who had been convinced of sin, and near fourscore who were justified, at these meetings. So that on the whole, they have done some hurt, and much good. I trust they will now do more good, and no hurt at all. Seven persons had left the society on this account; but four of them are come back already.

I bought the ground before Kingswood school of Margaret Ward, and paid for it with my own money. Certainly, therefore, I have a right to employ it as I please. What can any reasonable man say to the contrary?

I have answered the bishop, and had advice upon my answer. If the devil owes him a shame he will reply. He is a man of sense; but I verily think he does not understand Greek!

I should be glad to see Mr. Nitchman. What is all beside loving faith! We join in love to Sally and you. Adieu!

LVIII.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, December 23, 1762.

DEAR BROTHER,—But how to come to the speech of the colliers is the question; as there are a hundred miles between us; and as this is too critical a time for me to be out of London.

I am satisfied with the learning of John Jones, (as there is no point of learning in debate between us,) and the judgment of John Matthews, Charles Perronet, and James Morgan. Yet, it is certain, his admirers will still think him unanswerable.

I believe several in London have imagined themselves saved from sin "upon the word of others:" And these are easily known. For that work does not stand. Such imaginations soon vanish away. Some of these, and two or three others, are still wild. But the matter does not stick here. I could play with all these if Thomas Maxfield were right. He is *mali caput et fons;* [the ringleader and author of the mischief;] so inimitably wrong-headed, and so absolutely unconvincible; and yet (what is exceeding strange) God continues to bless his labours.

My kind love to Sally. I shall soon try your patience with a long letter. Adieu!

LIX.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, February 8, 1763.

DEAR BROTHER,—I think now the sooner you could be here the better; for the mask is thrown off. George Bell, John Dixon, Joseph Calvert, Benjamin Briggs, &c, &c, have quitted the society, and renounced all fellowship with us. I wrote to Thomas, but was not favoured with an answer. This morning I wrote a second time, and received an answer indeed! The substance is, "You take too much upon you. We will not come up."

I know all the history of the Turk. I must leave London on Friday to bury Mrs. Perronet. She died on Saturday morning.

The answer to the bishop (who has broke his leg) is forthcoming. Mr. Madan wrote the Queries. I let him have the last word. I should not wonder if a *dying* saint were to prophesy. Listen to Sally Colston's last words!

Molly Westall died last week in huge triumph.

John Jones does good. James Morgan has lately been in a violent storm, and is scarce alive. I advise him to retire to Kingswood for a season. We need all your prayers. God is preparing throughly to purge his floor. O let us be instant in season, out of season!

We join in love to Sally. Adieu!

LX.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, February 26, 1763.

DEAR BROTHER,—I perceive, *verba fiunt mortuo:* [I talk to no purpose:] So I say no more about your coming to London. Here stand I: and I *shall* stand, with or without human help, if God is with us.

Yesterday Mr. Madan and I, with a few more, gave the full hearing to the famous Turk and his associate. He is an exquisite wretch; was originally a Spanish Jew; afterward a Turk; then a Papist; then a Jew again; then a Protestant; and now at last (under Mr. Lombardi's wing) a zealous Papist! Concerning his companion we are still in doubt. We fear he is little better; though we cannot prove it.

Mr. Gaussen tells us, the stroke will come to-morrow evening: the rest say, not till Monday. Let us live to-day! I labour for peace; but they still make themselves ready for battle.

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXI.—*To the Same.*

London, March 6, 1763.

Dear Brother,—To-morrow I set out for Norwich, which I have delayed as long as possible. I am likely to have rough work there: but the turbulent spirits must bend or break.

That story of T. M. is not true. But I doubt more is true than is good. He is a most incomprehensible creature. I cannot convince him that separation is any evil; or that speaking in the name of God, when God has not spoken, is any more than an innocent mistake. I know not what to say to him, or do with him. He is really *mali caput et fons.* [The ringleader and author of the mischief.]

I have scarce one hearty helper but La. Coughlan.

We join in love to you both. Adieu!

LXII.—*To the Same.*

London, March 1, 1764.

Dear Brother,—I read Rollin's Belles Lettres several years ago. Some things I liked; some I did not. Mark in him what you admire, and I will give it a second reading, and a farther consideration.

You "have no thoughts of venturing to London before May!" Then I must indeed "do the best I can." So I must comply with the advice of the stewards, as well as my own judgment, and insist upon John Jones's assisting me on Sunday. I have delayed all this time purely out of tenderness to you. Adieu!

LXIII.—*To the Same.*

London, December 20, 1764.

Dear Brother,—I suppose it is of little consequence in whose hand this is transcribed. Let it be accompanied by prayer, and good must follow one way or the other. Let us work while the day is. Adieu!

To the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol.

Gentlemen,—Both my brother and I, and all who have any connection with us, are extremely sensible of our obligations to you for the civility which you have shown us on all occasions; and we cannot but feel ourselves deeply interested in whatever we apprehend in any degree to concern your honour, or the general good and prosperity of the city of Bristol. This occasions my giving you the present trouble, which

(whether it has any farther effect or no) you will please to receive as a testimony of the high regard which we shall ever retain for you.

The endeavours lately used to procure subscriptions for building a new play house in Bristol have given us not a little concern; and that on various accounts: not barely as most of the present stage entertainments sap the foundation of all religion, as they naturally tend to efface all traces of piety and seriousness out of the minds of men; but as they are peculiarly hurtful to a trading city; giving a wrong turn to youth especially, gay, trifling, and directly opposite to the spirit of industry and close application to business; and as drinking and debauchery of every kind are constant attendants on these entertainments, with indolence, effeminacy, and idleness, which affect trade in a high degree.

It was on these very considerations that the corporation of Nottingham lately withstood all solicitations, and absolutely forbade the building of a new theatre there; being determined to encourage nothing of the kind. And I doubt not but thousands will reap the benefit of their wise and generous resolution.

It does not become me, gentlemen, to press any thing upon you; but I could not avoid saying thus much, both in behalf of myself and all my friends. Wishing you the continuance and increase of every blessing, I remain, gentlemen, your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

LXIV.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, December 31, 1764.

DEAR BROTHER,—Pray tell T. Lewis, I believe one I spoke to yesterday will make us a good housekeeper. She is selling off her things, and can come in two or three weeks.

John Matthews sent for me between two and three on Friday morning. One had a little before asked him how he found himself. He answered:—

"The Lord protects, for ever near."

When I came, he was perfectly sensible. I began to pray at three; and before I had spoken many words, his soul was set at liberty without a groan. Here is a subject for your pen. He has had "the witness," in my sense, for several months: that is, he *knew* he was in the favour of God; and had *no doubt* of going to heaven.

I hope Goodwin is about three quarters printed.

You know doctors differ. I could trust Dr. Turner as well as any.

I do not find any thing on the atonement fit for a Deist. Pray inquire of your learned friends. My love to Sally. Adieu!

I have sent you, by Miss Billo, the preface to Goodwin, and the Appeals. You will English the Latin verses, and produce the neatest and correctest edition of them which ever has appeared. Adieu!

LXV.—*To the Same.*

LEWISHAM, February 28, 1766.

DEAR BROTHER,—We must, we must, you and I at least, be all devoted to God! Then wives, and sons, and daughters, and every thing else, will be real, invaluable blessings *Eia age, rumpe moras!*

[Come, come on, make no delay!] Let us *this day* use all the power we have! If we have enough, well; if not, let us this day expect a fresh supply. How long shall we drag on thus heavily, though God has called us to be the chief conductors of *such a work?* Alas! what conductors! If I am (in some sense) the head, and you the heart, of the work; may it not be said, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint?" Come, in the name of God, let us arise, and shake ourselves from the dust! Let us strengthen each other's hands in God, and that without delay. Have *senes sexagenarii* [sexagenarians] (who would have thought we should live to be such!) time to lose? Let you and I, and our house, serve the Lord in good earnest. May his peace rest on you and yours!

I desire all the society to meet me on Tuesday evening (March 11) after preaching. Adieu!

LXVI.—*To the Same.*

STOCKTON, July 9, 1766.

DEAR BROTHER,—I shall judge of the bands at Kingswood when I am there. They have not met tolerably for these dozen years.

Miss Lewen gave me a chaise and a pair of horses. You are a long time in getting to London; therefore, I hope you will do much good there. Yes, says William; "Mr. Charles will stop their prating in the bands at London, as he has done at Bristol." I believe not. I believe you will rather encourage them to speak, humbly and modestly, the words of truth and soberness. Great good has flowed and will flow therefrom. Let your "knowledge direct, not quench, the fire." That has been done too much already. I trust you will now raise, not depress, their hopes.

One word more: Concerning setting perfection too high. That perfection which I believe, I can boldly preach; because I think I see five hundred witnesses of it. Of that perfection which you preach, you think you do not see any witness at all. Why, then, you must have far more courage than me, or you could not persist in preaching it. I wonder you do not, in this article, fall in plumb with Mr. Whitefield. For do not you, as well as he, ask, "Where are the perfect ones?" I verily believe there are none upon earth; none dwelling in the body. I cordially assent to his opinion, that there is no such perfection here as you describe; at least, I never met with an instance of it; and I doubt I never shall. Therefore I still think, to set perfection so high is effectually to renounce it.

Pray tell Mr. Franks, I have this moment received Mr. Pine's letter, and agree with every article of it.

I believe, the sooner S. Smith goes to Bristol the better. I wish you would advise and encourage her a little. Adieu!

LXVII.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, February 12, 1767.

DEAR BROTHER,—What I mean is, Bishop Lowth is sometimes hypercritical, and finds fault where there is none. Yet, doubtless, his is the best English Grammar that is extant. I never saw Hermes. The author of it is a rooted Deist.

I will not complain of your preaching too often at Bath. Pray take two things upon yourself: First, that punctual notice be given on Sunday, March 8, in the chapel, of my preaching there on Tuesday evening, March 10. Secondly, that notice be given at Bristol, on the same Sunday, of my preaching at the new room on Wednesday the 11th, at seven in the evening, and afterward meeting the society; at which I desire all who can to be present. On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, I purpose meeting the classes.

Pray take care that brother Henderson wants nothing. Sickness is an expensive thing.

You are not yet (nor probably I) aware of pickthanks. Such were those who told you I did not pray for you by name in public; and they are liars into the bargain, unless they are deaf.

The voice of one who truly loves God surely is,—

> "'Tis worse than death my God to love,
> And not my God alone."

Such a one is certainly "as much athirst for sanctification, as he was once for justification." You remember, this used to be one of *your* constant questions. It is not now; therefore you are altered in your sentiments: and unless we come to an explanation, we shall inevitably contradict each other. But this ought not to be in any wise, if it can possibly be avoided.

I still think, to disbelieve all the professors amounts to a denial of the thing. For if there be no living witness of what we have preached for twenty years, I cannot, dare not, preach it any longer. The whole comes to one point: Is there, or is there not, any instantaneous sanctification between justification and death? I say, Yes. You (*often seem* to) say, No. What arguments brought you to think so? Perhaps they may convince me too.

Nay; there is one question more, if you allow me there is such a thing: Can one who has attained it fall? Formerly I thought not; but you (with Thomas Walsh and John Jones) convinced me of my mistake.

Saturday morning.—The delay of sending this gives me occasion to add a few words. I have heard nothing of the love feast; but if I had, I could not go. On Monday I am to set out for Norwich. Divide the men and women at once: so we do in London. I shall not be in town again till this day fortnight.

> O for a *heart* to praise my God!

What is there beside? Παντα γελως και παντα κονις. [All laughter and all dust.] Adieu!

LXVIII.—*To the Same.*

ATHLONE, June 21, 1767.

DEAR BROTHER,—For some time I have had many thoughts concerning the work of God in these kingdoms. I have been surprised that it has spread so far; and that it has spread no farther. And what hindered? Surely the design of God was, to "bow a nation to his sway:" instead of which, there is still only a Christian here and there; and the rest are yet in the shadow of death: although those who would profit by us have need to make haste, as we are not likely to serve them long.

What, indeed, has hindered? I want to consider this. And must we not first say, *Nos Consules?* [We the chiefs?] If we were more holy in heart and life, thoroughly devoted to God, would not all the preachers catch our fire and carry it with them throughout the land? Is not the next hinderance, the littleness of grace (rather than of gifts) in a considerable part of our preachers? They have not the whole mind that was in Christ; they do not steadily walk as he walked. And therefore the hand of the Lord is stayed; though not altogether; though he does work still: but it is not in such a degree as he surely would, were they holy as He that hath sent them is holy.

Is not the third hinderance the littleness of grace in the generality of the people? Therefore, they pray little, and with little fervency, for a general blessing; and therefore their prayer has little power with God. It does not, as once, shut and open heaven. Add to this, that as there is much of the spirit of the world in their hearts, so there is much conformity to the world in their lives. They ought to be both burning and shining lights; but they neither burn nor shine. They are not true to the rules they profess to observe; they are not holy in all manner of conversation. Nay, many of them are salt that has lost its savour; the little savour they once had. Wherewith then shall the rest of the land be seasoned? What wonder that their neighbours are as unholy as ever?

But what can be done to remedy this? I wish you would give an attentive reading to the Minutes of the last conference, and see if it will not be worth our while to enforce them with all our might. We have weight enough, and can enforce them. I know not who can and will when we are gone. Let us now fix things on as firm a foundation as possible, and not depend upon seeing another conference.

Richard Bourke, John Dillon, and one or two more in this kingdom, are truly devoted men; so are a few of the preachers in England. *Si sic omnes!* [O that all were so!] What would be able to stand before them?

How go you on in London? How is Mr. Whitefield, and my Lady, and Mr. Madan, and Romaine, and Berridge? Do you converse with those that are most alive, and sparingly and warily with them that are dead while they live?

I hope Sally and your young ones are well. O what a work is it to train up children for heaven!

Peace be with you and yours! Ερρωσο. [Farewell.]

LXIX.—*To the Same.*

London, January 15, 1768.

Dear Brother,—Six or seven hundred pounds is brought to a conference; of which five hundred at least pays the debt. Then extraordinary demands are answered. How much remains for law? I am now near three hundred pounds out of pocket, which I borrowed to pay Mr. Pardon. When I receive some more from Newcastle, I will send it to Bristol; *probably very soon.*

It is highly probable one of the three will stand before the Lord. But, so far as I can learn, such a thing has scarce been for these thou-

sand years before, as a son, father, grandfather, *atavus*, *tritavus*, preaching the Gospel, nay, and the genuine Gospel, in a line.* You know, Mr. White, some time chairman of the assembly of divines, was my grandmother's father.

Look upon our little ones at Kingswood as often as you can. A word from you will be a quickening to them. O how many talents are we entrusted with!

"But what account can thy bad steward make?" Indeed we have need to gird up the loins of our mind, and run faster the small remainder of our race. "One thing!" Let us mind one thing only; and nothing, great or small, but as it ministers to it!

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu.

LXX.—*To the Same.*

EDINBURGH, May 14, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—It is well Sally R. is in peace. I have been long persuaded that if she continued to hinder him, God would, in mercy to them both, take her away.

I am glad Mr. Fletcher has been with you. But if the tutor fails, what will become of our college at Trevecka? Did you ever see any thing more queer than their plan of institution? Pray who penned it, man or woman? I am afraid the visiter too will fail.

The archers here have sorely wounded Lord B——. But if Isaac stays with you in London, what have the stewards in Bristol to do with him? They may, then, easily find his equal; for, with regard to them, he is equal to—nothing.

I am at my wit's end with regard to two things,—the Church, and Christian perfection. Unless both you and I stand in the gap *in good earnest*, the Methodists will drop them both. Talking will not avail. We must *do* or be borne away. Will you set shoulder to shoulder? If so, think deeply upon the matter, and tell me what can be done. *Age, vir esto! nervos intendas tuos.* [Come on, act the man! do your utmost.] Peace be with you and yours! Adieu.

LXXI.—*To the Same.*

NORTON, NEAR STOCKTON, June 14, 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—I rejoice to hear, from various persons, so good an account of the work of God in London. You did not come thither without the Lord; and you find your labour is not in vain. I doubt not but you will see more and more fruit, while you converse chiefly with them that are athirst for God. I find a wonderful difference in myself when I am among these, and when I am among fashionable Methodists. On this account the north of England suits me best, where so many are groaning after full redemption.

But what shall we do? I think it is high time that you and I, at least, should come to a point. Shall we go on in asserting perfection against

[* The terms used by the Romans, to express the direct ascending paternal line, were, *pater*, *avus*, *proavus*, *abavus*, *atavus*, *tritavus*,—father, grandfather, great-grandfather, great-grandfather's father, great-grandfather's grandfather, great-grandfather's great-grandfather.]

all the world? Or shall we quietly let it drop? We really must do one or the other; and, I apprehend, the sooner the better. What shall we jointly and explicitly maintain, (and recommend to all our preachers,) concerning the nature, the time, (now, or by and by,) and the manner of it? instantaneous, or not? I am weary of intestine war; of preachers quoting one of us against the other. At length, let us *fix* something for good and all; either the same as formerly, or different from it. Ερρωσο. [Farewell.]

LXXII.—*To the Same.*

London, December 17, 1768.

Dear Brother,—I thank you for your reproof. There is reason in what you say. If there was not evil, there was the appearance of evil.

Matters have not been well carried on at Liverpool; but "what cannot be cured must be endured."

Why, you simpleton, you are cutting me out a month's work. Nay, but I have neither leisure nor inclination to write a book. I intend only, 1. To leave out what I most dislike: 2. To mark what I most approve of: 3. To prefix a short preface; and I shall run the hazard of printing it at Bristol. There you yourself can read the proof sheets.

You do well with regard to my sister Emily. What farther is wanting I will supply. I hear nothing from or of our friend at Newcastle. I have no time for Handel or Avison now.

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

I am now a mere fellow of a college again.

LXXIII.—*To the Same.*

Kingswood, August 3, 1771.

Dear Brother,—I will not throw away Thomas Rankin on the people of London. He shall go where they know the value of him.

We cannot put out what we never put in. I do not use the word *merit.* I never did, neither do now, contend for the use of it. But I ask you, or any other, a plain question: and do not cry, Murder; but give me an answer. What is the difference between *mereri*, and *to deserve?* or between *deserving* and *meritum?* I say still, I cannot tell. Can you? Can Mr. Shirley, or any man living? In asking this question, I neither plead for merit, nor against it. I have nothing to do with it. I have declared a thousand times, There is no goodness in man till he is justified; no merit, either before or after; that is, taking the word in its proper sense: for in a loose sense, *meritorious* means no more than *rewardable.*

As to reprobation, seeing they have drawn the sword, I throw away the scabbard. I send you a specimen. Let fifteen hundred of them be printed as soon as you please.

Nothing was ever yet expended out of the yearly subscription, without being immediately set down by the secretary. I never took a shilling from that fund yet.

What you advise with regard to our behaviour toward opposers exactly agrees with my sentiments. I am full of business as you may suppose. So adieu.

LXXIV.—*To the Same.*

BIRMINGHAM, March 17, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—The more you are at the Foundery the better. I is a good spirit which rules in that society.

You have done exactly right with regard to T. M——d. For the present, my hope of him is lost.

I am to-day to meet Mr. Fletcher at Billbrook. Part of the Third Check is printing. The rest I have ready. In this he draws the sword, and throws away the scabbard. Yet I doubt not, they will forgive him all, if he will but promise—to write no more.

J. Roquet helped me at Bristol. I neither saw nor heard any thing of G. Stonehouse. Jane Jenkins is in a right spirit. Affliction has done her good. Mrs. Reeves I had no time for.

I feared S. Marriott would not recover. Mrs. B.'s heart is truly softened. But why is *she* afraid to receive the Lord's Supper?

If Mr. F. does come, it will be for good. It does not follow, "*You* felt nothing; therefore, neither did your hearers." In haste. Adieu!

LXXV.—*To the Same.*

CONGLETON, March 25, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—Giles Ball (as Oliver said) was a good man once! I hope we have no more of the sort. There is still a famous one in Bristol. Now I see why he could not join us. Poor Mr B.! I used to conceive better things of him.

I find almost all our preachers, in every circuit, have done with Christian perfection. They say, they believe it; but they never preach it; or not once in a quarter. What is to be done? Shall we let it drop, or make a point of it?

O what a thing it is to have *curam animarum!* [the care of souls!] You and I are called to this; to save souls from death; to watch over them as those that must give account! If our office implied no more than preaching a few times in a week, I could play with it: so might you. But how small a part of our duty (yours as well as mine) is this God says to you, as well as me, "Do all thou canst, be it more or less, to save the souls for whom my Son has died." Let this voice be ever sounding in our ears; then shall we give up our account with joy. *Eia age, rumpe moras!* [Come, come on, make no delay!] I am ashamed of my indolence and inactivity. The good Lord help us both! Adieu! Ερρωσθε. [Fare ye well.]

LXXVI.—*To the Same.*

PERTH, April 26, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—I meant Mr. Buller. I have not been at Leeds; so I can give you no account of the matter.

I find by long experience it comes exactly to the same point, to tell men they shall be saved from all sin when they die; or to tell them it may be a year hence, or a week hence, or any time but *now*. Our word does not profit, either as to justification or sanctification, unless we can bring them to expect the blessing *while we speak*.

I hope Fox is in peace. But he had no business there. I am glad you have done justice to Mrs. B.'s memory.

I do not believe either brother Wildman or any other spoke those words. I cannot believe it, unless you or brother Mather heard them. Many tell you tales of that sort, which are not true at all.

Your business, as well as mine, is to save souls. When we took priest's orders, we undertook to make it our *one business*. I think every day lost, which is not (mainly at least) employed in this thing. *Sum totus in illo.* [I am wholly devoted to it.]

I am glad you are to be at Bristol soon. To whom shall I leave my papers and letters? I am quite at a loss. I think Mr. Fletcher is the best that occurs now. Adieu!

LXXVII.—*To the Same.*

DEWSBURY, July 10, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—If I can meet with Mr. Hill's book at Leeds to-morrow, perhaps I may write a little before the conference. I am glad Mr. Davis has been with you; but he must not assist you for nothing. If he joins heart and hand, he should have seventy pounds a year.

I believe, if you had applied warm treacle to the bruised parts, you would have been well in eight-and-forty hours. Let us work to-day! The night cometh!

A little you will pick out of Dr. Boyce's fine music for the use of our plain people.

My sister Kezzy was born about March, 1710; therefore, you could not be born later than December, 1708: consequently, if you live till December, 1772, you will enter your sixty-fifth year.*

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

COLCHESTER, November 4, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—Nay, there was some ground for that report; for I did *dream* that I was robbed. True, it was twenty years ago; but you know that was all one.

The connection is well proved in the Fourth Check. Mr. Knox's letter is ready for the press. But give your dear friends a little time to chew upon Mr. Fletcher; else you may overload their stomach. There is no danger of my writing any thing yet. I have just made my tour through Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; but Kent, Sussex, and Hertfordshire still remain to be visited. Only the visitation of the classes (a fortnight's work, which begins on Monday) must come between.

I have an exceeding loving letter from J. R., in answer to my plain one. So, if it did him no good, (but possibly it might,) at least, it did him no harm. If we duly join faith and works in all our preaching, we shall not fail of a blessing. But of all preaching, what is usually called Gospel preaching is the most useless, if not the most mischievous: a dull, yea, or lively, harangue on the sufferings of Christ, or

* Or, according to sister Martha's account, my sixty-second. C. W.

salvation by faith, without strongly inculcating holiness. I see, more and more, that this naturally tends to drive holiness out of the world.

Peace be with your spirits! Adieu!

LXXIX.—*To the Same.*

SHOREHAM, December 15, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER,—I have scarce had a day yet in London, except Sundays, and the time of visiting the classes. Dr. Ford has never come near me; nor hardly near Billy Ley. I am afraid *evasit, erupit.* [He has escaped, he has broken away.] I have wrote to Mr. Fletcher to-day. As Mr. Hill is to fall upon me next, Mr. Fletcher will have a little time to breathe; and probably a little more while Mr. Hill is digesting my reply: for whom I think we shall, between us, find work for some time.

Why, you will not set shoulder to shoulder, or you could say something about the Church: but two are better than one. If we live till August, stand by me, and we will put the matter home.

I believe we can depend on the Captain concerning America. He has been long enough with you: send him to us.

I often cry out, *Vitæ me redde priori!* [Restore me to my former mode of life!] Let me be again an Oxford Methodist! I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk closely with God, and redeem the time. But what have I been doing these thirty years? My love to all. Adieu!

LXXX.—*To the Same.*

LONDONDERRY, June 2, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I thought it strange that poor S. F. should leave me nine hundred pounds in debt. But it is stranger still, that John Atlay should have paid sixteen hundred out of nine; and that I am a hundred and sixty pounds in debt notwithstanding!

Mr. Walthen's method of radical cure I shall hardly try. I am very easy, and that is enough.

I am persuaded Billy Baynes's eye is single; therefore he will be useful. Our other friend should have known his own mind. We parted only for four pounds a year.

I am exceeding glad that T. Rankin does not print till his papers have passed through our correction. I was afraid he would not have been so patient. Just what I thought at first, I think still of American affairs. If a blow is struck, I give America for lost; and perhaps England too. Our part is, to continue instant in prayer.

Sammy will not only be better, but quite well, if you do not kill him with kindness.

Has my friend taken a house at Bristol? Is Noah with her? What are they doing? Mr. Madan has behaved well. *Res ipsa reduxit in gratiam.* [This has brought him again into favour.]

Preach as much as you can, and no more than you can. You never will be much stronger till you add change of air to exercise; riding two or three hundred miles point blank forward. Now you have an opportunity. Meet me at Leeds, with honest John Murlin. When you are

tired you may change places with him. You would return a stout healthy man.

I purpose writing to Mr. Fletcher shortly. I do not remember that he has touched the corner stone of their hypothesis,—"the covenant of redemption."

One would not wish to be easy without it. Just here we must stop reasoning, or turn Calvinists. This is the very strength of their cause.

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXXI.—*To the Same.*

LEEDS, July 31, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I must not delay answering your important question,—"What can be done with William Pine?" If he still, after my earnest warning, "every week publishes barefaced treason," I beg you would once more warn him in my name and in your own; and if he slights or forgets this warning, then give him his choice, either to leave us quietly, or to be publicly disowned. At such a time as this, when our foreign enemies are hovering over us, and our own nation is all in a ferment, it is particularly improper to say one word which tends to inflame the minds of the people.

My strength is gradually increasing. Except the shaking of my hand, I am now nearly as I was before my illness; but, I hope, more determined to sell all for the pearl.

Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXXII.—*To the Same.*

LEEDS, August 4, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—The conference (a blessed one) was concluded this morning, and I am as strong as I was when it began. I do not advise you to accept of the invitation: I read a letter to-day which I do not like.

Nay, Mr. S. is "settled in Bristol;" that is, as a local preacher.

Such an address to the Americans would be highly seasonable. Have you heard any thing of the Africans?

I hope to be in London on Tuesday evening, and the Thursday in the following week at Brecon.

As matters are now, I let the orphan house alone, lest the remedy should be worse than the disease. I have likewise a good letter from T. Rankin. He and all our brethren expect sufferings. Hitherto they have behaved extremely well. I must write by post to S. Castleman and my other Bristol friends. Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXXIII.—*To the Same.*

RAMSBURY PARK, October 19, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—It takes time to set people's heads right: but we must despair of nothing. I have cast my bread upon the waters, and should have been content though there had been no present fruit. Some hours this morning I devote to Americanus. What is material I shall endeavour to answer. It is well if I can give as good an account of every thing else as of my change of judgment.

I find a danger now of a new kind: a danger of losing my love for

the Americans: I mean, for their miserable leaders; for the poor sheep are "more sinned against than sinning:" especially since the amazing informations which I have received from James Ireland. Yet it is certain, the bulk of the people, both in England and America, mean no narm: they only follow their leaders, and do as they are bid, without knowing why or wherefore.

On Friday I hope to be in London, and to talk with the committee about building a new Foundery. This is a lovely spot, and a lovely family. It is pity but you could call here. It is four miles from Marlborough, and only a mile north of the London road. Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXXIV.—*To the Same.*

NEWBURY, October 19, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—Last night I received a curious anecdote from Mr. Merchant, the Independent minister here. He told me, "Mr. Evans of Bristol (the elder) informed me that he dined with you (J. W.) at a merchant's in Bristol; that he asked you how you was affected when you read the answer to your late tract: and you answered, Not at all; for you had never read it, and never would: to which he replied, That was not fair."

Where lies the mistake? The answer to my late tract is dated October 2. But I left Bristol October 1. Consequently, no such conversation could exist. I fancy I have caught hold of the thread, and can unravel the whole: last year a gentleman I did not know (who I suppose was Mr. Evans) dined with me at Mr. Wraxall's: and probably he might speak to me (though I do not remember it) of some tract which I had then published. If so, there is only a harmless mistake of Mr. Merchant's, who misunderstood what Mr. Evans said.

But this makes it still more probable that his son is the author of the letter to me. It is pity! Some of our friends at Bristol should tell him that he has quite lost himself; that he has forgotten all decency and good manners; and writes like a pert, self-conceited young man. I think a man of sense, that could command his temper, would make him a little ashamed. Adieu!

LXXXV.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, October 28, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am just returned from Bedford. I have not seen the king these dozen years. I do not know what you mean by Dr. Smyth's book. It was best to take no notice of the angry ones.

At Ramsbury Park, about a mile to the left of the high road, lives James Nind, local preacher, and general steward for the circuit, on a farm of five hundred pounds a year. His wife, Sally Nind, is one of the most amiable women I know. They mightily desire that you would spend a few nights with them.

I am just putting into the press a new edition of the "Address," corrected; in which my change is accounted for, and two of the questions fully answered. To the third, "Why did not the parliament tax them before?" Mr. Madan answers, "Because they were wiser; they knew the mischief that would ensue." Dr. Johnson is in France.

I have not heard lately from Shoreham. If the worst comes, you must make shift at the Foundery for a week or two.

I do not think you are wise in destroying those papers. Some of them might have been useful to many.

When I was in Bristol I ordered that Hugh Saunderson should preach on Thursday night. None but you should take his place Joseph Pilmore may preach on Friday or Monday. Some much like, others much dislike, H. Saunderson; but his audience generally is not small. However, I will refer him to you; but I wish you would fix Thursday.

Mr. Fletcher would not be safe without you or me. I should like a conference with Mr. Madan. I have a second friendly letter from him to-day. Peace be with you and yours!

Pray give my love to T. Lewis, and tell him I thank him for his letter. If the persons now taken up are hanged, it may be the saving of the nation. Adieu!

LXXXVI.—*To the Same.*

London, November 3, 1775.

Dear Brother,—The proposals and preface will be sent on Monday. In the preface to the new edition of the "Address," (which I will send with the proposals,) there is, I think, a sufficient answer to Mr. Evans's letter. But Mr. Raikes is right; if it bears no name, it is not entitled to any answer.

No man is a good judge of his own cause. I believe I am tolerably impartial: but you are not (at least *was* not some time since) with regard to King Charles the First. Come and see what I say. If the worst comes, we can agree to disagree.

The History has been some time in the press. The first volume is nearly printed. The paper is good; so is the type; and, what is stranger, the execution too. So much for your first letter.

Still I know not whom you mean by Dr. Smyth; unless it be the young clergyman in Ireland, who is a poet, but not of the first magnitude.

"Why were they not taxed for a hundred and fifty years?" How shockingly ignorant of the law are our lawyers! yea, and the whole body of the lords and commons into the bargain! to let Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke, &c, &c, so long triumph in this *argumentum palmarium!* [Notable argument!] Why, it is a blunder from top to bottom. They have been taxed over and over since the Restoration by King Charles, King William, Queen Ann, and George the Second. I can now point out chapter and verse.

I think Mr. Madan grows more and more loving. *Res ipsa jam reduxit in gratiam.* [This has now brought him again into favour.] I shall be right glad to see him. I hear nothing from Cornwall: and no news, you know, is good news.

Pray tell brother Southcote, I like his treatise well. I am writing something nearly on the subject. I am desired to preach at Bethnal Green Church on Sunday se'nnight, and purpose to print my sermon. You may guess a little of the tenor of it by the text: "Lo, I have sinned and done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done?"

I hope Sally is better. Peace be with you all! Adieu!

LXXXVII.—*To the Same.*

ALNWICK, May 28, 1782.

DEAR BROTHER,—The history of the matter is this: When I was at Daw Green, near Birstal, the trustees for Birstal-house brought me a deed, which they read over, and desired me to sign. We disputed upon it about an hour. I then gave them a positive answer, that I would not sign it; and, leaving them abruptly, went up into my room.

About noon I preached at Horbury. In the evening I preached and met the society at Wakefield. At night, a little before I went to bed, the trustees came again, got round me and worried me down. But I think they cannot worry you. May not you very properly write to Mr. Valton?—"If the trustees will settle the Birstal-house on the Methodist plan, I will sign their deed with all my heart; but if they build a house for a Presbyterian meeting house, I will not, dare not, have any thing to do with it."*

* Among the papers of Mr. Charles Wesley is the following copy of a letter, which he appears to have written at his brother's suggestion, and addressed to some person who was concerned in the erection of the chapel at Birstal. It shows the importance which he, as well as his brother, attached to the settlement of chapels upon the Methodist plan, so that they might never be alienated from the connection by the caprice of individuals, but always be used for the purpose of their original erection.—EDIT.

LONDON, July 29, 1782.

SIR,—I waited to see my brother before I could answer your very sensible letter. You was informed that my brother *carefully perused* the deed, and *attentively examined* and *considered* it, in the presence of several persons.

He did in the presence of several persons *hear it read*, but never read it himself, either before or after. Upon hearing it, he immediately and earnestly objected to it. A long and vehement debate ensued, at the close of which he rose up, and flatly declared he could not in conscience sign it. Therefore judge you, whether he was likely to say, that he "would not hesitate a moment after he had examined the deed."

In the evening, after he had finished a hard day's labour, and was preparing for rest, some of them came again, and in truth *worried* him to sign it.

The case has not been fairly represented to you. You have been informed, that "about thirty-one years ago, a *number of poor Methodists* purchased ground, and built a preaching house." But how? At the instance of my brother, all the Methodists of the neighbouring societies contributed to the building; and this *in confidence* that it would be settled on the same plan as all our preaching houses were. "But the founders had a right to settle it as they pleased." True; but the trustees were not the *founders;* although they *lent* a considerable sum of money for the completing of the building; as many others have done in all parts of England, who yet never imagined, this gave them a right to appoint the preachers! "Accordingly they settled it"—*They!* I know not who: certainly not the original contributors—"on nineteen members of the society." And pray, who could give these nineteen such a privilege over the rest? It seems to me here is no good foundation. *All the society* were willing my brother should name trustees: but who besides had any authority to name them, I cannot understand! But be this as it may, "The founders did not choose, that after Mr. Wesley's death a body of men whom they *knew not* should appoint their preachers, but the *trustees.*" *The founders!* Who were they? The fifty or five hundred subscribers? These are the real founders; and nine tenths of these did and do choose that all the travelling preachers should be appointed, not by the trustees of any particular houses, but (after Mr. Wesley's death) by the general conference, that the Methodists may be one body throughout the three kingdoms.

You yourself very properly observe, of the first deed, that great inconveniences might follow from vesting nineteen trustees with a power to choose one another, and to appoint and displace preachers at their pleasure. But you think, "the present trustees *could not* legally transfer any of their power *to the conference.*" Then how can they transfer any of their power to the leaders? or indeed to any other persons whatever? "A body of men whom their neighbours had entrusted with their con-

The beginning of Rodney's account is utterly unfashionable. I wonder how it entered into his head. We "get God on our side" by the continual prayer of thousands. You may send me Cicero, and Fabricus, and the American War, together with the next Magazines, to York. I expect to be ten or twelve days in and near Edinburgh, and about the 17th of June at Newcastle. Peace be with you all! Adieu!

LXXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, May 2, 1783.

DEAR BROTHER,—In three or four days we hope to embark: when we land, you may hear farther: but at a venture you may direct to Chester: and do not forget the verses.

I marvel Miss F. does not answer my letter. Surely she is not affronted at any thing. We parted in much friendship. I think verily you will keep out of debt while I live, if you will give me a hint now and then.

We must positively let Mr. Abraham drop. Let his relations win him and wear him. I am in hopes T. M. will satisfy Dr. Coke. I suppose she loses her annuity if she owns her marriage.

I have not seen Mr. Barnard. We had an exceeding happy conference, which concluded this morning. I wish all our English preachers were of the same spirit with the Irish, among whom is no jarring string. I never saw such simplicity and teachableness run through a body of preachers before.

cerns."—*Their neighbours!* No; they knew nothing of the matter. They desire that the conference, not the trustees, after Mr. Wesley's death, may appoint and displace the preachers. And if that bad deed, which determines the contrary, cannot be *abrogated*, or, at least, so "modified as to consist with the intention of the real founders," by giving the conference a *conditionate power* with the trustees, they will protest against it with both their hands.

You add: "As long as the conference appoints preachers with candid impartiality, we doubt not their appointments will be acquiesced in by the trustees and class leaders." But, according to this deed, the conference has no more business than the parliament to appoint preachers at all.

From the beginning of Methodism till now, (to touch on one more point,) the assistants appointed the stewards in all societies: but this deed gives the trustees and leaders this power; which they think is "*necessary* to insure the repayment of the three hundred and fifty pounds to be advanced for the building."

Necessary! Not at all. How many thousand pounds, advanced for buildings, have been paid within these forty years, though all the stewards in England, Scotland, and Ireland, have been hitherto appointed by my brother or the assistants!

You conclude your letter with a very just observation:—"The civil and religious rights of mankind have seldom been promoted by the assemblies of ecclesiastics of any denomination: and they never will be, unless they are composed of men devoted to God, and dead to all the allurements of ease, and avarice, and ambition." This is undoubtedly true; and this, we humbly hope, is the real character of most (at least) of those persons that meet in our assemblies. We hope, likewise, that "their consultations will always be moderated by some wise and truly religious man;" otherwise, that God will sweep away the very name of Methodist from the earth.

Upon the whole, I cannot, I dare not, sign that deed. I can have nothing to do with it.

If the house should nevertheless be built, and settled upon that plan, I apprehend the consequence would be this: 1. No Methodist preacher would ever preach in it. If any did, the whole body would disclaim him.

2. My brother would immediately set a subscription on foot for buying ground and building another house. The trustees then might do what they pleased with theirs.

I am, sir, your humble servant.

Tell me all you know of the good congress, the loyalists, and the colonies. Peace be with you and yours! Adieu!

LXXXIX.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, April 11, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—I just write a line to let you know that we came to Holyhead on Saturday afternoon, and went on board about ten at night: but we had a dead calm till between ten and eleven in the morning, at which time I began the public service. After sermon I prayed that God would give us a moderate wind, with a safe, easy, and speedy passage. While I was speaking the wind sprung up, and carried us on at an average five miles an hour; so that we sailed from Holywell bay to Dublin bay in exactly twelve hours. The sea, meantime, was as smooth as a looking-glass; so that no creature in the ship was sick a moment. Does not God hear the prayer? All is quiet here. Love to all. Adieu!

XC.—*To the Same.*

KILLEMAN, NEAR ARMAGH, June 2, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—So the good man will know pain no more! But I suppose he died without disclosing what his son Vincent charged him not to reveal till he came to die! If it had been of any consequence to the cause of God, he could not have died without disclosing it.

Pray talk with, as well as inquire concerning, the clergyman you mention. Many times you see farther into men than I do.

I suppose you have before now received my Journal, as well as preceding letter. Probably the first ship that sails after the 6th of July will bring me to Holyhead. I hope to see Dr. Coke in London before the end of it.

About once a quarter I hear from Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher. I grudge his sitting still: but who can help it? I love ease as well as he does; but I dare not take it while I believe there is another world.

The patriots here are nobody. They are quite scattered, and have no design, bad or good. All is still in Ireland; only the work of God flourishes, spreading and deepening on every side. Peace be with all your spirits! Adieu!

XCI.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, June 19, 1785.

DEAR BROTHER,—I came hither (as I proposed when I set out) yesterday. This week I am to meet the classes. Next week we have our little conference. The week following I hope to cross the Channel. The work of God, almost in every part of the kingdom, is in a prosperous state. Here is a set of excellent young preachers. Nine in ten of them are much devoted to God. I think, number for number, they exceed their fellow labourers in England. These in Dublin particularly are burning and shining lights.

I am glad you have paid them one more visit at Shoreham. What the poor will do now, I know not: but the Great Shepherd knows, and will order all things well. But what becomes of Betsy Briggs?

The letter from Rome is curious enough. Fine words! And you know the Italians are famous for sincerity.

I should be sorry indeed if Sammy Tooth were a sufferer: but surely he knows his own business. Many here know and love you well. My love to all. Adieu!

XCII.—*To the Same.*

MANCHESTER, April 6, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you are again able to officiate at the chapels. Let us "manage wisely the last stake!" It is enough that John Davis finished his course well; and we are sure Nancy Sharland did so.

Sammy Bradburn thought of going farther with me. But the frost and snow drove him back. I believe, the loss of his wife will be one of the greatest blessings which he has ever met with in his life.

Mrs. Fletcher will not be in haste to remove from Madeley, though her light is there almost hid under a bushel. Mr. Ireland will give me no help with regard to writing Mr. Fletcher's Life, "because he intends to publish it himself!" Let him do it, and I will follow him. Where is your Elegy? You may say, as my father in his verses on Mr. Nelson,—

> "Let friendship's sacred name excuse
> The last effort of an expiring muse."

Can you or I ever have such another subject? Melville Horne hopes to be ordained on Trinity Sunday.

Indeed I love the Church as sincerely as ever I did; and I tell our societies every where, "The Methodists will not leave the Church, at least while I live." I doubt I shall not half agree with our friends in Scotland: but I shall know more, and you will hear more, when I see them.

While I live, Dr. Coke and I shall go through Ireland by turns. He will have work enough this year with Edward Smyth. I doubt Edward "needs a bridle:" but who can put the bit into his mouth? I am not sorry your concerts have come to an end. Remember your dream concerning Sammy! "The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth!"

Mr. Pennant's I know, and Dr. Johnson's I know; but I know nothing of Mr. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides. I should imagine it was worth reading. Peace be with all your spirits! Adieu!

XCIII.—*To the Reverend George Whitefield.*

MARCH 20, 1739.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Would you have me speak to you freely? without any softening or reserve at all? I know you would. And may our loving Saviour speak to your heart, so my labour shall not be in vain. I do not commend you with regard to our brothers S—— and C——. But let me speak tenderly; for I am but a little child. I know our Lord has brought good out of their going to you: good to you, and good to them: very much good; and may he increase it a thousand fold, how much soever it be! But is every thing good, my brother, out of which he brings good? I think that does not follow. O my brother, is it well for you or me to give the least hint of setting up our will or judgment against that of our whole society? Was it well for you once to mention a desire which they had all solemnly declared they thought

unreasonable? Was not this abundant cause to drop any design which was not manifestly grounded on a clear command of our Lord? Indeed, my brother, in this I commend you not. If our brother R——, or P——, desired any thing, and our other brethren disapproved of it, I cannot but think he ought immediately to let it drop. How much more ought you or I? They are upon a level with the rest of their brethren. But I trust you and I are not; we are the servants of all. Thus far have I spoken with fear and much trembling, and with many tears. O may our Lord speak the rest! For what shall such a one as I say to a beloved servant of my Lord? O pray that I may see myself a worm and no man! I wish to be

Your brother in Jesus Christ.

XCIV.—*To the Same.*

April, 1741.

Would you have me deal plainly with you, my brother? I believe you would: then, by the grace of God, I will.

Of many things I find you are not rightly informed; of others you speak what you have not well weighed.

The society room at Bristol, you say is adorned. How? Why, with a piece of green cloth nailed to the desk; two sconces for eight candles each in the middle; and—nay, I know no more. Now, which of these can be spared I know not; nor would I desire either more adorning or less.

But "lodgings are made for me or my brother." That is, in plain English, there is a little room by the school, where I speak to the persons who come to me; and a garret, in which a bed is placed for me. And do you grudge me this? Is this the voice of my brother, my son, Whitefield?

You say farther, "that the children at Bristol are clothed as well as taught." I am sorry for it; for the cloth is not paid for yet, and was bought without my consent or knowledge. "But those of Kingswood have been neglected." This is not so, notwithstanding the heavy debt which lay upon it. One master and one mistress have been in the house ever since it was capable of receiving them. A second master has been placed there some months since; and I have long been seeking for two proper mistresses; so that as much has been done, as matters stand, if not more, than I can answer to God or man.

Hitherto, then, there is no ground for the heavy charge of perverting your design for the poor colliers. Two years since, your design was to build them a school, that their children also might be taught to fear the Lord. To this end you collected some money more than once; how much I cannot say, till I have my papers. But this I know, it was not near one half of what has been expended on the work. This design you then recommended to me, and I pursued it with all my might, through such a train of difficulties as, I will be bold to say, you have not yet met with in your life. For many months I collected money wherever I was, and began building, though I had not then a quarter of the money requisite to finish. However, taking all the debt upon myself, the creditors were willing to stay; and then it was that I took possession of it in my own name; that is, when the foundation was laid; and I

immediately made my will, fixing my brother and you to succeed me therein.

But it is a poor case, that you and I should be talking thus. Indeed, these things ought not to be. It lay in your power to have prevented all, and yet to have borne testimony to what you call "the truth." If you had disliked my sermon, you might have printed another on the same text, and have answered my proofs, without mentioning my name: this had been fair and friendly.

You rank all the maintainers of universal redemption with Socinians themselves. Alas! my brother, do you not know even this, that the Socinians allow no redemption at all? that Socinus himself speaks thus: *Tota redemptio nostra per Christum metaphora?* [The whole of our redemption by Christ is a metaphor?] and says expressly, "Christ did not die as a ransom for any, but only as an example for all mankind?" How easy were it for me to hit many other palpable blots in that which you call an answer to my sermon! And how above measure contemptible would you then appear to all impartial men, either of sense or learning! But I spare you; mine hand shall not be upon you. The Lord be judge between me and thee! The general tenor both of my public and private exhortations, when I touch thereon at all, as even my enemies know if they would testify, is, "Spare the young man, even Absalom, for my sake."

XCV.—*To the Same.*

Lewisham, February 21, 1770.

My Dear Brother,—Mr. Keen informed me some time since of your safe arrival in Carolina; of which indeed I could not doubt for a moment, notwithstanding the idle report of your being cast away, which was so current in London. I trust our Lord has more work for you to do in Europe, as well as in America. And who knows, but before your return to England, I may pay another visit to the new world? I have been strongly solicited by several of our friends in New-York and Philadelphia. They urge many reasons, some of which appear to be of considerable weight; and my age is no objection at all; for I bless God, my health is not barely as good, but abundantly better in several respects, than when I was five-and-twenty: but there are so many reasons on the other side, that as yet I can determine nothing: so I must wait for farther light. Here I am: let the Lord do with me as seemeth him good. For the present I must beg of you to supply my lack of service, by encouraging our preachers as you judge best; who are as yet comparatively young and inexperienced; by giving them such advices as you think proper; and above all, by exhorting them, not only to love one another, but, if it be possible, as much as lies in them, to live peaceably with all men.

Some time ago, since you went hence, I heard a circumstance which gave me a good deal of concern; namely, that the college or academy in Georgia had swallowed up the Orphan house. Shall I give my judgment without being asked? Methinks, friendship requires I should. Are there not then two points which come in view? a point of mercy, and a point of justice? With regard to the former, may it not be inquired, Can any thing on earth be a greater charity, than to bring up

orphans? What is a college or an academy compared to this? unless you could have such a college as perhaps is not upon earth. I know the value of learning, and am more in danger of prizing it too much, than too little. But still, I cannot place the giving it to five hundred students, on a level with saving the bodies, if not the souls too, of five hundred orphans. But let us pass on from the point of mercy to that of justice: you had land given, and collected money, for an Orphan house; are you at liberty to apply this to any other purpose? at least, while there are any orphans in Georgia left? I just touch upon this, though it is an important point, and leave it to your own consideration, whether part of it, at least, might not properly be applied to carry on the original design? In speaking thus freely, on so tender a subject, I have given you a fresh proof of the sincerity with which I am

Your ever affectionate friend and brother.

XCVI.—*To the Reverend James Hervey.*

London, November 29, 1758.

Dear Sir,—A week or two ago, in my return from Norwich, I met with Mr. Pierce of Bury, who informed me of a conversation which he had had a few days before. Mr. Cudworth, he said, then told him, that he had prevailed on Mr. Hervey to write against me, who likewise, in what he had written, referred to the book which he (Mr. Cudworth) had lately published.

Every one is welcome to write what he pleases concerning me. But would it not be well for you to remember, that, before I published any thing concerning you, I sent it to you in a private letter; that I waited for an answer for several months, but was not favoured with one line; that when at length I published part of what I had sent you, I did it in the most inoffensive manner possible,—in the latter end of a larger work, purely designed to preserve those in connection with me from being tossed to and fro by various doctrines? What, therefore, I may fairly expect from my friend, is, to mete to me with the same measure: to send to me first, in a private manner, any complaint he has against me; to wait as many months as I did; and, if I give you none or no satisfactory answer, then to lay the matter before the world, if you judge it will be to the glory of God.

But whatever you do in this respect, one thing I request of you: Give no countenance to that insolent, scurrilous, virulent libel, which bears the name of William Cudworth. Indeed, how you can converse with a man of his spirit, I cannot comprehend. O leave not your old well tried friends! The new is not comparable to them. I speak not this because I am afraid of what any one can say or do to me. But I am really concerned for you; an evil man has gained the ascendant over you, and has persuaded a dying man, who had shunned it all his life, to enter into controversy as he is stepping into eternity! Put off your armour, my brother! You and I have no moments to spare; let us employ them all in promoting peace and good will among men. And may the peace of God keep your heart and mind in Christ Jesus! So prays

Your affectionate brother and servant.

XCVII.—*To the Reverend John Fletcher.*

BIRMINGHAM, March 20, 1768.

DEAR SIR,—I was told yesterday, that you are sick of the conversation even of them who profess religion; that you find it quite unprofitable, if not hurtful, to converse with them three or four hours together; and are sometimes almost determined to shut yourself up, as the less evil of the two.

I do not wonder at it at all; especially considering with whom you have chiefly conversed for some time past, namely, the hearers of Mr. —— and Mr. ——. The conversing with them I have rarely found to be profitable to my soul. Rather, it has damped my desires, and has cooled my resolutions; and I have commonly left them with a dry, dissipated spirit.

And how can you expect it to be otherwise? For do we not naturally catch their spirit with whom we converse? And what spirit can we expect them to be of, considering the preaching they sit under? Some happy exceptions I allow; but, in general, do men gather grapes of thorns? Do they gather the necessity of inward and outward self devotion, of constant, universal self-denial, or of the patience of hope, or the labour of love, from the doctrine they hear? Do they gather from that amorous way of praying to Christ, or that luscious way of preaching his righteousness, any real holiness? I never found it so. On the contrary, I have found that even the precious doctrine of salvation by faith has need to be guarded with the greatest care, or those who hear it will slight both inward and outward holiness.

I will go a step farther. I seldom find it profitable to converse with any who are not athirst for full salvation; and who are not big with earnest expectation of receiving it every moment. Now, you find none of these among those we are speaking of; but many, on the contrary, who are in various ways, directly or indirectly, opposing this blessed work of God; the work, I mean, which God is carrying on throughout this kingdom, by unlearned and plain men.

You have for some time conversed a good deal with the genteel Methodists. Now, it matters not a straw what doctrine they hear, whether they frequent the Lock, or West-street, if they are as salt which has lost its savour; if they are conformed to the maxims, the spirit, the fashions, and customs of the world. Certainly, then, if you converse much with such persons, you will return less a man than you were before.

But were either the one or the other of ever so excellent a spirit, you conversed with them too long. One had need to be an angel, not a man, to converse three or four hours at once, to any good purpose. In the latter part of such a conversation, we shall be in great danger of losing all the profit we had gained before.

But have you not a remedy for all this in your hands? In order to converse profitably, may you not select a few persons who stand in awe of Him they love; persons who are vigorously working out their salvation; who are athirst for full redemption, and every moment expecting it, if not already enjoying it?

Though it is true, these will generally be poor and mean, seldom possessed of either riches or learning, unless there be now and then

one of higher rank; if you converse with such as these, humbly and simply, an hour at a time, with earnest prayer for a blessing; you will not complain of the unprofitableness of conversation, or find any need of turning hermit.

Do you not observe that all the lay preachers who are connected with me are maintainers of general redemption? And it is undeniable, that they are instrumental of saving souls. God is with them, and he works by them, and has done so for near these thirty years: therefore, the opposing them is neither better nor worse than fighting against God.

I am

Your ever affectionate brother.

XCVIII.—*To the Same.*

JANUARY, 1773.

DEAR SIR,—What an amazing work has God wrought in these kingdoms, in less than forty years! And it not only continues, but increases, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland; nay, it has lately spread into New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. But the wise men of the world say, "When Mr. Wesley drops, then all this is at an end!" And so it surely will, unless, before God calls him hence, one is found to stand in his place. For ουκ αγαθον πολυκοιρανιη. Εις κοιρανος εσω,* I see more and more, unless there be one προεσως,† the work can never be carried on. The body of the preachers are not united: nor will any part of them submit to the rest; so that either there must be one to preside over all, or the work will indeed come to an end.

But who is sufficient for these things? qualified to preside both over the preachers and people? He must be a man of faith and love, and one that has a single eye to the advancement of the kingdom of God. He must have a clear understanding; a knowledge of men and things, particularly of the Methodist doctrine and discipline; a ready utterance; diligence and activity, with a tolerable share of health. There must be added to these, favour with the people, with the Methodists in general. For unless God turn their eyes and their hearts toward him, he will be quite incapable of the work. He must likewise have some degree of learning; because there are many adversaries, learned as well as unlearned, whose mouths must be stopped. But this cannot be done, unless he be able to meet them on their own ground.

But has God provided one so qualified? Who is he? Thou art the man! God has given you a measure of loving faith; and a single eye to his glory. He has given you some knowledge of men and things; particularly of the old plan of Methodism. You are blessed with some health, activity and diligence; together with a degree of learning. And to all these, he has lately added, by a way none could have foreseen, favour both with the preachers and the whole people. Come out, in the name of God! Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty! Come while I am alive and capable of labour!

* It is not good that the supreme power should be lodged in many hands: let there be one chief governor.—EDIT.

† A person who presides over the rest.—EDIT.

Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.

[While a remnant of the thread of life is yet unspun, and I am able to walk without the aid of a staff.]

Come while I am able, God assisting, to build you up in faith, to ripen your gifts, and to introduce you to the people. *Nil tanti.* [Nothing is of equal moment.] What possible employment can you have which is of so great importance?

But you will naturally say, "I am not equal to the task; I have neither grace nor gifts for such an employment." You say true; it is certain you have not. And who has? But do you not know Him who is able to give them? perhaps not at once, but rather day by day: as each is, so shall your strength be. "But this implies," you may say, "a thousand crosses, such as I feel I am not able to bear." You are not able to bear them now; and they are not now come. Whenever they do come, will he not send them in due number, weight, and measure? And will they not all be for your profit, that you may be a partaker of his holiness?

Without conferring, therefore, with flesh and blood, come and strengthen the hands, comfort the heart, and share the labour, of

Your affectionate friend and brother.

XCIX.—*To the Same.*

London, November 24, 1783.

Dear Sir,—There is not a person to whom I would have wished Miss Bosanquet joined besides you. But this union I am thoroughly persuaded, is of God; and so are all the children of God with whom I have spoken. Mr. Bosanquet's being so agreeable to it, I look upon as a token for good; and so was the ready disposing of the house and the stock, which otherwise would have been a great incumbrance. From the first day which you spend together in Madeley, I hope you will lay down an exactly regular plan of living; something like that of the happy family at Leytonstone. Let your light shine to all that are round about you. And let sister Fletcher do as much as she can for God, and no more. To his care I commit you both, and am, my dear friends,

Your very affectionate brother.

C.—*To Mr. Ebenezer Blackwell.**

Bristol, August 23, 1739.

Dear Sir,—I have not had half an hour's leisure to write since I received yours of the fourteenth instant, in which the note for 15*l.* 11*s.* was enclosed.

* It is to be regretted, that no biographical account of th s very excellent man was ever published; and so many years have now elapsed since his death, that few particulars of his personal history can be recovered. He was a principal partner in a banking establishment in Lombard-street, London; and had a country residence at Lewisham, in Kent, a few miles from the metropolis. For many years he was the intimate and cordial friend of Mr. Wesley; as the following letters, and numerous passages in Mr. Wesley's Journal, abundantly testify. To Lewisham Mr. Wesley was accustomed to retire when writing for the press; and from that place, it will be

The Captain's journey to London, as he owns it was the happiest, so I believe it was the most useful, one he ever had. His resolution was a little shaken here; but he now appears more settled than before. Satan hath indeed desired to have us, that he may sift us as wheat; but our Lord hath prayed for us; so that the faith of few has failed. Far the greater part of those who have been tempted have come as gold out of the fire.

It seems to me a plain proof that the power of God is greatly with this people, because they are tempted in a manner scarce common to men. No sooner do any of them begin to taste of true liberty, but they are buffeted both within and without. The messengers of Satan close them in on every side. Many are already turned out of doors by their parents or masters; many more expect it every day: but they count all these things dung and dross, that they may win Christ. O let us, if his name be called upon us, be thus minded! I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant in Christ.

CI.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, January 26, 1746-7.

Dear Sir,—Our number of patients increases here daily. We have now upward of two hundred. Many have already desired to return thanks, having found a considerable change for the better already. But we are at a great loss for medicines; several of those we should choose being not to be had at any price in Bristol.

I have been sometimes afraid you have suffered loss for want of a frank acknowledgment of the truth: I mean with regard to the gay world. If we openly avow what we approve, the fear or shame generally

observed, many of his sermons and other works are dated. Here he found an asylum during his serious illness in the year 1754, which was expected to terminate in his death; and from this place he was removed to the Bristol Hot Wells. Considerable sums of money were entrusted by Mr. Blackwell to Mr. Wesley for distribution among the poor; and some of the letters addressed to him show in what manner his bounty was applied. Mrs. Hannah Dewal and Mrs. Blackwell, so often mentioned in this correspondence, were women of exemplary piety, and both died in the Lord. Among the manuscripts left by Mr. Charles Wesley are two excellent hymns, of considerable length, on the death of these Christian ladies. Mrs. Blackwell died March 27, 1772. The second Mrs. Blackwell was the niece of Bishop Lowth. Her father was also a clergyman. The present Mr. Charles Wesley so justly celebrated for his musical talents, who was intimately acquainted with the family, states that the bishop once dined with Mr. Wesley by appointment at Lewisham; on which occasion he refused to sit above Mr. Wesley at table; and in declining that honour, to which his rank in the Church entitled him, said to Mr. Wesley, "May I be found at your feet in another world!" Under the date of July 24, 1782, Mr. Wesley says, in his Journal, "My brother and I paid our last visit to Lewisham, and spent a few pensive hours with the relict of our good friend Mr. Blackwell. We took one more walk round the garden and meadow, which he took so much pains to improve. Upwards of forty years this has been my place of retirement, when I could spare two or three days from London. In that time, first Mrs. Sparrow went to rest; then Mrs. Dewal; then good Mrs. Blackwell; now Mr. Blackwell himself. Who can tell how soon we may follow them?" Among the manuscript poems of Mr. Charles Wesley is a hymn entitled, "For Mr. Blackwell Departing, April 21, 1782;" and another, entitled, "On the death of Mr. Ebenezer Blackwell, April 21, 1782." In the latter of these compositions Mr. Blackwell is described as a man of Christian piety, who devoted a large proportion of his increasing property to the relief of the poor. Other particulars respecting this gentleman and his family might be related; but this is not the place for extended biographical accounts.—Edit.

lights on them; but if we are ashamed or afraid, then they pursue, and will be apt to rally us both out of our reason and religion. I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

My best respects attend Mrs. Blackwell, and Mrs. Dewal. I hope you strengthen each other's hands.

CII.—*To the Same*

SHEFFIELD, May 14, 1747

DEAR SIR,—Are you not yet weary and faint in your mind? Do you continue to strive for the mastery? It is a good, though painful fight. I am sometimes afraid of your turning back before you conquer. Your enemies are many, and your strength is small. What an amazing thing it will be, if you endure to the end!

I doubt you will sometimes be in danger by a snare you are not aware of: you will often meet with persons who labour till they are delivered of all they know, and who (perhaps "with very good intent, but little wit") will tell you abundance of things, good or bad, of the society, or any member of it. Now, all this is poison to your soul. You have only to give an account of yourself to God. O may you do it with joy, and not with grief! I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

CIII.—*To the Same.*

ST. IVES, July 18, 1747.

DEAR SIR,—Are you not yet weary and faint in your mind? weary of striving to enter in at the strait gate? I trust you are not; and that you never will, till you enter into the kingdom. Many thoughts of that kind will probably rise in your heart; but you will have power to trample them under your feet. You have nothing to do with the things that are behind: the prize and the crown are before you. So run, that you may obtain; desiring only to apprehend that for which you are apprehended of Christ Jesus.

A great door and effectual is opened now, almost in every corner of this country. Here is such a change within these two years as has hardly been seen in any other part of England. Wherever we went, we used to carry our lives in our hands; and now there is not a dog to wag his tongue. Several ministers are clearly convinced of the truth; few are bitter; most seem to stand neuter. Some of the gentlemen (so called) are almost the only opposers now; drinking, revelling, cursing, swearing gentlemen, who neither will enter into the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffer any others, if they can prevent it. The most violent Jacobites among these are continually crying out, that we are bringing the Pretender; and some of these worthy men bear his majesty's commission, as justices of the peace.

My best wishes attend Mrs. Blackwell, who, I hope, measures step for step with you in the way to the kingdom. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

I set out for Bristol on Thursday.

CIV.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, August 13, 1747.

DEAR SIR,—I have found a home in this strange land. I am at Mr. Lunell's just as at the Foundery; only that I have not such attendance

here; for I meet the people at another part of the town. For natural sweetness of temper, for courtesy and hospitality, I have never seen any people like the Irish. Indeed, all I converse with are only English transplanted into another soil; and they are much mended by the removal, having left all their roughness and surliness behind them.

They receive the word of God with all gladness and readiness of mind. The danger is, that it should not take deep root; that it should be as seed falling on stony ground. But is there not the same danger in England also? Do not you find it in London? You have received the word with joy; and it begins to spring up; but how soon may it wither away! It does not properly take root till we are convinced of inward sin; till we begin to feel the entire corruption of our nature. I believe, sometimes you have found a little of this. But you are in the hands of a good Physician; who, if you give yourself up to his guidance, will not only wound, but also make whole.

Mr. Lunell and his family desire their best respects to Mrs. Blackwell and you. His daughter can rejoice in God her Saviour. They propose to spend the winter in England. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

I cannot forget Mrs. Dewal, whether I see her or not.

CV.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, February 2, 1747–8.

Dear Sir,—I have received the second bill of exchange which you was so kind as to send by Saturday's post. As we do not intend to build immediately, the money will be payable before we want it.

I do not question but Mrs. Dewal and you will be serviceable to each other. God has given her an advisable spirit; and where that is, there will be every good and perfect gift.

Poor Mr. Hall, when I was at Salisbury, furnished me with a sufficient answer to those who speak of the connection between him and us. He could not have set the matter in a clearer light, than by turning both me and my sister out of doors.

Both in Ireland, and in many parts of England, the work of our Lord increases daily. At Leeds only, the society, from a hundred and fourscore, is increased to above five hundred persons. And shall you have no part in the general blessing? I believe better things. You will fight and conquer; take up the cross till you receive the crown. You have both been enabled to set your faces heavenward; and you shall never look back. You are to strengthen each other's hands in God till you come to Mount Zion, and to the general church of the first-born. I am, dear sir, Your most affectionate friend and servant.

CVI.—*To the Same.*

Dublin, March 15, 1747–8.

Dear Sir,—I have inquired of several, but cannot yet hear of any such merchant as Mr. John Warr in Dublin. A gentleman informed me this morning, that there was one of that name, but he has been dead for many years. I suppose this cannot be the same person to whom Mr. Belchier's letter is directed.

We have not found a place yet that will suit us for building. Several

we have heard of, and seen some; but they are all leasehold land, and I am determined to have freehold, if it is to be had in Dublin; otherwise we must lie at the mercy of our landlord whenever the lease is to be renewed.

I find the engaging, though but a little, in these temporal affairs, is apt to damp and deaden the soul; and there is no remedy, but continual prayer. What, then, but the mighty power of God can keep your soul alive, who are engaged all the day long with such a multiplicity of them? It is well that his grace is sufficient for you. But do you not find need to pray always? And if you cannot always say,—

> "My hands are but employ'd below,
> My heart is still with thee;"

is there not the more occasion for some season of solemn retirement, (if it were possible, every day,) wherein you may withdraw your mind from earth, and even the accounts between God and your own soul? I commend you and yours to his continual protection; and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

I suppose my brother will be with you almost as soon as this.

CVII.—*To the Same.*

Dublin, April 20, 1748.

Dear Sir,—I am persuaded, God has taught both Mrs. Blackwell and you to say, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Shall not all these things work together for good? Perhaps God was jealous over you, lest your heart should lean to any of the things of earth. He *will* have you to be all his own; to desire nothing but him; to seek him and love him with your whole heart. And he knows what are the hinderances, and what means will be most effectual toward it. Then let him work according to the counsel of his own will. It is the Lord! let him do what seemeth him good.

O what a pearl, of how great price, is the very lowest degree of the peace of God! A little measure of it, I doubt not, you will find in the most trying circumstances. May God increase it a thousand fold in both your hearts! I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate servant.

CVIII.—*To the Same.*

Newcastle, August 14, 1748.

Dear Sir,—I trust you do not grow weary or faint in your mind; although you cannot but find a thousand temptations. Business itself, when it comes in such a flood upon you, must needs be one of the greatest temptations; since it naturally tends to hinder your waiting upon God (as you would desire always to do) without distraction. And when our mind is hurried, it is hardly possible to retain either the spirit of prayer or of thankfulness. But still, with God no word shall be impossible. He has called you by his providence to this way of life; and he is able to preserve you in the midst of the world as well as in a desert. And I cannot doubt but he will, because you appear to be sensible of your danger. Walk then through the fire; you shall not be

burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon you. Come unto Jesus, upon the waves of the sea; the floods shall not run over you.

I have had some thoughts of printing, on a finer paper, and with a larger letter, not only all that we have published already, but, it may be, all that is most valuable in the English tongue, in threescore or fourscore volumes, in order to provide a complete library for those that fear God. I should print only a hundred copies of each. Brother Downes would give himself up to the work; so that whenever I can procure a printing press, types, and some quantity of paper, I can begin immediately. I am inclined to think several would be glad to forward such a design; and, if so, the sooner the better; because my life is far spent, and I know not how soon the night cometh wherein no man can work.

I commend you, and dear Mrs. Blackwell, and Mrs. Dewal, to the grace of God; and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

I leave this place on Tuesday, and propose to spend ten or twelve days about Leeds.

CIX.—*To the Same.*

KINGSWOOD, March 28, 1749.

DEAR SIR,—Last week I received a letter from my brother, which lays me under some difficulty. He gives me a short account of what had passed between Mr. Meriton and you, and then desires that I would write concerning him. But what can I say? Not much of what is good; because I can say no more than I think; and I scarce know what to think. I am greatly at a loss what judgment to form concerning him. What I hope is this: that he is an honest, though weak, man; one that has the fear of God, but with a small measure of understanding. His behaviour with us has, in general, been good: what was otherwise, I impute to folly, not malicious wickedness.

I trust Mrs. Blackwell and you are still panting after God, if not walking in the light of his countenance. May he enable you to turn your faces against the world, being ashamed of nothing but sin; and to preserve a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CX.—*To the Same.*

WHITEHAVEN, October 2, 1749.

DEAR SIR,—Mrs. Blackwell and you have been much upon my mind to-day; and I trust you do not wholly forget me. Are we not running the same race? pressing on to the same prize of our high calling? Abundance of hinderances indeed lie in the way; yet He that calls us shall make straight paths for our feet. In the meantime, we have need of patience, that, when we have done and suffered the will of God, we may attain the promises.

My coming hither was utterly unexpected. I thought of nothing less, till I received some letters from hence, giving an account of such a work as we have not seen before in England for several years; and it increases daily. Open wickedness is not seen; nor have I heard one oath since I came to Whitehaven. I preach in the market place morn-

ing and evening. Most of the grown persons in the town attend; and none makes any noise, none laughs, or behaves indecently.

One evening, when Mr. Perronet preached in my absence, a crew of sailors procured a fiddle, and made an attempt to interrupt; but they met with small encouragement. A company of colliers turned upon them, broke their fiddle in pieces, and used those of them they could overtake so roughly that they have not made their appearance since. Sir James Lowther, likewise, sent and took down the names of the chief rioters.

To-morrow we are to leave this place. But we have a long round to go; so that I am afraid we shall not move much southward till toward the end of this month. I commend you, and those that are with you, to Him who has hitherto helped you; and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CXI.—*To the Same.*

London, December 18, 1749.

Dear Sir,—I have known Eliz. Miller for many years. She has been always remarkably honest and industrious. I do not know in all London a more proper object of charity; for she now, through age and weakness, is very ill able to procure for herself the necessaries of life.

I am

Your affectionate servant.

CXII.—*To the Same.*

February 4, 1750–1.

Dear Sir.—The money you left in my hands was disposed of as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
To the Lending Stock	£2	2	0
To Eliz. Brooks, expecting daily to have her goods seized for rent	1	1	0
To Eliz. Room (a poor widow) for rent	0	5	0
Toward clothing Mary Middleton and another poor woman almost naked	0	10	0
To John Edger, a poor weaver, out of work	0	5	0
To Lucy Jones, a poor orphan	0	2	0
To a poor family, for food and fuel	0	5	0
To Christopher Brown, out of business	0	2	6
To an ancient woman in great distress	0	2	6
Distributed among several sick families	0	10	0
	£5	5	0

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CXIII.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, March 5, 1751.

Dear Sir,—After an extremely troublesome day, I reached Chippenham last night, twenty miles short of Bristol; and came hither between ten and eleven this morning, at least as well as when I left London.

The note delivered to me on Sunday night, which ran in these words, "I am not determined when I shall leave London," convinces me that

I must not expect to see the writer of it at our approaching conference. This is indeed deserting me at my utmost need, just when the Philistines are upon me. But I am content; for I am well assured the Lord is not departed from me. Is it not best to let all these things sleep? to let *him* do just what he *will* do; and to say nothing myself, good or bad, concerning it, till his mind is more cool and able to bear it?

I persuade myself, neither Mrs. Blackwell, nor Mr. Lloyd, or you, will be wanting in your good offices. And will you not likewise advise and comfort her who is now likely to stand in need of every help? You see how bold a beggar I am. I cannot be satisfied yet, without asking you to do more for, dear sir,

Your most affectionate servant.

CXIV.—*To the Same.*

MANCHESTER, April 7, 1751.

DEAR SIR,—You must blame yourself, if your never denying me any thing makes me ask more and more. But I am not assured whether it is proper to comply with what I am going to mention now. If it is, I know you will do it, although it will not be a pleasing task.

Mr. Lloyd thinks it absolutely needful, that a friend or two of my wife should meet Mr. Blisson and a friend or two of his, in order to persuade him, if it can be done, to come to an account as to what remains in his hands. If Mr. Lloyd and you would take this trouble on yourselves, I do not doubt but the affair would end well.

We have hitherto had a very rough, but a very prosperous journey. I only want more time; there being so many calls to various parts, that I cannot possibly answer them all between this and Whitsuntide. O what reason have we to put forth all our strength! For, what a Master do we serve! I trust we shall never be weary of his service. And why should we ever be ashamed of it?

I am persuaded Mrs. Blackwell and you do not forget me, nor her that is as my own soul. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CXV.—*To the Same.*

LEEDS, May 14, 1751.

DEAR SIR,—I am inclined to think Mr. Lloyd has hit upon the expedient which, if any thing can, will induce Mr. Blisson to come to an amicable conclusion. I have wrote such a state of the case as he advised, and hope God will give a blessing to it.

I am much obliged both to Mrs. Blackwell and you, on my own and on my wife's account. She has many trials; but not one more than God knows, and knows to be profitable to her. I believe you have been, and will be, a means of removing some. If these outward incumbrances were removed, it might be a means of her spending more time with me; which would probably be useful as well as agreeable to her.

As the providence of God has called you to be continually engaged in outward things, I trust you will find him continually present with you, that you may look through all, and

Serve with careful Martha's hands,
And loving Mary's heart.

I am glad Mrs. Dewal has not forgotten me. I hope you all remember at the throne of grace, dear sir,

Your most affectionate servant.

CXVI.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, July 3, 1751.

Dear Sir,—Before I left London I wrote to Mr. Butterfield, informing him of two families which are in great distress. As I have heard nothing since, I suppose the letter miscarried; unless my ominous name prevented its meeting with success. However, I have done my part, and it is only a little labour lost. Nay, in one sense, it is not lost; for if we only desire to help one another, the willing mind cannot lose its reward.

My brother left us on Saturday. He designed to be at Worcester to-day, and then to proceed slowly toward Scotland. His mind seemed to be altogether changed before he went. He was quite free and open to us, and pressed us much to make use of his house in his absence, just as if it were our own. There is a fair prospect on every side. The people of Bristol, in general, are much alive to God; and they are so united together, that the men of false tongues can make no impression upon them.

Do you know what is the matter with John Jones? I suppose he will speak freely to you. He seems to be much troubled at something, and, I doubt, offended. I know if you can remove that trouble, it will be a pleasure to you to do it. We join in good wishes both to Mrs. Blackwell and you. I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

CXVII.—*To the Same.*

Epworth, April 16, 1752.

Dear Sir,—After taking a round of between three and four hundred miles, we came hither yesterday in the afternoon. My wife is at least as well as when we left London; the more she travels, the better she bears it. It gives us yet another proof, that whatever God calls us to, he will fit us for; so that we have no need to take thought for the morrow. Let the morrow take thought for the things of itself. I was at first a little afraid she would not so well understand the behaviour of a Yorkshire mob; but there has been no trial: even the Methodists are now at peace throughout the kingdom. It is well if they bear this so well as they did war. I have seen more make shipwreck of the faith in a calm than in a storm. We are apt in sunshiny weather to lie down and sleep; and who can tell what may be done before we awake?

You was so kind as to say (if I did not misunderstand you) that you had placed the name of Richard Ellison among those who were to have a share of the money disposed of by Mr. Butterfield. Last night he called upon me. I find all his cows are dead, and all his horses but one; and all his meadow land has been under water these two years; (which is occasioned by the neglect of the commissioners of the sewers, who ought to keep the drains open;) so that he has very little left to subsist on. Therefore the smallest relief could never be more seasonable than at this time.

I hope my brother puts forth all his strength among you, and that you have many happy opportunities together. Our best service attends both Mrs. Blackwell and you. We are now going round Lincolnshire, and hope to be at York in less than ten days. Have we any time to lose in this span of life? I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant

CXVIII.—*To the Same.*

NEWCASTLE, May 23, 1752.

DEAR SIR,—I want your advice. T. Butts sends me word, that after our printers' bills are paid, the money remaining, received by the sale of books, does not amount to a hundred pounds a year. It seems therefore absolutely necessary to determine one of these three things:—Either to lessen the expense of printing; (which I see no way of doing, unless by printing myself;) to increase the income arising from the books; (and how this can be done I know not;) or to give up those eighty-six copies which are specified in my brother's deed, to himself to manage them as he pleases. Now which of these ways, all things considered, should you judge most proper to be taken?

I receive several agreeable accounts of the manner wherein God is carrying on his work in London; and am in hopes both Mrs. Blackwell and you partake of the common blessing. My wife set out for Bristol last week. I hope her fears will prove groundless, and that all her children will live to glorify God. Anthony I hear is recovered already.

The people in all these parts are much alive to God, being generally plain, artless, and simple of heart. Here I should spend the greatest part of my life, if I were to follow my own inclinations. But I am not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me. I trust it is your continual desire and care, to know, and love, and serve him. May he strengthen you both therein more and more! I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate servant.

CXIX.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, July 20, 1752.

DEAR SIR,—Finding no ship ready to sail, either at Bristol or Chester, we at length came back to Whitehaven, and embarked on Monday last. It is generally a passage of four-and-twenty hours; but the wind continuing contrary all the way, we did not reach this place till Friday evening. My wife and Jenny were extremely sick, particularly when we had a rolling sea; but a few days, I trust, will restore their strengh. They are already much better than when they landed.

Last month a large mob assaulted the new house here, and did considerable damage. Several of the rioters were committed to Newgate. The bills were found against them all, and they were tried ten days since; but, in spite of the clearest evidence, a packed jury brought them in, Not guilty. I believe, however, the very apprehension and trial of them has struck a terror into their companions. We now enjoy great quietness, and can even walk unmolested through the principal streets in Dublin.

I apprehend my brother is not at all desirous of having those copies

transferred to him. I cannot easily determine till I have full information concerning the several particulars you touch upon, whether it be expedient to make such an alteration, (though it would ease me much,) or to let all things remain just as they are. Therefore, I believe it will be best to take no farther step till I return to London.

I am fully persuaded, if you had always one or two faithful friends near you, who would speak the very truth from their heart, and watch over you in love, you would swiftly advance in running the race which is set before you. I am afraid you was not forwarded by one who was in town lately; neither was that journey of any service to his own soul. He has not brought back less indolence and gentle inactivity than he carried to London. O how far from the spirit of a good soldier of Jesus Christ, who desires only "to be flead alive, and to conquer!" Our best wishes attend both Mrs. Blackwell, Mrs. Dewal, and yourself. I am, dear sir, Your most affectionate servant.

CXX.—*To the Same.*

York, May 16, 1753.

Dear Sir,—For some time I have had a desire to send you a few lines. I have often observed, with a sensible pleasure, your strong desires to be, not almost only, but altogether, a Christian. And what should hinder it? What is it that prevents those good desires from being brought to good effect? Is it the carrying a right principle too far? I mean, a desire to please all men for their good. Or is it a kind of shame? the being ashamed, not of sin, but of holiness, or of what conduces thereto? I have often been afraid lest this should hurt you. I have been afraid that you do not gain ground in this respect; nay, that you rather go backward, by yielding to this, than forward by conquering it. I have feared that you are not so bold for God now, as you was four or five years ago. If so, you are certainly in great danger. For in this case, who knows where he shall stop? The giving way in one point naturally leads us to give way in another and another, till we give up all. O sir, let us beware of this! Whereunto we have attained, let us hold fast! But this can only be, by pressing on. Otherwise, we must go back. You have need of courage and steady resolution; for you have a thousand enemies: the flattering, frowning world; the rulers of the darkness of this world; and the grand enemy within. What need have you to put on the whole armour of God, that you may be able to withstand in the evil day! I often tremble for you. And how few will honestly and plainly tell you of your danger! O may God warn you continually by his inward voice, and with every temptation make a way for you to escape!

My wife joins me in wishing all blessing both to Mrs. Blackwell and you. I am, dear sir, Your affectionate servant.

If you favour me with a line, you will please to direct to Leeds.

CXXI.—*To the Same.*

Birstal, May 28, 1753.

Dear Sir,—Your speaking so freely encourages me to write once more. Ever since I had the pleasure of knowing you, I have observed in you a real desire to please God, and to have a conscience void of

offence. But, at the same time, I have observed you had many enemies. Perhaps one was a natural cheerfulness of temper, which, though in itself it be highly desirable, yet may easily slide into an extreme. And in this case, we know too well it may hurt us extremely. It may be, another hinderance in your way has sometimes been a kind of shame, which prevented your executing good and commendable designs. Was it not owing to this, that you who had received such blessings by means of field preaching, grew unwilling to attend it? But is there any end of giving way to this enemy? Will it not incroach upon us more and more? I have sometimes been afraid that you have not gained ground in this respect for these two or three years. But the comfort is, that in a moment God can repair whatever is decayed in our souls, and supply whatever is wanting. What is too hard for him? Nothing, but our own will. Let us give up this, and he will not withhold from us any manner of thing that is good.

I believe the harvest has not been so plenteous for many years as it is now in all the north of England; but the labourers are few. I wish you could persuade our friend to share the labour with me. One of us should in any wise visit both the north and Ireland every year. But I cannot do both; the time will not suffice; otherwise I should not spare myself. I hope my life, rather than my tongue, says, I desire only to spend and to be spent in the work. Our love and service always attend Mrs. Blackwell and you. I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

CXXII.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, January 5, 1754.

Dear Sir,—If I write to my best friends first, I must not delay writing to you, who have been the greatest instruments, in God's hands, of my recovery thus far. The journey hither did not weary me at all: but I now find the want of Lewisham air. We are (quite contrary to my judgment, but our friends here would have it so) in a cold, bleak place, and in a very cold house. If the Hotwell water make amends for this, it is well. Nor have I any place to ride, but either by the river side, or over the downs, where the wind is ready to carry me away. However, one thing we know, that whatsoever is, is best! O let us look to Him that orders all things well! What have we to do, but to employ all the time he allots us, be it more or less, in doing and suffering his will? My wife joins in tender love both to Mrs. Blackwell, Mrs. Dewal, and yourself, with, dear sir,

Your obliged and affectionate servant.

CXXIII.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, September 24, 1754.

Dear Sir,—Although I hope to see you in about a fortnight, yet I could not be satisfied without sending you a few lines first. Since I left London, I have had many thoughts concerning you; and sometimes uneasy ones. I have been jealous over you, lest you should not duly improve the numerous talents with which God has entrusted you; nay, I have been afraid lest your very desire of improving them should grow weaker, rather than stronger. If so, by what means is it to be accounted

for? What has occasioned this feebleness of mind? May it not partly be occasioned by your conversing more than is necessary (for so far as it is necessary it does not hurt us) with men that are without God in the world; that love, think, talk of earthly things only? partly by your giving way to a false shame, (and that in several instances,) which the more you indulge, it increases the more? and partly by allowing too large a place in your thoughts and affections even to so innocent an enjoyment as that of a garden? If this leaves you fewer opportunities of hearing the word which is able to save your soul, may not you even hereby grieve the Holy Spirit, and be more a loser than you are sensible of? I know both Mrs. Blackwell and you desire to please God in all things. You will therefore, I know, receive these hints as they are intended; not as a mark of disesteem, but rather of the sincerity with which, I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate servant.

CXXIV.—*To the Same.*

MANCHESTER, April 9, 1755.

DEAR SIR,—I have another favour to beg of you,—to procure Mr. Belchier's leave for me to inclose my proof sheets to him. Mr. Perronet sends them down to me in franks; then I correct and send them back to him. The next week I am to spend at Liverpool. Toward the end of the week following I hope to be at Haworth, near Keighley, in Yorkshire.

God has blessed me with a prosperous journey hither, though the roads and the weather were rough. I hope both Mrs. Blackwell and you are making the best use of all things both rough and smooth. That is the part of a good soldier of Jesus Christ,—

> To trace his example, the world to disdain,
> And constantly trample on pleasure and pain.

I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

CXXV.—*To the Same.*

KEIGHLEY, NEAR LEEDS, April 29, 1755.

DEAR SIR,—What a blessing it is to have these little crosses, that we may try what spirit we are of! We could not live in continual sunshine. It would dry up all the grace of God that is in us. I doubt not but Mrs. Blackwell and Mrs. Dewal find advantage both from bodily weakness, and every other trial. Let us fight the good fight of faith together, and more resolutely lay hold on eternal life! I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CXXVI.—*To the Same.*

REDRUTH, August 31, 1755.

DEAR SIR,—Experience confirms your advice both ways. In my last journey into the north, all my patience was put to the proof again and again; and all my endeavour to please, yet without success. In my present journey I leap, as broke from chains. I am content with whatever entertainment I meet with, and my companions are always in

good humour, "because they are with me." This must be the spirit of all who take journeys with me. If a dinner ill dressed, a hard bed, a poor room, a shower of rain, or a dirty road, will put them out of humour, it lays a burden upon me, greater than all the rest put together. By the grace of God, I never fret. I repine at nothing; I am discontented with nothing. And to have persons at my ear, fretting and murmuring at every thing, is like tearing the flesh off my bones. I see God sitting upon his throne, and ruling all things well. Although, therefore, I can bear this also,—to hear his government of the world continually found fault with; (for in blaming the things which He alone can alter, we, in effect, blame him;) yet it is such a burden to me as I cannot bear without pain; and I bless God when it is removed.

The doctrine of a particular providence is what exceeding few persons understand; at least, not practically; so as to apply it to every circumstance of life. This I want, to see God acting in every thing, and disposing all, for his own glory, and his creature's good. I hope it is your continual prayer, that you may see him, and love him, and glorify him with all you are and all you have! Peace be with you all!

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

I shall be in or near St. Ives till the 13th of September.

CXXVII.—*To the Same.*

St. Ives, September 12, 1755.

Dear Sir,—It seems there was a remarkable providence in this, that Michael Fenwick was so often hindered from settling in business, because God had other work for him to do. He is just made to travel with me, being an excellent groom, *valet de chambre*, nurse, and upon occasion a tolerable preacher. We have hitherto had an extremely prosperous journey: almost every thing has been just as we desired; and I have no care upon my mind, but what properly belongs to me,—to feed and guide the flock of Christ.

Charles Perronet being out of town last Saturday, my paquet, directed to him, fell into other hands. This has raised a violent storm; for it contained a few lines which I writ to Mrs. Lefevre, in answer to a letter she sent me the week before concerning Mr. Furly. It is pity! I should be glad if I had to do with reasonable people. But this likewise is for good.

A wonderful odd circumstance has fallen out here: A young gentleman, nephew to the present mayor, began some time since to attend our preaching, and last week fell raving mad. This incident (so deep is the wisdom of God!) has opened me a way into the mayor's family, brought me much acquainted with his wife, who is not easy if I do not call once or twice a day, and alarmed the whole town with such a concern for their souls as was never known here before. The particulars I hope to send to Mr. Perronet in my next journal. Who is so wise a god as our God? I trust you will have him more and more in your thoughts and in your affections.

I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate servant.

In about ten days I hope to be at Bristol.

CXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, April 19, 1756.

DEAR SIR,—While you in England are under I know not what apprehensions, all here are as safe as if they were already in paradise. We have no fortifying of seaports; no military preparations; but all is in absolute peace and safety. Both high and low seem fully persuaded that the whole talk of an invasion is only a trick to get money.

I dined at Mrs. Moreland's last week, and promised to drink tea with her this evening. She has been at the preaching several times, and desires much to be remembered to Mrs. Blackwell and you. She seems to have a liking to the Gospel. It may sink deeper. There is nothing too hard for God.

I hope Mrs. Blackwell and you are improving to the utmost these days of tranquillity. I purpose going to Cork directly; and after two or three weeks turning back toward the north of Ireland. If it please God that troublous times come between the design and the execution, I shall go as far as I can go, and no farther. But I take no thought for the morrow. To-day I am determined, by his grace, to do the work of him that sent me. I find encouragement so to do; for all the people here are athirst for the word of life. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

Do you, at London, believe that the danger of an invasion is over?

CXXIX.—*To the Same.*

WHITEHAVEN, May 28, 1757.

DEAR SIR,—Does the rule still hold, "Out of sight, out of mind?" I am afraid it does with poor Miss Freeman; as she does not give me one line in answer to the long letter I wrote from Liverpool. I was in hopes we might have interchanged several letters in less than six weeks' time. As for you, I presume you are full of business; and yet not so full of temporal business as to exclude the thoughts of higher concerns; business that will endure when earth and the works of it are burned up. Were any thing temporal even to damp or lessen (though not destroy) our care and zeal for things eternal, what could countervail the loss? What could make us amends for the damage thereby sustained? Sometimes, indeed, we may go through abundance of business, and yet have God in all our thoughts. But is this the case always? Are not even lawful, nay, necessary things, at other times a grievous hinderance; especially when we undertake them without any suspicion of danger, and, consequently, without any prayer against that danger? In this respect, as in many others, I have lately had peculiar reasons to be thankful. In every place, people flock about me for direction in secular as well as spiritual affairs; and I dare not throw even this burden off my shoulders, though I have employment enough without it. But it is a burden, and no burden; it is no incumbrance, no weight upon my mind. If we see God in all things, and do all for him, then all things are easy.

I think it is fourteen or fifteen days since my wife wrote to me. I am afraid she is not well. If any letters for me come enclosed to Mr

Belchier, I will be obliged to you if you will direct them to me at Newcastle, where I hope to be in a few days. Wishing all grace and peace to you and yours, I am, dear sir,

Your most affectionate servant.

I breakfasted at Keswick last Tuesday.

CXXX.—*To the Same.*

CASTLEBAR, June 5, 1758.

DEAR SIR,—I have learned, by the grace of God, in every state to be content. What a peace do we find in all circumstances, when we can say, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt!"

I have now gone through the greatest part of this kingdom: Leinster, Ulster, and the greater half of Connaught. Time only is wanting. If my brother could take care of England, and give me but one year for Ireland, I think every corner of this nation would receive the truth as it is in Jesus. They want only to hear it; and they *will* hear *me*, high and low, rich and poor. What a mystery of Providence is this! In England they *may* hear, but will not. In Ireland they fain *would* hear, but cannot. So in both, thousands perish for lack of knowledge. So much the more blessed are your ears, for they hear; if you not only hear the word of God, but keep it.

I hope you find public affairs changing for the better. In this corner of the world we know little about them; only we are told that the great little king in Moravia is not swallowed up yet.

Till near the middle of next month I expect to be at Mr. Beauchamp's in Limerick. I hope you have a fruitful season in every respect. My best wishes attend you all. I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CXXXI.—*To the Same.*

BANDON, July 12, 1758.

IN a week or two I shall be looking out for a ship. You people in England are bad correspondents. Both Mr. Downing, Mr. Venn, and Mr. Madan are a letter in my debt; and yet I think they have not more business than I have. How unequally are things distributed here! Some want time, and some want work. But all will be set right hereafter. There is no disorder on that shore!

Wishing all happiness to you, and all that are with you, I remain, dear sir,

Yours most affectionately.

CXXXII.—*To the Same.*

NORWICH, March 12, 1759.

DEAR SIR,—You have entirely satisfied me, as to what I was afraid of. We are at present upon pretty good terms; and I am not without hope that this good understanding will continue for some time longer. I am sure it will if He who has the hearts of all men in his hand sees it to be expedient to me.

You have never spoken to me with more freedom than was agreeable to me. Your freedom is the best proof of your friendship. There are not many that will deal freely with me; nor indeed are there many

from whom I would desire it, lest it should hurt themselves without profiting me. But I desire it of *you;* and do not doubt but it will profit me, as it has done in time past.

I know not, if, in all my life, I have had so critical a work on my hands, as that wherein I am now engaged. I am endeavouring to gather up those who were once gathered together, and afterward scattered, by James Wheatley. I have reunited about seventy of them, and hope this evening to make up a hundred. But many of them have wonderful spirits; having been always accustomed to teach their teachers; so that how they will bear any kind of discipline, I cannot well tell.

At Colchester the case is far otherwise. About a hundred and sixty simple, upright people are there united together, who are as little children, minding nothing but the salvation of their souls; only they are greatly distressed for a larger house. What we could have done last Sunday, I know not, but that, the day being mild, I took the field, and preached on St. John's Green. I see but one way,—to build a commodious house; and I desired them to look out for a piece of ground. It is true, they are poor enough; but if it be God's work, he will provide the means.

Wishing an increase in all grace, both to Mrs. Blackwell, Mrs. Dewal, and you, I remain, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

CXXXIII.—*To the Same.*

MANCHESTER, March 17, 1760.

SIR,—The humanity which you showed, during the short time I had the pleasure of conversing with you at Lewisham, emboldens me to trouble you with a line, in behalf of a worthy man.

I apprehend, the collector at Northwich, in Cheshire, has informed the honourable board, that "Mr. James Vine is a preacher at Northwich, and makes disturbances in the town." That he attends the preaching of the Methodists, is true; but it is not true that he is a preacher. It is likewise true, that the rabble of Northwich have sometimes disturbed our congregations; but herein Mr. Vine was only concerned as a sufferer, not an actor. I know him to be a careful, diligent officer, and a zealous lover of King George.

Wishing you all temporal and spiritual blessings, I remain sir,

Your obedient servant.

CXXXIV.—*To the Same.*

NEWRY, April 26, 1760.

DEAR SIR,—I hope your lameness is now at an end, but not the benefit you have reaped from it. May we not, in every trial, great and small, observe the hand of God? And does he send any sooner than we want it, or longer than we want it? I found the inflammation which I had in my eyes last month came just in the right time. The danger is, that any thing of this kind should pass over before the design of it is answered.

Whether Miss Freeman should make use of Lough Neagh, or Lough Leighs, (forty miles nearer Dublin,) I suppose she is not yet able to determine, till I can send her some farther information, and

that I cannot do to my own satisfaction till I am upon the spot. For though Lough Neagh is scarce fifteen miles from hence, yet I can hardly find any one here who knows any more of the circumstances of it than if it lay in the East Indies.

Hitherto I have had an extremely prosperous journey; and all the fields are white to the harvest. But that the labourers are few, is not the only hinderance to the gathering it in effectually. Of those few, some are careless, some heavy and dull; scarce one of the spirit of Thomas Walsh. The nearest to it is Mr. Morgan: but his body too sinks under him, and probably will not last long.

In a few days I expect to be at Carrickfergus, and to hear, from those on whose word I can depend, a full account of that celebrated campaign. I believe it will be of use to the whole kingdom. Probably the government will at last awake, and be a little better prepared against the next encounter.

When you have half an hour to spare, I hope you will give it me under your own hand, that Mrs. Blackwell and you are not only in good health, but labouring more than ever after a healthful mind, and trampling the world and the devil under your feet. I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate servant.

The week after next I shall spend mostly at Sligo.

CXXXV.—*To the Same.*

Bradford, July 16, 1761.

Dear Sir,—Methinks it is a long time since I saw or heard any thing of you. I hope, however, that Mrs. Blackwell and you are not only alive, but more alive than ever; seeking and enjoying something more than King George is likely to find either at his wedding or his coronation. And can you likewise give me a comfortable account of Miss Freeman, both as to her health and her spirit? I often think of her, and sometimes have a mind to send her another letter; though she is one in my debt already.

Mr. Venn was so kind as to come over hither yesterday, and spend the evening with us. I am a little embarrassed on his account, and hardly know how to act. Several years before he came to Huddersfield, some of our preachers went thither, carrying their lives in their hands, and with great difficulty established a little, earnest society. These eagerly desire them to preach there still; not in opposition to Mr. Venn, (whom they love, esteem, and constantly attend,) but to supply what *they* do not find in his preaching. It is a tender point. Where there is a Gospel ministry *already*, we do not desire to preach; but whether we can leave off preaching because such a one comes *after*, is another question; especially when those who were awakened and convinced by us beg and require the continuance of our assistance. I love peace, and follow it; but whether I am at liberty to purchase it at such price, I really cannot tell.

I hear poor Mr. Walker is near death. It seems strange that when there is so great a want of faithful labourers, such as him should be removed: but the will of God is always best; and what he does, we shall know hereafter! I have been for some days with Mr. Grimshaw, an Israelite indeed. A few such as him would make a nation tremble.

He carries fire wherever he goes. Mr. Venn informs me, that Mr. Whitefield continues very weak. I was in hope, when he wrote to me lately, that he was swiftly recovering strength. Perhaps, sir, you can send me better news concerning him. What need have we, while we do live, to live in earnest! I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

If you have not a mind for me to write again, you must not write yourself. For about a fortnight I shall be at or near Leeds.

CXXXVI.—*To the Same.*

Norwich, August 15, 1761.

Dear Sir,—As you are encompassed with a thousand temptations, and some of them of the most dangerous kind, it is an unspeakable blessing that you still continue with your face heavenward. And if you have resolution to break through a thousand hinderances, and allow some time every day for private prayer, I doubt not but you will receive every Gospel blessing in this world and in the world to come.

Mr. Venn and I have had some hours' conversation together, and have explained upon every article. I believe there is no bone of contention remaining; no matter of offence, great or small. Indeed, fresh matter will arise, *if* it be sought; but it shall not be sought by *me*. We have amicably compromised the affair of preaching. He is well pleased that the preachers should come once a month.

That story was one of those which we cleared up. But Mr. Oddie (the person of whom it was told) will be in town next week, and can himself give you full satisfaction concerning it. On this day se'nnight I hope to be in town, and to-morrow se'nnight at West-street chapel. With sincere love to Mrs. Blackwell and Mrs. Dewal,

I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate servant.

I thank you for sending me the letters.

CXXXVII.—*To the Same.*

Liverpool, July 14, 1764.

Dear Sir,—My brother informs me that you have been so extremely ill, that your life was hardly expected. I really am under apprehensions lest that chariot should cost you your life. If, after having been accustomed to ride on horseback for many years, you should now exchange a horse for a carriage, it cannot be that you should have good health. It is a vain thing to expect it. I judge of your case by my own. I must be on horseback for life, if I would be healthy. Now and then, indeed, if I could afford it, I should rest myself for fifty miles in a chaise; but without riding near as much as I do now, I must never look for health.

In the meantime, I trust both Mrs. Blackwell and you are looking for health of a nobler kind. You look to be filled with the spirit of love, and of a healthful mind. What avails every thing else? every thing that passes away as an arrow through the air?

The arrow is flown! The moment is gone!
The millennial year
Rushes on to the view, and eternity 's here!

You want nothing more of this world. You have enough, and, by the peculiar blessing of God, know you have. But you want a thousand times more faith. You want love; you want holiness. The Lord God supply all your wants from the riches of his mercy in Christ Jesus! I am, dear sir, Your very affectionate servant.

Next week I shall set my face toward Bristol.

CXXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

SUNDERLAND, May 6, 1766.

DEAR SIR,—William Matthews writes me word, that he has quitted the school at the Foundery, and begs me to speak to you in his behalf. I should be glad to serve him in any thing that was in my power, either for his late brother's sake or his own. I judge him to be a right honest man; one that may be trusted in every respect; and one that would perform, with all diligence, whatever he undertook, not so much for gain as for conscience' sake.

I am not yet quite free from the effects of the fall which I had at Christmas, and perhaps never shall in this world. Sometimes my ankle, sometimes my knee, and frequently my shoulder, complains. But, blessed be God, I have strength sufficient for the work to which I am called. When I cannot walk any farther, I can take a horse, and now and then a chaise; so that hitherto I have not been hindered from visiting any place which I purposed to see before I left London.

The fields in every part of England are indeed white for the harvest. There is every where an amazing willingness in the people to receive either instruction or exhortation. We find this temper now even in many of the higher rank, several of whom cared for none of these things. But surely the time is coming for these also; for the Scripture must be fulfilled: "They shall all know me, from the least even to the greatest."

We who have lived more years have need of more earnestness and vigour in running the race which is set before us, or some of those that come after us will get before us in the way. Many of those who have lately set out run well. Gray heads stand upon green shoulders.

"They make their morning bear the heat of day." Let us mend our pace! What is there here that is worth lingering for? A little while, and this world of shadows will vanish; and all will be boundless, bottomless eternity!

My wife, who has been very ill, but is much better, joins with me in wishing Mrs. Blackwell and you every blessing which is purchased for you with the blood of the covenant. I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate servant.

CXXXIX.—*To Certain Proprietors of East India Stock.*

To all who have had East India Stock lately transferred to them, in order to qualify them for voting at the Election for Directors on Wednesday next.

[WITHOUT DATE.]

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES,—Do you know what the oath is which you are to take before you will be admitted to vote? It is as follows:—

"I, A. B., do swear that the sum of five hundred pounds, or more, of the capital stock of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies doth at this time belong to me in my own right, and not in trust for any other person or persons whatsoever. So help me God."

Do not you hereby call upon God, either to help you, or to send down his curse upon you, as your oath is true or false?

If you consider this, can you take a false oath? can you call God to witness to a lie?

Are you not doing this, if the stock standing in your name is not your real and true property?

Have you not given a note of your hand for it, which is to be returned upon your re-transferring the stock?

Are *you* either benefited or hurt by the rise or fall of the stock? If not, can you say you are a proprietor at all?

Does it alter the case, though a third person lend you the money to pay for that stock which you are so to re-transfer? Still you neither gain nor lose by the rise or fall of the stock: a plain proof that you have no property therein.

Weigh this in time, and do not, to oblige a friend, bring the guilt of perjury on your own soul.

CXL.—*To Mr. John Downes.*

London, November 7, 1751.

My Dear Brother,—Your first hinderance is easily removed. Most of the preachers have now all they want. So might you have had if you had spoken to the stewards, or, in case of their neglect, to me.

As to your second, bodily weakness is a good reason for a temporary retirement.

Your third observation, that the people in general do not practise what they hear, is a melancholy truth. But what then? Is this a sufficient cause why either you or I should leave them? why we should give them up to their own hearts' lusts, and let them follow their own imaginations? In no wise. Especially while there are some among them whose conversation is worthy of the Gospel of Christ.

I grant, also, some of the preachers themselves do not adorn the Gospel. Therefore we have been constrained to lay some of them aside, and some others are departed of themselves. Let us that remain be doubly in earnest.

You should make an excursion (as to Alnwick) now and then. Is not John Fenwick a proper person to relieve James Tucker at Whitehaven? If you think he is, pray send him thither forthwith. My love to your father and mother.

I entreat you, tell me without reserve, what you think of C. Skelton? Is his heart with us, or is it not? Peace be with you. Adieu!

CXLI.—*To the Same.*

London, November 28, 1751.

My Dear Brother,—I think you write to me, as if you did not care to write. I am glad you went to Alnwick. The method you took of

talking with each person in the society apart, I hear, has been greatly blessed to them. I do not see how you could have dealt more favourably with T—— G—— than you did. If he will leave the society, he must leave it. But if he does, you are clear.

I know not what to do more for poor Jenny Keith. Alas, from what a height is she fallen! What a burning and shining light was she six or seven years ago! But thus it ever was. Many of the first shall be last, and many of the last first.

How are you employed? from five in the morning till nine at night? For I suppose you want eight hours' sleep. What becomes of logic and Latin? Is your soul alive and more athirst for God? I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CXLII.—*To the Same.*

London, December 10, 1751

My Dear Brother,—I thank C. Herrington for his letter. He should not fail to write, whenever he sees occasion. If you are straitened for preachers, could not you make use of George Atchinson, from Stockton, for a time? I suppose James Tucker also is now with you. He is, I verily believe, honest of heart; but a little too wise in his own eyes. Speak plainly to him, if you should ever hear that any thing is amiss in his preaching or conversation.

Brother Reeves will be here in a day or two. But he cannot return into the north yet. I wish you would regulate a little at a time, as you find your health will permit. But you must carefully guard against any irregularity, either as to food, sleep, or labour. Your water should be neither quite warm (for fear of relaxing the tone of your stomach) nor quite cold. Of all flesh, mutton is the best for you; of all vegetables, turnips, potatoes, and apples, (roasted, boiled, or baked,) if you can bear them.

Take care you do not lose any thing you have learned already, whether you learn more or not. You must needs be here (if alive) the first of March at our conference. None will be present but those we invite.

How apt is the corruptible body to press down the soul! But all shall work together for good.

Now you can sympathize a little with me. We must expect no thanks from man. Evil for good will be our constant portion here. But it is well. The Lord is at hand. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CXLIII.—*To the Same.*

London, December 28, 1751.

My Dear Brother,—Your letter is the picture of your heart. It is honest and upright. I believe a journey to London will do you good. If you could borrow a horse to Leeds, you may take my mare from thence, which is in C. Shent's keeping. As you ride slow, and not many miles a day, I suppose she would bring you hither very well; and when you are here, we can easily find means to supply your other wants.

I think it is ill husbandry for you to work with your hands, in order to get money; because you may be better employed. But, if you will

work, come and superintend my printing. I will give you forty pounds for the first year, and it will cost me nothing so to do. Afterward, if need be, I will increase your salary; and still you may preach as often as you can preach. However, come, whether you print, or preach, or not. Peace be with your spirit. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CXLIV.—*To Miss Furly, afterward Mrs. Downes.*

December 22, 1756.

It is a happy thing, if we can learn obedience by the things which we suffer. Weakness of body, and heaviness of mind, will, I trust, have this good effect upon you. The particular lesson which you have now to learn, is, to be faithful in comparatively little things; particularly in conversation. God hath given you a tongue: Why? That you may praise him therewith; that all your conversation may be, for the time to come, "meet to minister grace to the hearers." Such conversation, and private prayer, exceedingly assist each other. By resolutely persisting, according to your little strength, in all works of piety and mercy, you are waiting on God in the old Scriptural way. And therein he will come and save you. Do not think he is afar off. He is nigh that justifieth, that sanctifieth. Beware you do not thrust him away from you. Rather say,

"My heart would now receive thee, Lord:
Come in, my Lord, come in!"

Write as often, and as freely, and fully as you please to

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CXLV.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, May 18, 1757.

The great point is, to pick out in Bristol, as in all places, such acquaintance as have a deep fear of God, a continual consciousness of his presence, and a strong thirst after his whole image. Such I take most of the leaders of bands to be; and such are many of the poor in the society: but extremely few of the rich or honourable Methodists are of that number. My dear sister, I have been in pain for you on their account. When I talked with you last, you could relish the simplicity of the Gospel: you were athirst for all the mind that was in Christ, and wanted to walk just as he walked. O let none persuade you, either by example or advice, to make any, the least, deviation from that good way. Make no abatement: do not soften the plain, rough Gospel: do not

Measure back your steps to earth again.

Be not, either inwardly or outwardly, conformed to this world; but be a Christian altogether.

Health you shall have, if health be best. And He that gives it, will give a blessing with it; an increase of spiritual as well as of bodily strength: but it is strength to labour, not to sit still. And this strength will either increase or decrease, in the same proportion with your sense of his love. You may lose this sense either, 1. By committing sin. Or, 2. By omitting duty. Or, 3. By giving way to pride, anger, or

any other inward sin. Or, 4. By not watching unto prayer; by yielding to indolence, or spiritual sloth. But it is no more necessary that we should ever lose it, than it is necessary we should omit duty or commit sin. Mr. Law, therefore, speaking on this head, betrays deep ignorance both of the Scripture and the inward work of God. You are more liable to receive hurt from his late writings, than from any others which I know. I shall write to Sammy this morning: it would not have been amiss if you had spoken freely to me concerning him. Why should not you, now you have, in some measure, broke that natural shyness, speak all that is in your heart to, dear Miss Furly,

Your truly affectionate friend and brother.

CXLVI.—*To the Same.*

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, June 14, 1757.

YOU have reason to praise God for what he has done, and to expect all that he has promised. Indeed, if it were required that you should work this in yourself, your impotence might be a bar to your expectations; and so might your unworthiness, if God required any merit of yours, in order to his working in you. But what impotence in you can be a bar to the almighty power of God? And what unworthiness can hinder the free love of God? his love in and through Christ Jesus? So that all the promises lie fair before you. The land flowing with milk and honey, the Canaan of his perfect love is open. Believe, and enter in!

It is an observation of one of the ancients, that it is far easier not to desire praise, than not to be pleased with it. A bare conviction that it is, generally speaking, deadly poison, may prevent our desiring it; but nothing less than humble love filling the heart, will prevent our being pleased with it: for the sense of honour is as natural to man as the sense of tasting or feeling. But when that which is spiritual is fully come, this which is corruptly natural shall be done away.

Whatever enemies you have, it is enough that you have a Friend who is mightier than them all. O let him reign in your heart alone! Do not spare to speak with all freedom to, dear Miss Furly,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CXLVII.—*To the Same.*

JUNE 18, 1757.

I AM the more jealous over you, because I know you are liable to be much influenced by fair words; especially when they are spoken by persons of sense, and in an agreeable manner. And flesh and blood are powerful advocates for conformity to the world, particularly in little things. But, blessed be God, we have an unction from the Holy One, ready to teach us of all things. O let us attend to this inward teaching, which indeed is always consonant with the word. Then the word, applied by the Spirit, shall be a light in all our ways, and a lamp in all our paths.

Fight on, and conquer! Change of place, as you observe, is but a little thing But God has, in some measure, changed your heart, wherein you have great reason to rejoice. And, having received the first fruits of the Spirit, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, patiently

and earnestly wait for the great change, whereby every root of bitterness may be torn up.

You may profitably converse with even those honourable Christians, if you watch and pray that they do not infect you, 1. With Mystical notions, which stand in full opposition to plain old Bible divinity. Or, 2. With their odd, senseless jargon of a catholic spirit, whereby they have themselves suffered great loss. The spirit of the world, I think, you are aware of already; and indeed there is danger in every approach to it.

I have heard from both Mrs. Gaussen and Miss Bosanquet. There is a poor, queer old woman in Bristol, (if she is not gone to paradise,) with whom it might do you good to talk. John Jones knows her. Her name is Elizabeth Edgecomb. Peace be with your spirit. I am, dear Miss Furly,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CXLVIII.—*To the Same.*

York, July 1, 1757.

Dear Miss Furly,—I cannot write to you now so fully as I would; but I must send a few lines. Mere temptation certainly does not weaken without yielding to temptation. Yet a heaviness and soreness may remain upon the spirit till there is a fresh discovery of the love of God.

A jealous fear of offending God is good. But what have you to do with any other fear? Let love cast it all out; and at the same time make you tenfold more afraid of doing any thing, small or great, which you cannot offer up as a holy sacrifice, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

All who are without this fear (and much more all who call it legal; who revile the precious gift of God, and think it a hinderance to "the growing up in Christ") are Antinomians in the inmost soul. Come not into their secret, my dear Miss Furly; but pray for more and more of that "legal spirit," and you will more and more rejoice

Your affectionate servant.

CXLIX.—*To the Same.*

Tremeneare, September 6, 1757.

Why you should be afraid, on account of any thing you said to me, I do not know. Certainly if you had said whatever was in your heart, it might have been a means of lessening your burden, and not of increasing it. I believe you have often a desire, and almost a resolution, of saying a great deal to me; but when you come to write or speak, your heart fails. Why should it? Why should you repress yourself? I should not despise but love you for your openness. It is the fruit and the proof of an honest heart. I know you are weak; I know a litttle of your particular weaknesses. But so much the more am I concerned for you, as a tender, sickly flower. Away then with this reserve; it answers no end, but to trouble and embarrass you. Tell me, freely and plainly, any difficulty you meet with; any enemy against whom you want help. Use me as a friend; as I hope you will use sister Crosby; and you will find

it a blessing to your soul. It will again bring the promise of holiness near; which indeed always seems to be far off when we give way to any known sin; when we any way grieve the Spirit of God. There may be some rare cases wherein God has determined not to bestow his perfect love till a little before death; but this I believe is uncommon: he does not usually put off the fulfilling of his promises. Seek, and you shall find; seek earnestly, and you shall finds peedily. Lift up the hands that hang down; deny yourself: take up your cross, whether that of meeting your class, or any other. Fight on, and victory is at hand! I am, dear Miss Furly,

Your affectionate servant.

CL.—*To the Same.*

St. Austle, Cornwall, September 25, 1757.

My Dear Sister,—It is a rule with me to take nothing ill that is well meant; therefore you have no need ever to be afraid of my putting an ill construction on any thing you say; for I know you mean only to save your soul. In most genteel religious people there is so strange a mixture, that I have seldom much confidence in them. I love the poor; in many of them I find pure, genuine grace, unmixed with paint, folly, and affectation. But I think Mrs. Gaussen is upright of heart; and perhaps you may find one or two gentlewomen like her.

It is plain God sees it best for you frequently to walk in a thorny path. By this means he aims at destroying your pride of heart, and breaking your stubborn will. You have had large experience, that there is no substantial or lasting happiness but in him. O be true to yourself, and to your own experience! Do not seek it where it cannot be found. Hew out to yourself no more broken cisterns; but let all the springs of your happiness be in him.

You cannot be too careful to keep out of the way of any thing that has been the occasion of sin. And it is very possible to show civility and moderate respect to any person, without coming in the way of danger. All private conversation may be avoided, and ought to be, at all hazards. Do not run yourself into temptation; and God will deliver you from evil.

Nature and the devil will always oppose private prayer; but it is worth while to break through. That it is a cross, will not hinder its being a blessing; nay, often the more reluctance, the greater blessing.

I think it was not you who advised poor Sam to be a mere regular clergyman, unconnected with the Methodists. Certainly this is the best way to preferment: but it is not the best way to heaven, or to do good upon earth. When it is too late, the awakened clergy will probably see this. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLI.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, October 21, 1757.

My Dear Sister,—God will do his own work in his own manner, and exceeding variously in different persons. It matters not, whether it be wrought in a more pleasing or painful manner, so it is wrought; so nature is subdued, pride and self-will dethroned, and the will of

God done in us and by us. Therefore, trouble not yourself about the experience of others; God knows you, and let him do with you as he sees best.

I judge your late distress to be partly the effect of disease, but chiefly preternatural. In the third Journal, there is a case nearly parallel; only the symptoms were more severe. For, in a moment, Lucretia Smith felt such a cloud spread over her, that she could not believe there was a God, or an after state. You did right to pray, as you could pray; and this is the best method which can be taken, in heaviness or darkness of any kind. Then, if sin be the cause, it will be discovered. But take care that you do not refuse any help; even rough speakers may be of service. Only spread what they say before the Lord, and he will turn it to good. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLII.—*To the Same.*

LEWISHAM, February 9, 1758.

UNDOUBTEDLY you may arise now, and receive power from on high. You are hindered chiefly by not understanding the freeness of the gift of God. You are perpetually seeking for something in yourself, to move him to love and bless you. But it is not to be found there; it is in himself, and in the Son of his love. He did then give you a proof of this, in that fresh evidence of pardon; and he is ready to give it you again to-day; for he is not weary of well doing. But even after this, you may or you may not use the power which attends that peace. And if you ask for more power, it shall be given you; for you have an Advocate with the Father. O cast yourself upon him; learn more of that lesson,—

> Thy salvation to obtain
> Out of myself I go:
> Freely thou must heal my pain,
> Thy unbought mercy show.

How much of it may you find in this hour! Look up, and see redemption near! I am

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CLIII.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, April 13, 1758.

BUT if you find such a surprising alteration at Bonner's Hall, what need have you of removing to Bristol? Perhaps a lodging there might answer the purpose of health full as well as one at Clifton; and the purpose of religion considerably better. There are few in that neighbourhood from whom I should hope you would receive much profit, except Sarah Ryan. If she abides in her integrity, she is a jewel indeed; one whose equal I have not yet found in England.

You ought not to drink much tea; and none without pretty much cream (not milk) and sugar. But I believe were you to drink nettle tea for a few mornings, it would do you more good than any other. It seems best for you to have frequent returns of weakness; it may be needful to fix seriousness upon your spirit, by a lasting impression, that

there is but one step between you and eternity. But sickness alone will not do this; no, nor even the near approach of death. Unless the Spirit of God sanctify both, a man may laugh and trifle with his last breath.

You will overcome trifling conversation, and the fear of man, not by yielding, but by fighting. This is a cross which you cannot be excused from taking up: bear it, and it will bear you. By prayer you will receive power so to do, to be a good soldier of Jesus Christ. But it is more difficult to resist hurtful desire; I am most afraid you should give way to this. Herein you have need of all the power of God. O stand fast! Look up, and receive strength! I shall be glad to hear that you are more than conqueror, and that you daily grow in the vital knowledge of Christ. Peace be with your spirit. I am

Your affectionate servant.

CLIV.—*To the Same.*

DECEMBER 28, 1758.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thought it long since I heard from you; but I imputed it to your illness. And I did not desire you should do any thing which would put you to pain, or increase your bodily weakness.

When you seemed confident of receiving the promise in a few days, I did not judge it needful to say any thing to the contrary; both because I was persuaded that expectation would be a quickening to your soul, and because I knew you had one near you, who was able to advise you in any emergency. See that your desires do not cool, and you shall not be ashamed of this confident expectation. So long as it is tempered with resignation, it can do you no disservice. And what else is there worthy of a desire? Health you shall have, if health be best, even bodily health. But what is that in comparison of a healthful mind? And this you are sure to have.

I scruple S. R.'s drinking tar water, because it is so extremely nauseous. Neither will it profit, if it occasion costiveness, unless stewed prunes be taken every second or third night instead of it. I rather wish she would resume the medicine I formerly prescribed; only taking care not to catch cold with it. Perhaps in a few days you may see

Your affectionate brother.

CLV.—*To the Same.*

NORWICH, March 6, 1759.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I shall always be glad to hear from you, when you can write without hurting yourself. But I am almost afraid to write, for fear of tempting you to answer whether you can or not.

Since you left Kingswood, I hope you use the water at the Hot Wells as often as possible. If any thing medicinal profit you, probably it will be this. But perhaps God will not suffer you to be healed by outward medicines. It may be, he is determined to have all the glory of his own work. Meantime, he designs, by this weakness of body, to keep your soul low, as a weaned child. There is a wonderful mystery in the manner and circumstances of that mighty working, whereby he sub-

dues all things to himself, and leaves nothing in the heart but his pure love alone.

I have no doubt but God will give you the answer to that prayer,—

"Let me thy witness live,
When sin is all destroy'd!
And then my spotless soul receive,
And take me home to God!"

I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

CLVI.—*To the Same.*

London, August 19, 1759.

My Dear Sister,—The observing that rule might prevent abundance of mischief: I wish others would observe it as well as you. Thomas Walsh was a good and a wise man; yet there were some circumstances not commonly known, which easily account for the darkness he went through before he went to paradise.

I hope you have talked with Cornelius Bastable, as well as heard him preach. He is an uncommon monument of the power of grace; strengthening the understanding, as well as renewing the heart. For, so weak a head, and so bad a temper, as he once had, I do not know among all our preachers.

Probably the difference between you and others lies in words chiefly. All who expect to be sanctified at all, expect to be sanctified by faith. But, meantime, they know, that faith will not be given but to them that obey. Remotely, therefore, the blessing depends on our works; although immediately, on simple faith.

Enjoy, while you may, the advantage which I had once; and shall have again, when God sees best. I am

Your affectionate brother.

Certainly you may say to me whatever you have a mind, either by writing or speaking.

CLVII.—*To the Same.*

Athlone, June 1, 1760.

My Dear Sister,—I am persuaded it is not a little thing which will make me angry at you. I hope your thinking evil of me would not; for you may have many reasons so to do.

Try: perhaps by prayer and a little resolution, you may avoid hearing those disputes about holiness. It implies no more than this: if John Jones, or any other, begins a discourse concerning the errors or sins of absent persons, tell him, "I beg you would say no more on this head: I dare not, and I will not, hear, unless those persons were present." If one begins any caution of that kind, stop him, only with mildness and good humour; say, "I believe you speak out of kindness, but I must not hear; it both distresses and hurts my soul: therefore, if you really wish my welfare, be silent; or let us call another cause." Where you see good, you may add, "I consulted Mr. Wesley on this head; and this was the advice he gave me."

No one ever "walked in the light as God is in the light," (I mean, in the full sense of the expression,) till "the blood of Jesus Christ had cleansed him from all sin." "If we are perfectly saved, it is through

his blood." This is the plain meaning of the text: and it may be ful filled in you, before you sleep. God is sovereign, in sanctifying as well as justifying. He will act when as well as how he pleases; and none can say unto him, What doest thou?

When the lungs are ulcerated, cold bathing not only does no hurt, but is the most probable cure. Sammy is a letter in my debt. I do not know but he is providentially called to this kingdom. I have now finished more than half my progress, having gone through two of the four provinces. Who knows whether I shall live to go through the other two? It matters not how long we live, but how well. I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother

CLVIII.—*To the Same.*

NORWICH, January 18, 1761.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I have sometimes wondered that not one of all the clergymen we have known should ever cleave to me, for God's sake; nor one man of learning, which would ease me exceedingly. Tommy Walsh designed it;

But death had quicker wings than love.

Perhaps it was not best; because I am so immeasurably apt to pour out all my soul into any that love me.

It is well for sister Clarke, that she is landed safe. And it is well for us, who are still amidst the waves, that He is with us, whom the winds and the seas obey. He is steering you to the haven, where you would be. You may well trust your soul with him, and let him do with you as seemeth him good.

Certainly nothing can be of greater importance than the behaviour both of those who are renewed, and of those who are known to be pressing after it. You have need to weigh every step you take. When and where do you meet now? And who are they that meet? Pray send the inclosed to your neighbour; and let all of you love and pray for

Your affectionate brother.

CLIX.—*To the Same.*

ST. IVES, September 15, 1762.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Whereunto you have attained, hold fast. But expect that greater things are at hand; although our friend talks as if you were not to expect them till the article of death.

Certainly sanctification (in the proper sense) is "an instantaneous deliverance from all sin;" and includes "an instantaneous power then given, always to cleave to God." Yet this sanctification (at least, in the lower degrees) does not include a power never to think a useless thought, nor ever speak a useless word. I myself believe that such a perfection is inconsistent with living in a corruptible body: for this makes it impossible "always to think right." While we breathe, we shall, more or less, mistake. If, therefore, Christian perfection implies this, we must not expect it till after death.

I want you to be all love. This is the perfection I believe and teach. And this perfection is consistent with a thousand nervous disorders, which that high strained perfection is not. Indeed, my judgment is, that (in this case particularly) to overdo, is to undo; and that to set

perfection too high, (so high as no man that we ever heard or read of attained,) is the most effectual (because unsuspected) way of driving it out of the world.

Take care you are not hurt by any thing in the "Short Hymns," contrary to the doctrines you have long received. Peace be with your spirit! I am Your affectionate brother

CLX.—*To the Same.*

London, July 16, 1763.

My Dear Sister,—1. So far as I know what will make me most holy and most useful, I know what is the will of God.

2. Certainly it is possibe for persons to be as devoted to God in a married as in a single state.

3. I believe John Downes is thoroughly desirous of being wholly devoted to God; and that, if you alter your condition at all, you cannot choose a more proper person. I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

CLXI.—*To the Same.*

Lewisham, December 15, 1763.

My Dear Sister,—It has seemed to me, for some time, that God will not suffer Cornelius Bastable to live at Cork. He may starve there, but he cannot live. The people are not worthy of him.

Salvation from sin is a deeper and higher work than either you or S. Ryan can conceive. But do not imagine (as we are continually prone to do) that it lies in an indivisible point. You experienced a taste of it when you were justified: you since experienced the thing itself, only in a low degree; and God gave you his Spirit, that you might know the things which he had freely given you. Hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast unto the end. You are continually apt to throw away what you have, for what you want. However, you are right in looking for a farther instantaneous change, as well as a constant gradual one. But it is not good for you to be quite alone; you should converse frequently, as well as freely, with Miss Johnson, and any other that is much alive. You have great need of this. I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

CLXII.—*To the Same.*

Edinburgh, May 28, 1764.

My Dear Sister,—Certainly it would be right to spend some time in setting down both the outward providences of God, and the inward leadings and workings of his Spirit, as far as you can remember them. But observe withal, you are called to be a good steward of the mammon of unrighteousness. You must therefore think of this too in its place; only without anxiety. Otherwise, that neglect of your calling will hinder the work of God in your heart. You are not serving mammon by this, but serving Christ; it is part of the task which he has assigned you. Yet it is true your heart is to be free all the time; and see that you stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.

I thought your name had been altered before now. In a new station

you will have need of new watchfulness. Still redeem the time; be steadily serious; and follow your own conscience in all things. I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

In my return from the Highlands, I expect to spend a day at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the 18th or 19th of June.

CLXIII.—*To the Same.*

London, August 2, 1776.

My Dear Sister,—I know not that you differ from me at all. You are certainly in your place at present; and it seems one providential reason of your ill health was, to drive you thither. Now, use all the ability which God giveth, and he will give more: Unto him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; it is the hand of the diligent that maketh rich. If you can persuade honest Alice Brammah to be cleanly as well as gentle, she will be tenfold more useful; and so will Billy Brammah, if he will be teachable and advisable; otherwise there is a fly in the pot of ointment. You are sent to Leeds chiefly for the sake of those that enjoy, or thirst after perfect love. Redeem the time! Go on in His name! And let the world and the devil fall under your feet! I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

CLXIV.—*To the Same.*

October, 1776.

My Dear Sister,—You have abundant reason to praise God, who has dealt so mercifully with you, and to encourage all about you never to rest till they attain full salvation.

As to the question you propose, if the leader himself desires it, and the class be not unwilling, in that case there can be no objection to your meeting a class even of men. This is not properly assuming or exercising any authority over them. You do not act as a superior, but an equal; and it is an act of friendship and brotherly love.

I am glad you had a little conversation with Miss Ritchie. She is a precious soul. Do her all the good you can, and incite her to exert all the talents which God has given her. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXV.—*To the Same.*

London, December 1, 1781.

My Dear Sister,—Never be afraid that I should think your letters troublesome: I am never so busy as to forget my friends.

Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher made an excellent beginning, and I trust they will increase with all the increase of God. Now, let all of you that remain in the neighbourhood arise up and supply her lack of service. Be instant in season, out of season; that all may know you have caught her mantle!

But pray do not suffer my poor Miss Ritchie to work herself to death. Let her do all she can, and not more than she can. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXVI.—*To the Same.*

NEAR LONDON, November 21, 1783.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Through the blessing of God, I find no difference at all between the health and strength which are now given me, and that which I had forty years ago. Only I had then many pains which I have not now.

You are enabled to give a very clear and standing proof that weakness of nerves cannot prevent joy in the Lord. Your nerves have been remarkably weak, and that for many years: but still your soul can magnify the Lord, and your spirit rejoice in God your Saviour!

Your affectionate brother.

CLXVII.—*To Dr. Robertson.*

BRISTOL, September 24, 1753.

DEAR SIR,—I have lately had the pleasure of reading Mr. Ramsay s "Principles of Religion," with the notes you have annexed to them. Doubtless he was a person of a bright and strong understanding, but I think not of a very clear apprehension. Perhaps it might be owing to this, that, not distinctly perceiving the strength of some of the objections to his hypothesis, he is very peremptory in his assertions, and apt to treat his opponent with an air of contempt and disdain. This seems to have been a blemish even in his moral character. I am afraid the using guile is another; for surely it is a mere artifice to impute to the Schoolmen the rise of almost every opinion which he censures; seeing he must have known that most, if not all, of those opinions, preceded the Schoolmen several hundred years.

The treatise itself gave me a stronger conviction than ever I had before, both of the fallaciousness and unsatisfactoriness of the mathematical method of reasoning on religious subjects. Extremely fallacious it is; for if we slip but in one line, a whole train of errors may follow: and utterly unsatisfactory, at least to me, because I can never be sufficiently assured that this is not the case.

The two first books, although doubtless they are a fine chain of reasoning, yet gave me the less satisfaction, because I am clearly of Mr. H——'s judgment, that all this is beginning at the wrong end; that we can have no idea of God, nor any sufficient proof of his very being, but from the creatures; and that the meanest plant is a far stronger proof hereof, than all Dr. Clarke's or the Chevalier's demonstrations.

Among the latter, I was surprised to find a demonstration of the manner how God is present to all beings; (page 57;) how he begat the Son from all eternity; (page 77;) and how the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. (Page 85.) *Quanto satius est fateri nescire quæ nescias, quam ista effutientem nauseare, et ipsum tibi displicere?** How much better to keep to his own conclusion, (page 95,) "Reason proves that this mystery is possible!" Revelation assures us that it is true; Heaven alone can show us how it is.

* This quotation from Cicero on the Nature of the Gods is thus translated by Dr. Franklin:—"How much more laudable would it be, to acknowledge you do not know what you do not know, than to follow that blunderer, whom you must surely despise."—EDIT.

There are several propositions in his second book which I cannot assent to; particularly with regard to the Divine foreknowledge. I can by no means acquiesce in the twenty-second proposition, "That it is a matter of free choice in God, to think of finite ideas." I cannot reconcile this with the assertion of the Apostle, "Known unto God are all his works, απ' αιωνος, *from eternity*." And if any one ask, "How is God's foreknowledge consistent with our freedom?" I plainly answer, I cannot tell.

In the third book, (page 209,) I read, "The desire of God, purely as beatifying, as the source of infinite pleasure, is a necessary consequence of the natural love we have for happiness." I deny it absolutely. My natural love for happiness was as strong thirty years ago as at this instant. Yet I had then no more desire of God, as the source of any pleasure at all, than I had of the devil or of hell. So totally false is that, "That the soul inevitably loves what it judges to be the best."

Equally false is his next corollary; that "if ever fallen spirits see and feel that moral evil is a source of eternal misery, they cannot continue to will it deliberately." (*Ibid.*) I can now show living proofs of the contrary. But I take knowledge, both from this and many other of his assertions, that Mr. R. never rightly understood the height and depth of that corruption which is in man, as well as diabolical nature.

The doctrine of pure love, as it is stated in the fourth book and elsewhere, (the loving God chiefly is not solely for his inherent perfections,) I once firmly espoused. But I was at length unwillingly convinced that I must give it up, or give up the Bible. And for near twenty years I have thought, as I do now, that it is at least unscriptural, if not antiscriptural: for the Scripture gives not the least intimation, that I can find, of any higher, or indeed any other, love of God, than that mentioned by St. John: "We love him, because he first loved us." And I desire no higher love of God, till my spirit returns to him.

Page 313: "There can be but two possible ways of curing moral evil; the sensation of pleasure in the discovery of truth, or the sensation of pain in the love of error."

So here is one who has searched out the Almighty to perfection! who knows every way wherein he can exert his omnipotence!

I am not clear in this. I believe it is very possible for God to act in some third way. I believe he can make me as holy as an archangel, without any sensation at all preceding.

Page 324: "Hence it is that the chaos mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis cannot be understood of the primitive state of nature."

Why not, if God created the world gradually, as we are assured he did?

In the fifth book, (page 334,) I read a more extraordinary assertion than any of the preceding: "The infusion of such supernatural habits, by one instantaneous act, is impossible. We cannot be confirmed in immutable habits of good, but by a long continued repetition of free acts." I dare not say so. I am persuaded God can this moment confirm me immutably good.

Page 335: "Such is the nature of finite spirits, that, after a certain degree of good habits contracted, they become unpervertible and immu-

table in the love of order." If so, "after a certain degree of evil nabits contracted, must they not become unconvertible and immutable in the hatred of order?" And if Omnipotence cannot prevent the one, neither can it prevent the other.

Page 343: "No creature can suffer, but what has merited punishment." This is not true; for the man Christ Jesus was a creature. But he suffered; yet he had not merited punishment, unless our sins were imputed to him. But, if so, Adam's sin might be imputed to us; and on that account even an infant may suffer.

Now, if these things are so, if a creature may suffer for the sin of another imputed to him, then the whole frame of reasoning for the preëxistence of souls, raised from the contrary supposition, falls to the ground.

Page 347: "There are but three opinions concerning the transmission of original sin." That is, there are but three ways of accounting how it is transmitted. I care not if there were none. The fact I know, both by Scripture and by experience. I know it is transmitted; but how it is transmitted, I neither know nor desire to know.

Page 353: "By this insensibility and spiritual lethargy in which all souls remain, ere they awake into mortal bodies, the habits of evil in some are totally extinguished."

Then it seems there is a third possible way of curing moral evil. And why may not all souls be cured this way, without any pain or suffering at all?

"If any impurity remains in them, it is destroyed in a middle state after death." (*Ib.*)

I read nothing of either of these purgations in the Bible. But it appears to me, from the whole tenor of his writings, that the Chevalier's notions are about one quarter Scriptural, one quarter Popish, and two quarters Mystic.

Page 360: "God dissipated the chaos, introduced into the solar system by the fall of angels." Does Sacred Writ affirm this? Where is it written, except in Jacob Behmen?

Page 366: "Physical evil is the only means of curing moral evil." This is absolutely contrary both to Scripture, experience, and his own words, page 353. And "this great principle," as he terms it, is one of those fundamental mistakes which run through the whole Mystic divinity.

Almost all that is asserted in the following pages may likewise be confuted by simply denying it.

Page 373: "Hence we see the necessity of sufferings and expiatory pains in order to purify lapsed beings; the intrinsic efficacy of physical, to cure moral, evil."

Expiatory pains is pure, unmixed Popery; but they can have no place in the Mystic scheme. This only asserts, "the intrinsic efficacy of physical, to cure moral, evil, and the absolute necessity of sufferings to purify lapsed beings:" neither of which I can find in the Bible; though I really believe there is as much of the efficacy in sufferings, as in spiritual lethargy.

Page 374: "If beasts have any souls, they are either material or

immaterial, to be annihilated after death; or degraded intelligences." No; they may be immaterial, and yet not to be annihilated.

If you ask, "But how are they to subsist after death?" I answer, He that made them knows.

The sixth book, I fear, is more dangerously wrong than any of the preceding, as it effectually undermines the whole Scriptural account of God's reconciling the world unto himself, and turns the whole redemption of man by the blood of Christ into a mere metaphor. I doubt whether Jacob Behmen does not do the same. I am sure he does if Mr. Law understands him right.

I have not time to specify all the exceptionable passages: if I did, I must transcribe part of almost every page.

Page 393: "The Divinity is unsusceptible of anger." I take this to be the πρωτον ψευδος [fundamental error] of all the Mystics. But I demand the proof. I take anger to have the same relation to justice, as love has to mercy.

But if we grant them this, then they will prove their point. For if God was never angry, his anger could never be appeased; and then we may safely adopt the very words of Socinus, *Tota redemptionis nostræ per Christum metaphora;* [the whole of our redemption by Christ is a metaphor;] seeing Christ died only to "show to all the celestial choirs God's infinite aversion to disorder."

Page 394: "He suffered, because of the sin of men, infinite agonies, as a tender father suffers to see the vices of his children. He felt all that lapsed angels and men should have suffered to all eternity. Without this sacrifice, celestial spirits could never have known the horrible deformity of vice. In this sense, he substituted himself as a victim to take away the sins of the world; not to appease vindictive justice, but to show God's infinite love of justice."

This is as broad Socinianism as can be imagined. Nay, it is more. It is not only denying the satisfaction of Christ, but supposing that he died for devils as much, and for the angels in heaven much more, than he did for man.

Indeed, he calls Him an expiatory sacrifice, a propitiatory victim; but remember it was only in this sense: for you are told again, (page 399,) "See the deplorable ignorance of those who represent the expiatory sacrifice of Christ as destined to appease vindictive justice, and avert divine vengeance. It is by such frivolous and blasphemous notions that the Schoolmen have exposed this divine mystery."

These "frivolous and blasphemous notions," do I receive as the precious truths of God. And so deplorable is my ignorance, that I verily believe all who deny them deny the Lord that bought them.

Page 400: "The immediate, essential, necessary means of reuniting men to God are prayer, mortification and self-denial." No; the immediate, essential, necessary mean of reuniting me to God, is living faith; and that alone: Without this, I cannot be reunited to God; with this, I cannot but be reunited.

Prayer, mortification, and self-denial, are the fruits of faith, and the grand means of continuing and increasing it.

But I object to the account Mr. R., and all the Mystics, give of those. It is far too lax and general. And hence those who receive all he says

will live just as they did before, in all the ease, pleasure, and state they can afford.

Page 403: "Prayer, mortification, and self-denial, produce necessarily in the soul, faith, hope, and charity."

On the contrary, faith must necessarily precede both prayer, mortification, and self-denial, if we mean thereby, "adoring God in spirit and in truth, a continual death to all that is visible, and a constant, universal suppression and sacrifice of all the motions of false love." And the Chevalier talks of all these like a mere parrot, if he did not know and feel in his inmost soul, that it is absolutely false that any of these should subsist in our heart till we truly believe in the Son of God.

"True faith is a divine light in the soul that discovers the laws of eternal order, the all of God, and the nothingness of the creatures." It does; but it discovers first of all, that Christ loved me, and gave himself for me, and washes me from my sins in his own blood.

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother.

CLXVIII.—*To Mrs. Sarah Ryan.* [*Mr. Wesley's housekeeper* at Bristol.*]

NEWBURY, November 8, 1757.

MY DEAR SISTER,—In the hurry of business I had not time to write down what you desired,—the rules of our family. So I snatch a few minutes to do it now; and the more cheerfully, because I know you will observe them.

1. The family rises, part at four, part at half an hour after.
2. They breakfast at seven, dine at twelve, and sup at six.
3. They spend the hour from five to six in the evening (after a little joint prayer) in private.
4. They pray together at nine, and then retire to their chambers; so that all are in bed before ten.
5. They observe all Fridays in the year as days of fasting, or abstinence.

You, in particular, I advise,—Suffer no impertinent visitant, no unprofitable conversation, in the house. It is a city set upon a hill; and all that is in it should be "holiness to the Lord."

On what a pinnacle do you stand! You are placed in the eye of all the world, friends and enemies. You have no experience of these things; no knowledge of the people; no advantages of education; not large natural abilities and are but a novice, as it were, in the ways of God! It requires all the omnipotent love of God to preserve you in your present station. Stand fast in the Lord, and in the power of his might! Show that nothing is too hard for him. Take to thee the

[* The office of "housekeepers," in some of Mr. Wesley's societies at the time of the date of this letter, "was to reside in the houses built in several of the large towns, where both Mr. Wesley and the preachers took up their abode during their stay. They were elderly and pious women, who, being once invested with an official character, extended it sometimes from the *house* to the *church*, to the occasional annoyance of the preachers. As married preachers began to occupy the houses, they were at length dispensed with."—See *Watson's Life of Wesley*, p. 174.]

whole armour of God; and do and suffer all things through Christ strengthening thee. If you continue teachable and advisable, I know nothing that shall be able to hurt you.

Your affectionate brother.

CLXIX.—*To the Same.*

NORWICH, November 22, 1757.

MY DEAR SISTER,—May the peace and love of God spring up in your heart, as in time past, and more abundantly! You have refreshed my bowels in the Lord: I feel your words, and praised God on your behalf. I not only excuse but love your simplicity; and whatever freedom you use, it will be welcome.

Surely God will never suffer me to be ashamed of my confidence in you. I have been censured for it by some of your nearest friends; but I cannot repent of it. Will not you put forth all your strength, (which indeed is not yours; it is the Spirit of the Father which now worketh in you,) 1. In managing all things pertaining to the house, so as to adorn the Gospel of God our Saviour? 2. In feeding the sheep he has committed to your immediate care, and carrying the weak and sickly in your bosom? 3. In assisting, quickening, and directing the family at Kingswood, whom I trust you will always bear upon your heart? 4. In reproving, stirring up, or confirming all whom the providence of God shall put into your hands? And, lastly, in watching over, and helping forward in the ways of God, one who has more need of help than all the rest; and who is always willing to receive it from you, because you always speak the truth in love?

Do you find no interruption or abatement at any time of your joy in the Lord? Do you continually see God; and that without any cloud, or darkness, or mist between? Do you pray without ceasing, without ever being diverted from it by any thing inward or outward? Are you never hindered by any person or thing? by the power or subtlety of Satan, or by the weakness or disorders of the body, pressing down the soul? Can you be thankful for every thing without exception? And do you feel all working together for good? Do you do nothing, great or small, merely to please yourself? Do you feel no touch of any desire or affection but what springs from the pure love of God? Do you speak no words but from a principle of love, and under the guidance of his Spirit? O how I long to find you unblamable in all things, and holy as He that hath called you is holy!

I am yours, &c.

CLXX.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, November 30, 1757.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your letter came in a seasonable time, as rain in a time of drought. How fain would we excuse those we love! I would gladly acquit those who severely condemn each other. The wrong to myself is not worth a thought; it gives me not a moment's uneasiness. But I am pained for others, who, if they do not sin against God, yet give great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme.

You may learn an excellent lesson herefrom. Suppose you are saved from sin, it is certain that you are not saved from a possibility of mistake. On this side, therefore, Satan may assault you; you may be deceived

either as to persons or things. You may think better, or (which is far more strange) you may think worse of them, than they deserve. And hence words or actions may spring, which, if not sinful in you, are certainly wrong in themselves; and which will and must appear sinful to those who cannot read your heart. What grievous inconvenience would ensue! How would the good that is in you be evil spoken of! How would the great gift of God be doubted of, if not disbelieved and denied, for your cause! Therefore, in the name of God I exhort you, keep close every moment to the unction of the Holy One! Attend to the still, small voice! Beware of hearkening to the voice of a stranger! My eyes ache, my head aches, my heart aches. And yet I know not when to have done. O speak nothing, act nothing, think nothing, but as you are taught of God!

Still may he with your weakness stay,
Nor for a moment's space depart;
Evil and danger turn away,
And keep your hand, your tongue, your heart.

So shall you always comfort, not grieve,

Your affectionate brother.

CLXXI.—*To the Same.*

December 14, 1757.

My Dear Sister,—I find by Mr. P—n's last letter, that he is deeply offended; that his former affection (so he speaks) is degenerated into a cold esteem, and that he no longer regards me as a dear friend, but as an austere master. Has he not a little affected you? He does not speak with passion; but his words distil as the dew. The God whom you serve send forth his light and his truth, and direct you in every thought!

Do you never find any wandering thoughts in prayer, or useless thoughts at other seasons? Does the corruptible body never press down the soul, and make it muse about useless things? Have you so great a command over your imagination, as to keep out all unprofitable images? at least to banish them the moment they appear, so that they neither trouble nor sully your soul? Do you find every reasoning brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ? Is there no vanity or folly in your dreams? no temptation that almost overcomes you? And are you then as sensible of the presence of God, and as full of prayer, as when you are waking?

I can hardly avoid trembling for you still: upon what a pinnacle do you stand! Perhaps few persons in England have been in so dangerous a situation as you are now. I know not whether any other was ever so regarded both by my brother and me at the same time. What can I do to help you? The Father of mercies help you, and with his favourable kindness surround you on every side! May the eternal Spirit help you in every thought, word, and work, to serve the living God! I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXXII.—*To the Same.*

January 20, 1758.

My Dear Sister,—How did you feel yourself under your late trial? Did you find no stirring of resentment; no remains of your own will;

no desire or wish that things should be otherwise? In one sense, you do desire it; because you desire that God should be glorified in all things. But did not the falling short of that desire lessen your happiness? Had you still the same degree of communion with God, the same joy in the Holy Ghost? I never saw you so much moved as you appeared to be that evening. Your soul was then greatly troubled; and a variety of conflicting passions, love, sorrow, desire, with a kind of despair, were easy to be read in your countenance. And was not your heart unhinged at all? Was it not ruffled or discomposed? Was your soul all the time calmly stayed on God? waiting upon Him without distraction? Perhaps one end of this close trial was to give you a deeper knowledge of yourself and of God; of his power to save, and of the salvation he hath wrought in you.

Most of the trials you have lately met with have been of another kind; but it is expedient for you to go through both evil and good report. The conversing with you, either by speaking or writing, is an unspeakable blessing to me. I cannot think of you without thinking of God. Others often lead me to him; but it is, as it were, going round about; you bring me straight into his presence. Therefore, whoever warns me against trusting you, I cannot refrain; as I am clearly convinced he calls me to it. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXXIII.—*To the Same.*

JANUARY 27, 1758.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Last Friday, after many severe words, my —— left me, vowing she would see me no more. As I had wrote to you the same morning, I began to reason with myself, till I almost doubted whether I had done well in writing, or whether I ought to write to you at all. After prayer that doubt was taken away. Yet I was almost sorry that I had written that morning. In the evening, while I was preaching at the chapel, she came into the chamber where I had left my clothes, searched my pockets, and found the letter there, which I had finished, but had not sealed. While she read it, God broke her heart; and I afterward found her in such a temper as I have not seen her in for several years. She has continued in the same ever since. So I think God has given a sufficient answer with regard to our writing to each other.

I still feel some fear concerning you. How have you found yourself since we parted? Have you suffered no loss by any thing? Has nothing damped the vigour of your spirit? Is honour a blessing and dishonour too? the frowns and smiles of men? Are you one and the same in ease or pain; always attentive to the voice of God? What kind of humility do you feel? What have you to humble you, if you have no sin? Are you wise in the manner of spending your time? Do you employ it all, not only well, but as well as it is possible? What time have you for reading? I want you to live like an angel here below; or rather like the Son of God. Woman, walk thou as Christ walked; then you cannot but love and pray for

Your affectionate brother

CLXXIV.—*To the Same.*

February 10, 1756.

My Dear Sister,—Your last letter was seasonable indeed. I was growing faint in my mind. The being continually watched over for evil, the having every word I spoke, every action I did, small and great, watched over with no friendly eye; the hearing a thousand little, tart, unkind reflections, in return for the kindest words I could devise,—

> Like drops of eating water on the marble,
> At length have worn my sinking spirits down.

Yet I could not say, "Take thy plague away from me;" but only "Let me be purified, not consumed."

What kind of humility do you feel? Is it a sense of sinfulness? Is it not a sense of helplessness, of dependence, of emptiness, and, as it were, nothingness? How do you look back on your past sins, either of heart or life? What tempers or passions do you feel, while you are employed in these reflections? Do you feel nothing like pride while you are comparing your present with your past state; or while persons are showing their approbation of, or esteem for, you? How is it that you are so frequently charged with pride? Are you careful to abstain from the appearance of it? O how important are all your steps! The Lord God guide and support you every moment!

I am yours, &c.

CLXXV.—*To the Same.*

Maldon, February 20, 1758.

My Dear Sister,—Is your eye altogether single? Is your heart entirely pure? I know you gave up the whole to God once; but do you stand to the gift? Once your will was swallowed up in God's. But is it now, and will it be so always? The whole Spirit and power of God be upon you; stablish, strengthen, settle you; and preserve your spirit, soul, and body, spotless and unblamable, unto the coming of Jesus Christ!

I am yours, &c.

CLXXVI.—*To the Same.*

Dublin, April 4, 1758.

My Dear Sister,—O that I could be of some use to you! I long to help you forward in your way. I want to have your understanding a mere lamp of light, always shining with light from above! I want you to be full of divine knowledge and wisdom, as Jordan in the time of harvest. I want your words to be full of grace, poured out as precious ointment. I want your every work to bear the stamp of God, to be a sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour: without any part weak, earthly, or human; all holy, all divine. The great God, your Father and your Love, bring you to this self-same thing! Begin, soldier of Christ, child of God! Walk worthy of the vocation wherewith thou art called! Remember the faith! Remember the Captain of thy salvation! Fight! Conquer! Die,—and live for ever!

I am yours, &c.

CLXXVII.—*To Mr. Joseph Cownley.*

BRISTOL, September 20, 1746.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,*—As many of you as have set your hands to the plough, see that you go on and look not back. The prize and the crown are before you; and in due time you shall reap, if you faint not. Meantime, fight the good fight of faith, enduring the cross, and despising the shame. Beware that none of you return evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessing. Show forth out of a loving heart, your good conversation with meekness and wisdom. Avoid all disputes as you would avoid fire: so shall ye continue kindly affectionate one toward another. The God of peace be with you. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

DUBLIN, April 12, 1750.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I doubt you are in a great deal more danger from honour, than from dishonour. So it is with me. I always find there is most hazard in sailing upon smooth water. When the winds blow, and the seas rage, even the sleepers will rise and call upon God.

From Newcastle to London, and from London to Bristol, God is every where reviving his work. I find it is so now in Dublin; although there has been great imprudence in some, whereby grievous wolves have lately crept in amongst us. not sparing the flock; by whom some souls have been utterly destroyed, and others wounded, who are not yet recovered. Those who ought to have stood in the gap did not; but I trust they will be wiser for the time to come. After a season, I think it will be highly expedient for you to labour in Ireland again. Mr. Lunell has been on the brink of the grave by a fever. Yesterday we had hopes of his recovery. I see a danger you are in, which perhaps you do not see yourself. Is it not most pleasing to me, as well as you, to be always preaching of the love of God? And is there not a time when we are peculiarly led thereto, and find a peculiar blessing therein? Without doubt, so it is. But yet it would be utterly wrong and unscriptural to preach of nothing else. Let the law always prepare for the Gospel. I scarce ever spoke more earnestly here of the love of God in Christ than last night: but it was after I had been tearing the unawakened in pieces. Go thou and do likewise. It is true, the love of God in Christ alone feeds his children; but even they are to be guided as well as fed; yea, and often physicked too: and the bulk of our hearers must be purged before they are fed; else we only feed the disease. Beware of all honey. It is the best extreme; but it is an extreme. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CLXXIX.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, January 10, 1756.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have no objection to any thing but the blister. If it does good, well. But if I had been at Cork, all the

* This letter, though directed to Mr. Cownley, was addressed to the Society at Leominster.—EDIT.

physicians in Ireland should not have put it upon your head. Remember poor Bishop Pearson. An apothecary, to cure a pain in his head, covered it with a large blister. In an hour, he cried out, "O my head, my head!" and was a fool ever after, to the day of his death. I believe cooling things (if any thing under heaven) would remove that violent irritation of your nerves, which probably occasions the pain. Moderate riding may be of use; I believe of more than the blister: only do not take more labour upon you than you can bear. Do as much as you can, and no more. Let us make use of the present time. Every day is of importance. We know not how few days of peace remain. We join in love to you and yours. I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CLXXX.—*To Miss* ——.

February 21, 1759.

Probably, Miss ——, this may be the last trouble of the kind which you will receive from me. Therefore you may forgive me this; and the rather, when you consider my motives to it. You know I can have no temporal view; I can have none but a faint, distant hope (because with God all things are possible) of doing some service to one whom I love. And this may answer the question which you might naturally ask, "What would you have? What do you want with me?" I want you, not to be a convert to my opinions, but to be a member of Christ, a child of God, and an heir of his kingdom. Be any thing, as to outward profession, so you are lowly in heart; so you resist and conquer every motion of pride, and have that mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus. Be what you please besides; only be meek and gentle, and in patience possess your soul; so that one may truly say to you,

> "Calm thou ever art within,
> All unruffled, all serene."

Hear what preacher you will; but hear the voice of God, and beware of prejudice and every unkind temper: beware of foolish and hurtful desires, or they will pierce you through with many sorrows. In one word, be any thing but a trifler, a trifler with God and your own soul It was not for this, that God gave you

> A mind superior to the vulgar herd.

No, Miss ——, no! but that you might employ all your talents to the glory of Him that gave them. O do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God! Is he not still striving with you? striving to make you, not almost, but altogether, a Christian? Indeed you must be all or nothing; a saint or a devil; eminent in sin or holiness! The good Lord deliver you from every snare, and guide your feet in the way of peace! How great a pleasure would this give to all your real friends, and in particular to

Your affectionate servant for Christ's sake.

CLXXXI.—*To the Same.*

Colchester, March 20, 1759.

My wife, Miss ——, surprised me last night by informing me you are left mistress of a large fortune. Shall I say, agreeably surprised

me? I cannot tell; because I believe there is another world; and I do not know what influence this change may have on your condition. Therefore I am in fear and in hope. You may be hereby far more happy, or far more miserable, in eternity! O make a stand! Consider the situation you are in; perhaps never before were you in so great danger. You know a little of your natural tempers: now you have means of indulging, and thereby inflaming, them to the uttermost. And how many will incite you so to do! How few will dare to warn you against it! Now what food will you have for pride! what infinite temptations to think more highly than you ought to think! You do so already. But O, where will you stop? The good Lord arrest the storm in mid career! How impetuously now, unless God interpose, must self-will whirl you along! How deeply, unless he help, will you shortly be immersed in practical Atheism! as ten thousand things will concur to drive God out of your thoughts, as much as if he were not in the world. But, above all, how will you escape from being swallowed up in idolatry? love of the world, such as you never knew before?

Hitherto you have been greatly superior to every delicacy in food: but even this may assault you now; and perhaps raise in you other desires which you are now a stranger to. At present, you are above the follies of dress; but will you be so a twelve month hence? May you not easily slide into the pride of life, in this as well as other instances? especially considering how your vanity will be gratified thereby? For who will not admire and applaud your admirable taste? It will only remain for you to marry some agreeable person, that has much wit and sense, with little or no religion; then it is finished! Either you will be throughly miserable in this world, or miserable to eternity.

"But what business is this of yours? Cannot you let me alone? What have I to do with you?" Believe me, I could very easily let you alone, if I had not a real and tender good will toward you; and if I did not know (what perhaps you do not) that you have need even of me. You want friends who understand you well, and who dare tell you the whole, plain truth; and yet not in a surly, imperious manner; for then you could not receive it. I have endeavoured to do this once more. Will not you forgive me? I cannot but think, if you do not thank, you will at least excuse, Your affectionate servant.

CLXXXII.—*To Miss H——.*

DUBLIN, April 5, 1758.

IT is with great reluctance that I at length begin to write: First, because I abhor disputing, and never enter upon it but when I am, as it were, dragged into it by the hair of the head; and, next, because I have so little hope that any good will arise from the present dispute. I fear your passions are too deeply interested in the question to admit the force of the strongest reason. So that, were it not for the tender regard I have for you, which makes your desire a motive I cannot resist, I should not spend half an hour in so thankless a labour, and one wherein I have so little prospect of success.

"The doctrine of perfection," you say, "has perplexed you much, since some of our preachers have placed it in so dreadful a light; one of them affirming, A believer, till perfect, is under the curse of God,

and in a state of damnation: Another, If you die before you have attained it, you will surely perish."

By *perfection*, I mean, *perfect love*, or the loving God with all our heart, so as to rejoice evermore, to pray without ceasing, and in every thing to give thanks. I am convinced every believer may attain this; yet I do not say, he is in a state of damnation, or under the curse of God, till he does attain. No, he is in a state of grace, and in favour with God, as long as he believes. Neither would I say, "If you die without it, you will perish;" but rather, till you are saved from unholy tempers, you are not ripe for glory. There will therefore more promises be fulfilled in your soul, before God takes you to himself.

"But none can attain perfection, unless they first believe it attainable." Neither do I affirm this. I knew a Calvinist in London, who never believed it attainable, till the moment she did attain it; and then lay declaring it aloud for many days, till her spirit returned to God.

"But you yourself believed, twenty years ago, that we should not put off the infection of nature, but with our bodies." I did so. But I believe otherwise now, for many reasons, some of which you afterward mention. How far Mr. Roquet or Mr. Walsh may have mistaken these, I know not: I can only answer for myself.

"The nature and fitness of things" is so ambiguous an expression, that I never make use of it. Yet if you ask me, "Is it fit or necessary, in the nature of things, that a soul should be saved from all sin before it enters into glory?" I answer, It is. And so it is written, "No unclean thing shall enter into it." Therefore, whatever degrees of holiness they did, or did not, attain, in the preceding parts of life, neither Jews nor Heathens, any more than Christians, ever did, or ever will, enter into the New Jerusalem, unless they are cleansed from all sin before they enter into eternity.

I do by no means exclude the Old Testament from bearing witness to any truths of God. Nothing less; but I say, the experience of the Jews is not the standard of Christian experience; and that therefore, were it true, the Jews did not love God with all their heart and soul, it would not follow, therefore, no Christian can; because we may attain what they did not.

"But," you say, "either their words do not contain a promise of such perfection, or God did not fulfil this promise to them to whom he made it." I answer, He surely will fulfil it to them to whom he made it; namely, to the Jews, after their dispersion into all lands: and to these is the promise made; as will be clear to any who impartially considers the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein it stands.

I doubt whether this perfection can be proved by Luke vi, 40. From 1 John iii, 9, (which belongs to all the children of God,) I never attempted to prove it; but I still think it is clearly described in those words, "As he is, so are we in this world." And yet it doth not now appear "what we shall be," when this vile body is "fashioned like unto his glorious body;" when we shall see him, not in a glass, but face to face, and be transformed into his likeness.

Those expressions, John xiii, 10, "Ye are clean, clean every whit," are allowed to refer to justification only. But that expression, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light," cannot refer to justification only

It does not relate to justification at all, whatever the other clause may do. Therefore, those texts are by no means parallel, neither can the latter be limited by the former; although it is sure, the privileges described in both belong to every adult believer.

But not only abundance of particular texts, but the whole tenor of Scripture declares, Christ came to "destroy the works of the devil, to save us from our sins;" all the works of the devil, all our sins, without any exception or limitation. Indeed should we say, we have no sin to be saved or cleansed from, we should make him come in vain. But it is at least as much for his glory to cleanse us from them all before our death as after it.

"But St. James says, 'In many things we offend all;' and whatever *we* might mean, if alone, the expression, *we all*, was never before understood to exclude the person speaking." Indeed it was. It is unquestionably to be understood so as to exclude Isaiah, the person speaking, "We are all as an unclean thing; we all do fade as a leaf, and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away," lxiv, 6. For this was not the case with Isaiah himself. Of himself he says, "My soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation; he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness," lxi, 10. Here the Prophet, like the Apostle, uses the word *we* instead of *you*, to soften the harshness of an unpleasing truth.

In this chapter the Apostle is not cautioning them against censuring others, but entering upon a new argument; wherein the second verse has an immediate reference to the first; but none at all to the thirteenth of the preceding chapter.

I added, "'We offend all,' cannot be spoken of all Christians; for immediately there follows the mention of one who offends not, as the *we* before mentioned did." You answer, "His not offending in word, will not prove that he does not offend 'in many things.'" I think St. James himself proves it, in saying, "He is able to bridle also the whole body;" to direct all his actions as well as words, according to the holy, perfect will of God; which those, and those only, are able to do, who love God with all their hearts. And yet these very persons can sincerely say, "Forgive us our trespasses." For as long as they are in the body, they are liable to mistake, and to speak or act according to that mistaken judgment. Therefore they cannot abide the rigour of justice, but still need mercy and forgiveness.

Were you to ask, "What, if I should die this moment?" I should answer, I believe you would be saved; because I am persuaded, none that has faith can die before he is made ripe for glory. This is the doctrine which I continually teach, which has nothing to do with justification by works. Nor can it discourage any who have faith, neither weaken their peace, nor damp their joy in the Lord. True believers are not distressed hereby, either in life or in death; unless in some rare instance, wherein the temptation of the devil is joined with a melancholy temper.

Upon the whole, I observe your great argument turns all along on a mistake of the doctrine. Whatever warm expressions may drop from young men, we do not teach that any believer is under condemnation. So that all the inferences drawn from this supposition fall to the ground at once.

Your other letter I hope to consider hereafter; though I have great reason to apprehend your prejudice will still be too strong for my arguments. However, whether you expect it or not, I must wish for your perfection. You of all people have most need of perfect love; because this alone casts out fear. I am, with great sincerity,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CLXXXIII.—*To* ——.

July 1, 1759.

Dear Sir,—Considering the variety of business which must lie upon you, I am not willing to trouble you too often; yet cannot any longer delay to return thanks for your favour of May 21. How happy is it that there is a higher wisdom than our own to guide us through the mazes of life! that we have an unction from the Holy One, to teach us of all things where human teaching fails! And it certainly must fail in a thousand instances. General rules cannot reach all particular cases; in some of which there is such a complication of circumstances, that God alone can show what steps we should take. There is one circumstance in your case which claims your peculiar attention, and makes it necessary often to check that boldness and simplicity, which otherwise would be both your duty and pleasure. But O, how easily may you comply too far, and hurt yourself in hopes of gaining another! nay, perhaps hurt the other too, by that very compliance which was designed to help! And who is able to lay the line? to determine how far you should comply, and where fix your foot? May the God of wisdom direct you in all your steps! And I conceive he will rather do this, by giving you light directly from himself, in meditation and private prayer, than by the advice of others, who can hardly be impartial in so tender a point. Is it not then advisable, that you should much commune with God and your own heart? You may then lay aside all the trappings that naturally tend to hide you from yourself, and appear naked, as a poor sinful worm, before the great God, the Creator of heaven and of earth! the great God, who is your Father and your Friend! who hath prepared for you a kingdom! who calls you to forget the little things of earth, and to sit down with him on his throne! O may you dwell on these things, till they possess your whole soul, and cause you to love the honour which cometh of God only! I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant.

CLXXXIV.—*To* ——.

May 16, 1759.

Dear Sir,—Since I received your favour I have had many thoughts on worldly and Christian prudence. What is the nature of each? How do they differ? How may we distinguish one from the other?

It seems worldly prudence either pursues worldly ends,—riches, honour, ease, or pleasure; or pursues Christian ends on worldly maxims, or by worldly means. The grand maxims which obtain in the world are, the more power, the more money, the more learning, and the more reputation a man has, the more good he will do. And whenever a Christian, pursuing the noblest ends, forms his behaviour by these maxims, he will

infallibly (though perhaps by insensible degrees) decline into worldly prudence. He will use more or less of conformity to the world, if not in sin, yet in doing some things that are good in themselves, yet (all things considered) are not good to him; and perhaps at length using guile, or disguise, simulation or dissimulation; either seeming to be what he is not, or not seeming to be what he is. By any of these marks may worldly prudence be discerned from the wisdom which is from above.

This Christian prudence pursues Christian maxims, and by Christian means. The ends it pursues are holiness in every kind, and in the highest degree; and usefulness in every kind and degree. And herein it proceeds on the following maxims:—The help that is done upon earth, God doeth it himself; it is he that worketh all in all; and that, not by human power; generally he uses weak things to confound the strong;—not by men of wealth; most of his choicest instruments may say, "Silver and gold have I none;"—not by learned or wise men after the flesh; no, the foolish things hath God chosen;—not by men of reputation, but by the men that were as the filth and offscouring of the world; all which is for this plain reason,—"that no flesh may glory in his sight."

Christian prudence pursues these ends upon these principles, by only Christian means. A truly prudent Christian, while, in things purely indifferent, he becomes all things to all men, yet wherever duty is concerned, matters the example of all mankind no more than a grain of sand. His word is then,

Non me, qui cætera, vincit
Impetus, et rapido contrarius evehor orbi.
[The force which conquers others conquers not me, and I am borne on against the rapid current of the world.]

He will not, to gain the favour or shun the hate of all, omit the least point of duty. He cannot prevail upon himself on any account or pretence, to use either simulation or dissimulation. There is no guile in his mouth; no evasion or ambiguity. Having one desire, one design, to glorify God with his body and with his spirit; having only one fear,

Lest a motion, or a word,
Or thought arise, to grieve his Lord;

having one rule, the word of God; one guide, even his Spirit, he goes on in child-like simplicity. Continually seeing him that is invisible, he walks in open day. Looking unto Jesus, and deriving strength from him, he goes on in his steps, in the work of faith, the labour of love, the patience of hope, till he is called up to be ever with the Lord.

O that this were in all points your own character! Surely you desire it above all things. But how shall you attain? Difficulties and hinderances surround you on every side! Can you bear with my plainness? I believe you can. Therefore, I will speak without any reserve. I fear you have scarce one friend who has not more or less of the prudence which is not from above. And I doubt you have (in or near your own rank) hardly one example of true Christian prudence! Yet I am persuaded your own heart advises you right, or rather, God in your heart. O that you may hearken to his voice alone, and let all creatures keep silence before him! Why should they encumber you with Saul's armour? If you essay to go forth thus, it will be in vain. You have no

need of this, neither of his sword or spear; for you trust in the Lord of Hosts. O go forth in his strength! and with the stones of the brook you shall overthrow all your enemies. I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant for Christ's sake.

CLXXXV.—*To* ——.

Dublin, April 18, 1760.

Dear Sir,—*Disce, docendus adhuc quæ censet amiculus;* [Learn the opinion of an humble friend, who himself needs instruction;] and take in good part my mentioning some particulars which have been long on my mind; and yet I knew not how to speak them. I was afraid it might look like taking too much upon me, or assuming some superiority over you. But love casts out, or at least overrules, that fear. So I will speak simply, and leave you to judge.

It seems to me, that, of all the persons I ever knew, save one, you are the hardest to be convinced. I have occasionally spoken to you on many heads; some of a speculative, others of a practical nature; but I do not know that you was ever convinced of one, whether of great importance or small. I believe you retained your own opinion in every one, and did not vary a hair's breadth. I have likewise doubted whether you was not full as hard to be persuaded, as to be convinced; whether your will do not adhere to its first bias, right or wrong, as strongly as your understanding. I mean, with regard to any impression which another may make upon them. For perhaps you readily, too readily, change of your own mere motion; as I have frequently observed great fickleness and great stubbornness meet in the same mind. So that it is not easy to please you long; but exceeding easy to offend you. Does not this imply the thinking very highly of yourself? particularly of your own understanding? Does it not imply, what is always connected therewith, something of self-sufficiency? "You can stand alone; you care for no man; you need no help from man." It was not so with my brother and me, when we were first employed in this great work. We were deeply conscious of our own insufficiency; and though, in one sense, we trusted in God alone, yet we sought his help from all his children, and were glad to be taught by any man. And this, although we were really alone in the work; for there were none that had gone before us therein; there were none then in England who had trod that path wherein God was leading us. Whereas you have the advantage which we had not; you tread in a beaten path; others have gone before you, and are going now in the same way, to the same point. Yet it seems you choose to stand alone; what was necessity with us, is choice with you; you like to be unconnected with any, thereby tacitly condemning all. But possibly you go farther yet; do not you explicitly condemn all your fellow labourers, blaming one in one instance, one in another, so as to be thoroughly pleased with the conduct of none? Does not this argue a vehement proneness to condemn? a very high degree of censoriousness? Do you not censure even *peritos in suâ arte?* [adepts in their profession?] Permit me to relate a little circumstance to illustrate this: After we had been once singing a hymn at Everton, I was just going to say, "I wish Mr. Whitefield would not try to mend my brother's hymns.

He cannot do it. How vilely he has murdered that hymn; weakening the sense, as well as marring the poetry!" But how was I afterward surprised to hear it was not Mr. Whitefield, but Mr. B.! In very deed, it is not easy to mend his hymns, any more than to imitate them. Has not this aptness to find fault frequently shown itself, in abundance of other instances? sometimes with regard to Mr. Parker, or Mr. Hicks; sometimes with regard to me? And this may be one reason why you take one step which was scarce ever before taken in Christendom: I mean, the discouraging the new converts from reading; at least, from reading any thing but the Bible. Nay, but get off the consequence who can: if they ought to read nothing but the Bible, they ought to hear nothing but the Bible; so away with sermons, whether spoken or written! I can hardly imagine that you discourage reading even our little tracts, out of jealousy lest we should undermine you, or steal away the affections of the people. I think you cannot easily suspect this. I myself did not desire to come among them; but you desired me to come. I should not have obtruded myself either upon them or you; for I have really work enough; full as much as either my body or mind is able to go through: and I have, blessed be God, friends enough; I mean, as many as I have time to converse with; nevertheless, I never repented of that I spent at Everton; and I trust it was not spent in vain.* I have not time to throw these thoughts into a smoother form; so I give you them just as they occur. May the God whom you serve give you to form a right judgment concerning them, and give a blessing to the rough sincerity of, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CLXXXVI.—*To Miss Elizabeth Hardy.*

DECEMBER 26, 1761.

DEAR SISTER,—The path of controversy is a rough path. But it seems smoother while I am walking with you: so that I could follow you through all its windings; only my time will not permit.

The plain fact is this: I know many who love God with all their heart, mind, soul, and strength. He is their one desire, their one delight, and they are continually happy in him. They love their neighbour as themselves. They feel as sincere, fervent, constant a desire for the happiness of every man, good or bad, friend or enemy, as for their own. They "rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks." Their souls are continually streaming up to God in holy joy, prayer, and praise. This is plain, sound, Scriptural experience: and of this we have more and more living witnesses.

But these souls dwell in a shattered, corruptible body, and are so pressed down thereby, that they cannot exert their love as they would, by always thinking, speaking, and acting precisely right. For want of better bodily organs, they sometimes inevitably think, speak, or act wrong. Yet I think they need the advocacy of Christ, even for these involuntary defects; although they do not imply a defect of love, but of understanding. However that be, I cannot doubt the fact. They are

* From several expressions in this letter, it appears to have been addressed to the Rev. John Berridge, vicar of Everton.—EDIT.

all love; yet they cannot walk as they desire. "But are they all love while they grieve the Holy Spirit?" No, surely; they are then fallen from their steadfastness; and this they may do even after they are sealed. So that, even to such, strong cautions are needful. After the heart is cleansed from pride, anger, and desire, it may suffer them to reenter: therefore, I have long thought some expressions in the hymns are abundantly too strong; as I cannot perceive any state mentioned in Scripture from which we may not (in a measure, at least,) fall.

Persons who talked of being emptied before they were filled, were, for some time, a great stumbling block to me too: but I have since considered it thus: The great point in question is, Can we be saved from all sin, or not? Now, it may please God to act in that uncommon manner, purposely to clear this point: to satisfy those persons that they are saved from all sin, before he goes on in his work.

Forgive me, dear Miss Hardy, that I do but just touch upon the heads of your letter. Indeed, this defect does not spring from the want of love, but only from want of time. I should not wonder if your soul was one of the next that was filled with pure love. Receive it freely. thou poor bruised reed! It is able to make the stand. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CLXXXVII.—*To Lady* ——.

March 18, 1760.

My Lady,—It was impossible to see the distress into which your ladyship was thrown by the late unhappy affair, without bearing a part of it, without sympathizing with you. But may we not see God therein? May we not both hear and understand his voice? We must allow, it is generally "small and still;" yet he speaks sometimes in the whirlwind. Permit me to speak to your ladyship with all freedom; not as to a person of quality, but as to a creature whom the Almighty made for himself, and one that is in a few days to appear before him.

You were not only a nominal, but a real, Christian. You tasted of the powers of the world to come. You knew God the Father had accepted you, through his eternal Son; and God the Spirit bore witness with your spirit, that you were a child of God.

But you fell among thieves, and such as were peculiarly qualified to rob you of your God. Two of these in particular were sensible, learned, well-bred, well-natured, moral men. These did not assault you in a rough, abrupt, offensive manner. No; you would then have armed yourself against them, and have repelled all their attacks. But by soft, delicate, unobserved touches, by pleasing strokes of raillery, by insinuations, rather than surly arguments, they, by little and little, sapped the foundation of your faith; perhaps not only of your living faith, your "evidence of things not seen;" but even of your notional. It is well if they left you so much as an assent to the Bible, or a belief that Christ is God over all! And what was the consequence of this? Did not your love of God grow cold? Did not you

Measure back your steps to earth again?

Did not your love of the world revive? even of those poor, low trifles, which, in your very childhood, you utterly despised?

Where are you now? full of faith? looking into the holiest, and seeing Him that is invisible? Does your heart now glow with love to him, who is daily pouring his benefits upon you? Do you now even desire it? Do you now say, (as you did almost twenty years ago,)—

> "Keep me dead to all below,
> Only Christ resolved to know;
> Firm, and disengaged, and free,
> Seeking all my bliss in thee?"

Is your taste now for heavenly things? Are not you a lover of pleasure, more than a lover of God? And O what pleasure! What is the pleasure of visiting? Of modern conversation? Is there any more reason than religion in it? I wonder, what rational appetite does it gratify? Setting religion quite out of the question, I cannot conceive how a woman of sense can—relish, should I say? no, but suffer, so insipid an entertainment.

O that the time past may suffice! Is it not now high time that you should awake out of sleep? Now God calls aloud! My dear Lady, now hear the voice of the Son of God, and live! The trouble in which your tender parent is now involved may restore all that reverence for her which could not but be a little impaired while you supposed she was "righteous overmuch." O how admirably does God lay hold of and "strengthen the things that remain" in you! your gratitude, your humane temper, your generosity, your filial tenderness! And why is this, but to improve every right temper; to free you from all that is irrational or unholy; to make you all that you were, yea, all that you should be; to restore you to the whole image of God? I am, my Lady,

Yours, &c.

CLXXXVIII.—*To Mr. Hosmer.*

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, June 7, 1761.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I apprehend, if you will give another careful reading to those four pages, 244–247, you will find all your objections anticipated or answered. However, I do not think much of answering them over again. Your words are,

"You say, 'A mistake is not a sin, if love is the sole principle of action; yet it is a transgression of the perfect law:' therefore, perfect love is not the perfect law!" Most sure: for by *the perfect law*, I mean that given to Adam at his creation. But the loving God with all his heart was not the whole of that law: it implied abundantly more; even thinking, speaking, and acting right in every instance, which he was then able, and therefore obliged, to do. But none of his descendants are able to do this; therefore love is the fulfilling of their law.

Perhaps you had not adverted to this. The law of love, which is the whole law given to us, is only one branch of that perfect law which was given to Adam in the beginning. His law was far wider than ours, as his faculties were more extensive. Consequently, many things might be transgressions of the latter, which were not of the former.

"But if ignorance be a transgression of the perfect law"—Whoever said or thought so? Ignorance is not; but mistake is. And this Adam was able to avoid; that kind of ignorance which was in him not constraining him to mistake, as ours frequently does.

"But is 'a voluntary transgression of a known law' a proper definition of sin?" I think it is of all such sin as is imputed to our condemnation. And it is a definition which has passed uncensured in the Church for at least fifteen hundred years.

To propose any objections that naturally arise, is right; but beware you do not seek objections. If you once begin this, you will never have done. Indeed, this whole affair is a strife of words. The thing is plain. All in the body are liable to mistakes, practical as well as speculative. Shall we call them sins or no? I answer again and again, Call them just what you please.

CLXXXIX.—*To Mr. Alexander Coates.*

OTLEY, July 7, 1761.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The perfection I teach is perfect love; loving God with all the heart; receiving Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King, to reign alone over all our thoughts, words, and actions. The Papists neither teach nor believe this: give even the devil his due. They teach, there is no perfection here which is not consistent with venial sins; and among venial sins they commonly reckon simple fornication. Now, I think this is so far from the perfection I teach, that it does not come up to any but Mr. Relly's perfection. To say, Christ will not reign alone in our hearts in this life; will not enable us to give him all our hearts; this, in my judgment, is making him a half Saviour: he can be no more, if he does not quite save us from our sins. I pray, then, be not quite so peremptory. Who exalts Christ most? those who call on him to be the sole monarch of the heart; or those who allow him only to share the power, and to govern most of the thoughts and tempers? Who honour him most? those who believe he heals all our sickness, takes away all our ungodliness; or those who say, He heals only the greater part of it, till death does what he cannot do? I know no creature (of us) who says, "Part of our salvation belongs to Christ, and part to us." No; we all say, Christ alone saves us from all sin; and your question is not about the Author, but the measure of salvation. Both agree, it is all Christ; but is it all salvation, or only half salvation, he will give? Who was Pelagius? By all I can pick up from ancient authors, I guess he was both a wise and a holy man. But we know nothing but his name; for his writings are all destroyed; not one line of them left. But, brother Coates, this way of talking is highly offensive. I advise you, 1. If you are willing to labour with us, preach no doctrine contrary to ours. I have preached twenty years in some of Mr. Whitefield's societies; yet, to this day, I never contradicted him among his own people. I did not think it honest, neither necessary at all. I could preach salvation by faith, and leave all controversy untouched. I advise you, 2. Avoid all those strong rhetorical exclamations, "O horrid! O dreadful!" and the like; unless when you are strongly exhorting sinners to renounce the devil and all his works. 3. Acquaint yourself better with the doctrine we preach, and you will find it not dreadful, but altogether lovely. 4. Observe, that if forty persons think and speak wrong, either about justification or sanctification, (and perhaps fancy they have attained both,) this is no objection to the doctrines themselves. They

must bear their own burden. But this does not at all affect the point in question. 5. Remember, as sure as you are, that "believers cannot fall from grace," others (wise and holy men too) are equally sure they can; and you are as much obliged to bear with them as they are to bear with you. 6. Abstain from all controversy in public. Indeed, you have not a talent for it. You have an honest heart, but not a clear head. Practical religion is your point; therefore, 7. Keep to this: Repentance toward God, faith in Christ, holiness of heart and life, a growing in grace and in the knowledge of Christ, the continual need of his atoning blood, a constant confidence in him, and all these every moment to our life's end. In none of these will any of our preachers contradict you, or you them.

When you leave this plain path, and get into controversy, then they think you "invade the glories of our adorable King, and the unspeakable rights, and privileges, and comforts of his children;" and can they then "tamely hold their peace?"

O Sander, know the value of peace and love! I am

Your affectionate brother

CXC.—*To Mr. S. F.*

Bristol, October 13, 1762.

My Dear Brother,—In general, when I apprehend, "Certainly this is a contradiction;" if I find other persons of equal sagacity with myself, of equal natural and acquired abilities, apprehend it is not; I immediately suspect my own judgment; and the more so, because I remember I have been many times full as sure as I am now; and yet afterward I found myself mistaken.

As to this particular question, I believe I am able to answer every objection which can be made. But I am not able to do it without expending much time, which may be better employed. For this reason I am persuaded, it is so far from being my duty to enter into a formal controversy about it, that it would be a wilful sin; it would be employing my short residue of life in a less profitable way than it may be employed.

The proposition which I will hold is this: "A person may be cleansed from all sinful tempers, and yet need the atoning blood." For what? For "negligences and ignorances;" for both words and actions, (as well as omissions,) which are, in a sense, transgressions of the perfect law. And I believe no one is clear of these till he lays down this corruptible body.

Now, Sammy, dropping the point of contradiction, tell me simply what you would have more. Do you believe evil tempers remain till death? all or some? if some only, which?

I love truth wherever I find it; so, if you can help me to a little more of it, you will oblige, dear Sammy, Yours, &c.

CXCI.—*To Lord* ——.

July 26, 1764.

My Lord,—Upon an attentive consideration, it will appear to every impartial person, that the uniting of the serious clergy in the manner I

proposed in a former letter is not a matter of indifferency; but what none can reject, unless at the peril of his own soul. For every article therein mentioned is undeniably contained in the royal law, the law of love; and, consequently, the observance thereof is bound upon every man, as indispensably necessary to salvation. It will appear farther, that every single person may observe it, whether the other will or no. For many years, I, for instance, have observed this rule in every article. I labour to do so now, and will, by God's help, whatever others do, observe it to the end.

I rejoice that your lordship so heartily concurs in doing what is in your power to promote a general observance of it. Certainly this is not possible to be effected by merely human means; but, it seems, your lordship has taken one good step toward it, by communicating it to several. I am persuaded, at the same time, your lordship's wish is, that it might take place every where. The same step I purpose to take, by sending to each of those gentlemen the substance of what I wrote to your lordship, and desiring them to tell me freely whatever objections they have against such a union. As many of those as are grounded on reason, I doubt not, will be easily answered. Those only which spring from some wrong temper must remain till that temper is subdued. For instance: First, "We cannot unite," says one, "because we cannot trust one another." I answer to your reason or understanding, No matter whether we can or no. Thus far we must unite, trust or not; otherwise we sin against God. Secondly, I can trust you; why cannot you trust me? I can have no private end herein. I have neither personal hopes nor fears from you. I want nothing which you can give me; and I am not afraid of your doing me any hurt; though you may hurt yourself and the cause of God. But I cannot answer your envy, jealousy, pride, or credulity. As long as those remain, objections, however cut off, will spring up again like Hydra's heads.

If your lordship has heard any objections, I should be glad to know them. May I be permitted to ask, Have not the objections you have heard made some impression upon your lordship? Have they not occasioned (if I may speak freely) your lordship's standing aloof from me? Have they not set your lordship farther and farther off, ever since I waited upon you at ———? Why do I ask? Indeed, not upon my own account. *Quid mea? Ego in portu navigo.* [What is it to me? I am safe.] I can truly say, I neither fear nor desire any thing from your lordship; to speak a rough truth, I do not desire any intercourse with any persons of quality in England. I mean, for my own sake. They do me no good, and I fear I can do none to them. If it be desired, I will readily leave all those to the care of my fellow labourers. I will article with them so to do, rather than this shall be any bone of contention.

Were I not afraid of giving your lordship pain, I would speak yet still farther. Methinks you desire I should; that is, to tell you, once for all, every thought that rises in my heart. I will then: At present, I do not want you; but I really think you want me. For, have you a person in all England who speaks to your lordship so plain and downright as I do? who considers not the peer, but the man? not the earl, but the immortal spirit? who rarely commends, but often blames, and perhaps

would do it oftener if you desired it? who is jealous over you with a godly jealousy, lest you should be less a Christian by being a nobleman? lest, after having made a fair advance toward heaven, you should

Measure back your steps to earth again?

O my lord, is not such a person as this needful for you in the highest degree? If you have any such, I have no more to say, but that I pray God to bless him to your soul. If you have not, despise not even the assistance which it may please God to give you by, my lord,

Your lordship's ready servant.

CXCII.—*To the Reverend Mr. H.*

March 27, 1764.

Dear Sir,—Your book on the Millennium and the Mystic Writers was lately put into my hands. I cannot but thank you for your strong and seasonable confirmation of that comfortable doctrine; of which I cannot entertain the least doubt as long as I believe the Bible. I thank you, likewise, for your remarks on that bad performance of the bishop of G——, which undoubtedly tears up by the roots all real, internal religion. Yet, at the same time, I cannot but bewail your vehement attachment to the Mystic writers; with whom I conversed much for several years, and whom I then admired perhaps more than you do now. But I found, at length, an absolute necessity of giving up either them or the Bible. So, after some time, I fixed my choice, to which I hope to adhere to my life's end. It is only the extreme attachment to these which can account for the following words: "Mr. W. does, in several parts of his Journals, lay down some marks of the new birth, not only doubtful, but exceptionable; as, particularly, where persons appeared agitated or convulsed under the ministry; which might be owing to other causes, rather than any regenerating work of God's Spirit." (page 385.)

Is this true? In what one part of my Journals do I lay down any doubtful, much less exceptionable, marks of the new birth? In no part do I lay down those agitations or convulsions as any marks of it at all. Nay, I expressly declare the contrary in those very words which the bishop himself cites from my Journal. I declare, "These are of a disputable nature: they may be from God; they may be from nature; they may be from the devil." How is it, then, that you tell all the world, Mr. W. lays them down in his Journals as marks of the new birth?

Is it kind? Would it not have been far more kind, suppose I had spoken wrong, to tell me of it in a private manner? How much more unkind was it to accuse me to all the world of a fault which I never committed!

Is it wise thus to put a sword in the hands of our common enemy? Are we not both fighting the battle of our Lord, against the world, as well as the flesh and the devil? And shall I furnish them with weapons against you, or you against me? Fine diversion for the children of the devil! And how much more would they be diverted, if I would furnish

my quota of the entertainment, by falling upon you in return! But I bewail the change in your spirit: you have not gained more lowliness or meekness since I knew you. O beware! You did not use to despise any one. This you have gained from the authors you admire. They do not express anger toward their opponents, but contempt in the highest degree. And this, I am afraid, is far more antichristian, more diabolical than the other. The God of love deliver you and me from this spirit, and fill us with the mind that was in Christ. So prays,

Dear sir,

Your still affectionate brother.

CXCIII.—*To the Reverend Mr. Plenderlieth.*

May 23, 1768.

Reverend and Dear Sir,—Some years ago it was reported that I recommended the use of a crucifix to a man under sentence of death. I traced this up to its author, Dr. Stennett, an Anabaptist teacher. He was charged with it. He answered, "Why, I saw a crucifix in his cell;" (a picture of Christ on the cross;) "and I knew Mr. Wesley used to visit him; so I supposed he had brought it." This is the whole of the matter. Dr. Stennett himself I never yet saw; nor did I ever see such a picture in the cell: and I believe the whole tale is pure invention.

I had for some time given up the thought of an interview with Mr. Erskine, when I fell into the company of Dr. Oswald. He said, "Sir, you do not know Mr. Erskine. I know him perfectly well. Send and desire an hour's conversation with him, and I am sure he will understand you better." I am glad I did send. I have done my part, and am now entirely satisfied.

I am likewise glad that Mr. E. has spoke his mind. I will answer with all simplicity, in full confidence of satisfying you, and all impartial men.

He objects, First, that I attack predestination, as subversive of all religion, and yet suffer my followers in Scotland to remain in that opinion. Much of this is true. I did attack predestination eight-and-twenty years ago; and I do not believe now any predestination which implies irrespective reprobation. But I do not believe it is necessarily subversive of all religion. I think hot disputes are much more so; therefore I never willingly dispute with any one about it. And I advise all my friends, not in Scotland only, but all over England and Ireland, to avoid all contention on the head, and let every man remain in his own opinion. Can any man of candour blame me for this? Is there any thing unfair or disingenuous in it?

He objects, Secondly, that I "assert the attainment of sinless perfection by all born of God." I am sorry Mr. E. should affirm this again. I need give no other answer than I gave before, in the seventh page of the little tract I sent him two years ago.

I do not maintain this. I do not believe it. I believe Christian perfection is not attained by any of the children of God till they are what the Apostle John terms fathers. And this I expressly declare in that sermon which Mr. E. so largely quotes.

He objects, Thirdly, that I "deny the imputation of Christ's active obedience." Since I believed justification by faith, which I have done upwards of thirty years, I have constantly maintained that we are pardoned and accepted wholly and solely for the sake of what Christ hath both done and suffered for us.

Two or three days ago, Mr. Madan's sister showed him what she had wrote down of a sermon which I had preached on this subject. He entreated me to write down the whole, and print it; saying, it would satisfy all my opponents. I was not so sanguine as to expect this: I understood mankind too well. However, I complied with this request: a few were satisfied; the rest continued just as they were before.

As long as Mr. E. continues of the mind expressed in his "Theological Essays," there is no danger that he and I should agree, any more than light and darkness. I love and reverence him, but not his doctrine. I dread every approach to Antinomianism. I have seen the fruit of it over the three kingdoms. I never said that Mr. E. and I were agreed. I will make our disagreement as public as ever he pleases; only I must, withal, specify the particulars. If he will fight with me, it must be on this ground; and then let him do what he will, and what he can.

Retaining a due sense of your friendly offices, and praying for a blessing on all your labours, I remain, reverend and dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

CXCIV.—*To Mr. S., at Armagh.*

April 24, 1769.

Dear Brother,—I shall now tell you the things which have been more or less upon my mind ever since I have been in the north of Ireland. If you forget them, you will be a sufferer, and so will the people; if you observe them, it will be good for both.

1. To begin with little things. If you regard your health, touch no supper, but a little milk or water gruel. This will entirely, by the blessing of God secure you from nervous disorders; especially if you rise early every morning, whether you preach or no.

2. Be steadily serious. There is no country upon earth where this is more necessary than Ireland; as you are generally encompassed with those who, with a little encouragement, would laugh or trifle from morning to night.

3. In every town, visit all you can from house to house. I say, *all you can;* for there will be some whom you cannot visit; and if you examine, instruct, reprove, exhort, as need requires, you will have no time hanging on your hands. It is by this means that the societies are increased wherever T. R. goes: he is preaching from morning to night; warning every one that he may present every one perfect in Christ Jesus.

4. But on this and every other occasion, avoid all familiarity with women. This is deadly poison both to them and you. You cannot be too wary in this respect; therefore, begin from this hour.

5. The chief matter of your conversation, as well as your preaching, should doubtless be, the weightier matters of the law. Yet there are several (comparatively) little things which you should earnestly incul-

cate from time to time; for he that despiseth small things, shall fall by little and little." Such are,—

(1.) Be active, be diligent; avoid all laziness, sloth, indolence. Fly from every degreee, every appearance, of it; else you will never be more than half a Christian.

(2.) Be cleanly. In this let the Methodists take pattern by the Quakers. Avoid all nastiness, dirt, slovenliness, both in your person, clothes, house, and all about you. Do not stink above ground. This is a bad fruit of laziness; use all diligence to be clean, as one says,—

> "Let thy mind's sweetness have its operation
> Upon thy person, clothes, and habitation."

(3.) Whatever clothes you have, let them be whole; no rents, no tatters, no rags. These are a scandal to either man or woman; being another fruit of vile laziness. Mend your clothes, or I shall never expect you to mend your lives. Let none ever see a ragged Methodist.

(4.) Clean yourselves of lice. These are a proof both of uncleanness and laziness: take pains in this. Do not cut off your hair; but clean it, and keep it clean.

(5.) Cure yourself and your family of the itch: a spoonful of brimstone will cure you. To let this run from year to year, proves both sloth and uncleanness. Away with it at once. Let not the north be any longer a proverb of reproach to all the nation.

(6.) Use no tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician. It is an uncleanly and unwholesome self indulgence; and the more customary it is, the more resolutely should you break off from every degree of that evil custom.

(7.) Use no snuff, unless prescribed by a physician. I suppose no other nation in Europe is in such vile bondage to this silly, nasty, dirty custom as the Irish are. But let Christians be in this bondage no longer. Assert your liberty, and that all at once: nothing will be done by degrees. But just now you may break loose, through Christ strengthening you.

(8.) Touch no dram. It is liquid fire. It is a sure, though slow, poison. It saps the very springs of life. In Ireland, above all countries in the world, I would sacredly abstain from this, because the evil is so general; and to this, and snuff, and smoky cabins, I impute the blindness which is so exceeding common throughout the nation.

I might have inserted under the second article, what I particularly desire wherever you have preaching, viz. that there may be a little house. Let this be got without delay. Wherever it is not, let none expect to see me. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CXCV.—*To* ——.

———, 1770.

Dear Sir,—I bless God that you are not disgusted at the great plainness with which I wrote. Indeed I know not but it might be termed roughness, which was owing partly to the pressure of mind I then felt, and partly to my being straitened for time; otherwise I might have found softer expressions. I am thankful likewise for your

openness, which obliges me to be open and unreserved, and to say all I mean, and that in the most simple manner, on each of the articles that lie before us.

I must do this, even with regard to my fellow labourers, lest I should seem to mean more than I do. But I am sensible this is a tender point, and one so extremely difficult to treat upon, that I should not venture to say one word, did I not know to whom I speak. What I mean is this: From many little circumstances which have occurred, I have been afraid (just so far it went) that those clergymen with whom you are most acquainted, were jealous of your being acquainted with me. I was the more afraid, when I heard the sudden exclamation of one whom you well know: "Good God! Mr. Wesley is always speaking well of these gentlemen, and they can never speak well of him." But I am entirely satisfied by that full declaration which you make: "I do not know of any impression that has been made upon me to your disadvantage."

I had once the opportunity of speaking a few minutes to you on the head of Christian perfection; and I believe you had not much objection to any thing which was then spoken. When I spoke nearly to the same effect to one of the late bishops of London, Bishop Gibson, he said earnestly, "Why, Mr. Wesley, if this is what you mean by perfection, who can be against it?" I believe, verily, there would need no more than a single hour, spent in free and open conversation, to convince you that none can rationally or Scripturally say any thing against the perfection I have preached for thirty years.

The union which I desire among the persons I mentioned is an entire union of heart, constraining them to labour together as one man, in spreading vital religion through the nation. But this I do not hope for, though I know a few who would cordially rejoice therein. The union which I proposed is of a lower kind; I proposed that they should love as brethren, and behave as such. And I particularized what I think is implied in this; I imagined, in so plain a manner, as was hardly possible, without great skill, to be either misunderstood or misrepresented. I really do not conceive what ambiguity there can be in any part of this proposal; or what objection can lie against our going thus far, whether we go farther or no.

With regard to you, I have frequently observed that there are two very different ranks of Christians, both of whom may be in the favour of God,—a higher and a lower rank. The latter avoid all known sin, do much good, use all the means of grace, but have little of the life of God in their souls, and are much conformed to the world. The former make the Bible their whole rule, and their sole aim is the will and image of God. This they steadily and uniformly pursue, through honour and dishonour, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; considering one point only, "How may I attain most of the mind that was in Christ, and how may I please him most?" Now I verily believe, never was a person of rank more prepared for this state than you were the first time I had the pleasure of seeing you. Nay, I doubt not but you pant after it now; your soul is athirst to be all devoted to God. But who will press you forward to this? Rather, who will not draw you back? It is in this respect that I think one that uses plain dealing

is needful for you in the highest degree; so needful, that without this help you will inevitably stop short. I do not mean, stop short of heaven; but of that degree of holiness, and, consequently, of happiness both in time and eternity, which is now offered to your acceptance.

It is herein that I am jealous over you. I am afraid of your sinking beneath your calling, degenerating into a common Christian, who shall indeed be saved, but saved as by fire. I long to see both you and your lady a little more than common Christians; Christians of the first rank in the kingdom of God, full of all goodness and truth. I want you to be living witnesses of all Gospel holiness! And what shall hinder, if you seek it by faith? Are not all things ready? The Lord God give you to experience that all things are possible to them that believe!

O God, let *all* their life declare,
How happy these thy servants are;
How far above these earthly things;
How pure when wash'd in Jesus' blood;
How intimately one with God,
A heaven-born race of priests and kings!

I am, honoured sir, Your friend and servant.

CXCVI.—*To Mr. John Trembath.*

TIVERTON, September 21, 1755.

THE plain reason why I did not design to speak with you at Launceston was, because I had no hope of doing you good. I observed, long ago, that you are not patient of reproof; and I fear you are less so now than ever. But since you desire it, I will tell you once more what I think, fear, or hear concerning you.

I think you tasted of the powers of the world to come thirteen or fourteen years ago, and was then simple of heart, and willing to spend and be spent for Christ. But not long after, not being sufficiently on your guard, you suffered loss by being applauded. This revived and increased your natural vanity, which was the harder to be checked, because of your constitutional stubbornness;—two deadly enemies which have lain in wait for you many years, and have given you many deep, if not mortal, wounds.

I fear, it is near ten years since you was so weakened by these, that you no longer set a watch over your mouth, but began frequently to speak what was not strictly true, to excuse yourself, divert others, or gain applause. I am afraid this has prevailed over you more and more, as there was less and less of the life of God in the soul; so that I should almost wonder if you do not judge a diverting lie to be a very innocent thing.

After your first marriage, being not used to, nor fond of, reading, and not spending many hours in private prayer, time grew heavy on your hands; especially as you could not bear the cross of being a regular travelling preacher: so you betook yourself to farming, and other country employments, and grew more and more dead to God. Especially when you began to keep company (whether by necessity or choice) with the men "whose talk is of bullocks;" who have little to do either with religion or reason; and have but just wit enough to smoke, drink, and flatter you.

By these dull wretches you have been an unspeakable loser. Perhaps it was in company with some of these, that you first thought of taking a little sport, and catching a few fish, or killing a partridge or a hare. Miserable employment for a preacher of the Gospel! for a Methodist preacher, above all others! Though I do not at all wonder, if, after practising it for some time, you should be so infatuated as even to defend it. I am afraid these same poor creatures afterward taught you (if that report be true) even to countenance that wickedness for which Cornwall stinks in the nostrils of all who fear God, or love King George; I mean that of smuggling; though surely they could not persuade you to receive stolen goods! That is an iniquity to be punished by the judges. Is there any truth in that other charge, (you must not ask who tells me so; if so, I have done,) that you imposed on Mrs. H——, in the writings; and fraudulently procured 100*l.* a year to be engaged for, instead of fourscore? I hope this was a mistake; as well as that assertion, that you encouraged drunkenness, by suffering it in your company, if not in your own house.

O remember from whence you are fallen! Repent, and do the first works! First recover the life of God in your own soul, and walk as Christ walked. Walk with God as you did twelve years ago. Then you might again be useful to his children. Supposing you was truly alive to God yourself, how profitably then (leaving the dead to bury their dead) might you spend three months in a year at Bristol, or London, three in Cornwall, and six in spreading the Gospel wherever it might be needful. I have now told you all that is in my heart: I hope you will receive it not only with patience, but profit.

You must be much in the way, or much out of the way; a good soldier for God, or for the devil. O choose the better part!—now!—to-day! I am

Your affectionate brother.

CXCVII.—*To the Same.*

Cork, August 17, 1760.

My Dear Brother,—The conversation I had with you yesterday in the afternoon, gave me a good deal of satisfaction. As to some things which I had heard, (with regard to your wasting your substance, drinking intemperately, and wronging the poor people at Silberton,) I am persuaded they were mistakes; as I suppose it was, that you converse much with careless, unawakened people. And I trust you will be more and more cautious in all these respects, abstaining from the very appearance of evil.

That you had not always attended the preaching when you might have done it, you allowed; but seemed determined to remove that objection; as well as the other, of using such exercises or diversions as give offence to your brethren. I believe you will likewise endeavour to avoid light and trifling conversation, and to talk and behave in all company with that seriousness and usefulness which become a preacher of the Gospel

Certainly some years ago you was alive to God. You experienced the life and power of religion. And does not God intend that the trials you meet with should bring you back to this? You cannot stand still;

you know this is impossible. You must go forward or backward. Either you must recover that power, and be a Christian altogether, or in awhile you will have neither power nor form, inside nor outside.

Extremely opposite both to one and the other, is that aptness to ridicule others, to make them contemptible, by exposing their real or supposed foibles. This I would earnestly advise you to avoid. It hurts yourself; it hurts the hearers; and it greatly hurts those who are so exposed, and tends to make them your irreconcilable enemies. It has also sometimes betrayed you into speaking what was not strictly true. O beware of this above all things! Never amplify, never exaggerate any thing. Be rigorous in adhering to truth. Be exemplary therein. Whatever has been in time past, let all men now know, that John Trembath abhors lying; that he never promises any thing which he does not perform; that his word is equal to his bond. I pray be exact in this. Be a pattern of truth, sincerity, and godly simplicity.

What has exceedingly hurt you in time past, nay, and I fear, to this day, is, want of reading. I scarce ever knew a preacher read so little. And perhaps, by neglecting it, you have lost the taste for it. Hence your talent in preaching does not increase. It is just the same as it was seven years ago. It is lively, but not deep; there is little variety; there is no compass of thought. Reading only can supply this, with meditation and daily prayer. You wrong yourself greatly by omitting this. You can never be a deep preacher without it, any more than a thorough Christian. O begin! Fix some part of every day for private exercises. You may acquire the taste which you have not: what is tedious at first, will afterward be pleasant. Whether you like it or no, read and pray daily. It is for your life; there is no other way; else you will be a trifler all your days, and a pretty, superficial preacher. Do justice to your own soul; give it time and means to grow. Do not starve yourself any longer. Take up your cross and be a Christian altogether. Then will all the children of God rejoice (not grieve) over you; and, in particular,

Yours, &c.

CXCVIII.—*To Mr. Jonathan Maskew.*

London, February 22, 1753.

My Dear Brother,—I cannot blame you at all for writing to me before you determined any thing. I believe your staying so long in the Newcastle circuit has been for good, both for you, and for others; and you are still wanted there. But you are wanted more elsewhere. I do not mean you should go to Mr. Grimshaw's circuit, (although you might stay a fortnight there, not more,) but to Manchester. I promised you should set out to help brother Haughton, as soon as brother Hopper could go to Newcastle. So that you are sadly beyond your time: the blame of which is probably (as usual) laid upon me. Therefore the sooner you are at Manchester, the better. Peace be with your spirit.

I am Your affectionate brother.

CXCIX.—*To Mr. Knox.*

SLIGO, May 30, 1765.

DEAR SIR,—Probably this will be the last trouble of the kind which you will receive from me. If you receive it in the same spirit wherein it is wrote, I shall be glad. If not, my reward is with the Most High. I did not choose it should be delivered till I was gone, lest you should think I wanted something from you. By the blessing of God, I want nothing, only that you should be happy in time and in eternity.

Still I cannot but remember the clear light you had with regard to the nature of real, Scriptural Christianity. You saw what heart religion meant, and the gate of it, justification. You had earnest desires to be a partaker of the whole Gospel blessing: and you discovered the sincerity of those desires, by the steps you took in your family. So that in every thing you was hastening to be, not almost, but altogether, a Christian.

Where is that light now? Do you now see that true religion is not a negative or an external thing; but the life of God in the soul of man; the image of God stamped upon the heart? Do you now see, that in order to this, we are justified freely, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus? Where are the desires after this which you once felt? the hungering and thirsting after righteousness? And where are the outward marks of a soul groaning after God, and refusing to be comforted with any thing less than his love?

Will you say, "But if I had gone on in that way, I should have lost my friends and my reputation?" This is partly true. You would have lost most of those friends who neither love nor fear God. Happy loss! These are the men who do you more hurt than all the world besides. These are the men whom, if ever you would be a real Christian, you must avoid as you would avoid hell fire. "But then they will censure me." So they will. They will say you are a fool, a madman, and what not. But what are you the worse for this? Why, the Spirit of glory and of Christ shall rest upon you. "But it will hurt me in my business." Suppose it should, the favour of God would make large amends. But very probably it would not. For the winds and the seas are in God's hands, as well as the hearts of men. "But it is inconsistent with my duty to the Church." Can a man of understanding talk so, and talk so in earnest? Is it not rather a copy of his countenance? Indeed, if you mean, "inconsistent with my pleasing this or that clergyman," I allow it. But let them be pleased or displeased, please thou God. But are these clergymen the Church? Unless they are holy men, earnestly loving and serving God, they are not even members of the Church; they are no part of it. And unless they preach the doctrines of the Church, contained in her Articles and Liturgy, they are no true ministers of the Church, but are eating her bread and tearing out her bowels.

"But you will not leave the Church." You never will by my advice: I advise just the contrary: I advise you to lose no opportunity of attending the service of the Church, and receiving the Lord's Supper, and of showing your regard for all her appointments. I advise, steadily to adhere to her doctrine in every branch of it; particularly with regard to the two fundamental points,—justification by faith, and holiness. But

above all, I cannot but earnestly entreat you, not to rest till you experience what she teaches; till (to sum up all in one word) God cleanses the thoughts of your heart by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, that you may perfectly love him, and worthily magnify his holy name. Unless this be done, what will it profit you to increase your fortune, to preserve the fairest reputation, and to gain the favour of the most learned, the most ingenious, and the most honourable clergymen in the kingdom? What will it profit a man to gain all these, and to lose his own soul?

I know that to God all things are possible: therefore it is possible you may take this kindly. If so, I shall hope to receive a line from you. If not, let it be forgotten till we meet at the judgment seat of Christ.

I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

CC.—*To Mrs. Maitland.*

May 12, 1763.

Dear Madam,—Both in the former and in the "Farther Thoughts on Christian Perfection," I have said all I have to say on that subject. Nevertheless, as you seem to desire I should, I will add a few words more.

As to the word *perfection*, it is Scriptural: therefore neither you nor I can in conscience object to it, unless we would send the Holy Ghost to school, and teach Him to speak who made the tongue.

By Christian perfection, I mean (as I have said again and again) the so loving God and our neighbour, as to "rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks." He that experiences this, is Scripturally perfect. And if you do not, yet you may experience it: you surely will, if you follow hard after it, for the Scripture cannot be broken.

What then does their arguing reprove, who object against Christian perfection? Absolute or infallible perfection I never contended for. Sinless perfection I do not contend for, seeing it is not Scriptural. A perfection, such as enables a person to fulfil the whole law, and so needs not the merits of Christ,—I acknowledge no such perfection; I do now, and always did, protest against it.

"But is there no sin in those who are perfect in love?" I believe not; but be that as it may, they feel none; no temper contrary to pure love, while they rejoice, pray, and give thanks continually. And whether sin is suspended, or extinguished, I will not dispute; it is enough that they feel nothing but love. This you allow we should daily press after. And this is all I contend for. O may the Lord give you to taste of it to-day! I am, dear madam,

Your very affectionate servant.

CCI.—*To Mr. Hart.*

July 11, 1763.

Dear Sir,—Abundance of business has prevented my writing so soon as I desired and intended; nor have I time now to write so largely as I could wish, and as your openness and frankness would otherwise constrain me to do. But I cannot delay any longer to write a little, lest I should seem to slight your correspondence.

What you before observed is of great importance, viz. "If it be the professed aim of the Gospel to convince us that Jesus is the Christ: If I, a sinner, am convinced of the reality of this fact, am not I who believe authorized to expect life, not through any condition, or any act, inward or outward, performed by me, but singly through the name which Jesus assumed, which stands for his whole character or merit?"

Here is the hinge on which Mr. Sandiman's whole system turns. This is the strength of his cause, and you have proposed it with all the strength and clearness which he himself could devise.

Yet suffer me to offer to your consideration a few queries concerning it:—

Is every one who is convinced of the reality of this fact, "Jesus is the Christ," a Gospel believer? Is not the devil convinced of the reality of this fact? Is then the devil a Gospel believer?

I was convinced of the reality of this fact when I was twelve years old, when I was without God in the world. Was I then a Gospel believer? Was I then a child of God? Was I then in a state of salvation?

Again, you say, "I who believe am authorized to expect life, not through any condition or act, inward or outward, performed by me."

I who believe. But cannot you as well expect it without believing? If not, what is believing but a condition? For it is something *sine quâ non.* And what else do you, or I, or any one living mean by a condition? And is not believing an inward act? What is it else? But you say, *Not performed by me.* By whom then? God gives me the power to believe. But does he believe for me? He works faith in me. But still is it not I that believe? And if so, is not believing an inward act performed by me?

Is not then this hypothesis (to waive all other difficulties) contradictory to itself?

I have just set down a few hints as they occurred. Wishing you an increase of every blessing, I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate brother

CCII.—*To Miss T——.*

BRISTOL, September 29, 1764.

DEAR SISTER,—In the "Thoughts upon Christian Perfection," you have a clear and consistent account of it. I have been grieved at the danger I saw you in, of stopping short of it. Certainly you may attain that blessing soon. And I am thoroughly persuaded, you did taste of it; though how you lost it, I know not.

It will be eternally true, "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth." Have this faith, and you have salvation. And this is the very thing you want. When this is joined with a strong understanding, it is well: but it may exist with a very weak one. This is the case with Mrs. W——, whose understanding is extremely weak; and yet she has strong faith, and such as exceedingly profits me; though I take knowledge, that the treasure is in an earthen vessel. I see all that is of nature; but this does not hinder my rejoicing in that which is of grace. This is one branch of Christian simplicity. While reason, assisted from above, enables me to discern the precious from

the vile, I make my full use of the former, without losing one moment in thinking upon the latter. Perhaps reason enlightened makes me simple. If I knew less of human nature, (forgive me for talking so much of myself,) I should be more apt to stumble at the weaknesses of it: and if I have (by nature or by grace) some clearness of apprehension, it is owing to this (under God) that I never staggered at all the reveries of George Bell. I saw instantly at the beginning, and from the beginning, what was right, and what was wrong. But I saw withal, "I have many things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now." Hence many imagined I was imposed upon, and applauded themselves for their greater perspicuity, as they do at this day. "But if you knew it," says his friend to Gregory Lopez, "why did you not tell me?" I answer with him, "I do not speak all I know, but all I judge needful." Still I am persuaded, there is no state under heaven from which it is not possible to fall. But I wish you was all love, and then you would not need to take any thought for the morrow. I am

Your affectionate brother.

CCIII.—*To Miss L——.*

1. You want to know God, in order to enjoy him in time and in eternity.

2. All that you want to know of him is contained in one book, the Bible. Therefore your one point is, to understand this. And all you learn is to be referred to this, as either directly or remotely conducive to it.

3. Might it not be well then to spend at least two hours every day, in reading and meditating upon the Bible? reading every morning (if not every evening too) a portion of the Old and then of the New Testament? If you would save yourself the trouble of thinking, add Mr. Henry's Comment; if you would only be assisted in thinking, add the "Explanatory Notes."

4. But I find a difficulty already. Can you help me over it? Have you more candour than almost any one in the world? Will you not blame me for recommending, as they come in the way, tracts published by myself? I think you will not. So I will set down these (in their place) as freely as other books.

5. Your studying hours (if your constitution will bear it) might be five or six hours a day. Perhaps from nine to twelve in the morning, and from two to four or five in the afternoon. And whenever you begin to be tired with books that require a strong and deep attention, relax your mind by interposing history or poetry, or something of a lighter nature.

6. The first thing you should understand a little of is grammar; in order to which it will suffice to read first the Kingswood "English Grammar," (which is exceeding short,) and then Bishop Lowth's "Introduction."

7. Next, it would be worth your while to acquire a little knowledge in arithmetic; and Dilworth's Arithmetic would give you full as much as you want.

8. You might proceed to geography. But in this I would not advise

you to encumber yourself with many books. You need only master one, Randal's "Geographical Grammar," and then betake yourself to the globes. I believe those of Mr. Adams are the best; to which you may add his little book of Instructions.

9. Logic naturally follows; and I really think it is worth all the rest put together. But here I am at a full stop; for I know no good treatise on the subject in English, except Aldrich's Logic, and that, I am afraid, you cannot understand without an instructer. I shall be glad to give you a little assistance in the short time we have together.

10. As to ethics (or moral philosophy) there is full as much of it as you want in Langbain's "Compendium."

11. In natural philosophy you have a larger field. You may begin with a "Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation." This contains the substance of Ray, Derham, Niewentyt, "Nature Displayed," and all the other celebrated books on the subject. You may add that fine book, Mr. Jones's "Principles of Natural Philosophy." Thence you will easily pass to the Glasgow abridgment of Mr. Hutchinson's Works. The abridgers give not only all his sense, but all his spirit. You may add to these, the beautiful tracts of Lord Forbes; and if you would go a little farther, Mr. Baker's ingenious "Treatise on the Microscope."

12. With any or all of the foregoing studies, you may intermix that of history. Geography and chronology are termed the two eyes of history. Geography has been mentioned before; and I think all you want of chronology may be learned from Marshal's "Chronological Tables."

13. You may begin with Rollin's "Ancient History;" and afterward read in order, Puffendorf's "Introduction to the History of Europe," the "Concise Church History," Burnet's "History of the Reformation," the "Concise History of England," Clarendon's "History of the Great Rebellion," Neal's "History of the Puritans," his "History of New England," and Solis's "History of the Conquest of Mexico."

14. Whitby's "Compendium of Metaphysics" will introduce you to that science. You may go on with Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding;" Bishop Browne on the "Nature, Procedure, and Limits of Human Understanding;" and Malebranche's "Search after Truth."

15. For poetry, you may read Spencer's "Fairy Queen;" Fairfax's or Hoole's "Godfrey of Bulloign;" select parts of Shakspeare; "Paradise Lost;" the "Night Thoughts;" and "Moral and Sacred Poems."

16. You are glad to begin and end with divinity. But I must not expatiate here. I will only recommend to your careful perusal, Bishop Pearson upon the Creed, Mr. Nalson's "Sermons," and the "Christian Library."

This course of study, if you have the resolution to go through it, will, I apprehend, take you up three, four, or five years, according to the degree of your health and of your application. And you will then have knowledge enough for any reasonable Christian. But remember, before all, in all, and above all, your great point is, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. I am, dear Miss L——,

Your affectionate brother.*

[* The course of study above recommended, was founded on the books then published. From among those which have been since added, Mr. W. himself would, doubtless, have considerably varied it.]

CCIV.—*To the Rev. Mr. G——.*

April 2, 1761.

Reverend Sir,—I have no desire to dispute; least of all with one whom I believe to fear God and work righteousness. And I have no time to spare. Yet I think it my duty to write a few lines, with regard to those you sent to Mr. Bennet.

You therein say, "If you sent me the books to inform me of an error which I had publicly advanced, pardon me if I say, I know numbers who call themselves Methodists assert their assurance of salvation at the very time they wallow in sins of the deepest dye." Permit me, sir, to speak freely. I do not doubt the fact. But, 1. Those who are connected with me, do not call themselves Methodists. Others call them by that nickname, and they cannot help it; but I continually warn them, not to pin it upon themselves. 2. We rarely use that ambiguous expression of "Christ's righteousness imputed to us." 3. We believe a man may be a real Christian without being "assured of his salvation." 4. We know no man can be assured of salvation while he lives in any sin whatever. 5. The wretches who talk in that manner are neither Methodists nor Moravians, but followers of William Cudworth, James Relly, and their associates, who abhor us as much as they do the Pope; and ten times more than they do the devil. If you oppose these, so do I; and have done privately and publicly for these twenty years.

But you say, "Such as do not profess this doctrine will not be affected by my sermon." Indeed they will; for the world (as you yourself did) lump all that are called Methodists together. Consequently, whatever you then said of Methodists in general, falls on us as well as them; and so we are condemned for those very principles which we totally detest and abhor: a small part of the "Preservative" (had you taken the pains to read it) would have convinced you of this. "Did you send them to convince me of some important truth? I have the New Testament." So have I; and I have read it for above these fifty years; and for near forty with some attention. Yet I will not say, that Mr. G—— may not convince me of some truth, which I never yet learned from it. I want every help; especially from those who strive both to preach and to live the Gospel. Yet certainly I must dissent from you, or you from me, wherever either conceives the other to vary from it. Some of my writings you "have read." But allow me to ask, Did not you read them with much prejudice, or little attention? Otherwise surely you would not have termed them "perplexing." Very few lay obscurity or intricacy to my charge. Those who do not allow them to be true, do not deny them to be plain. And if they believe me to have done any good at all by writing, they suppose it is by this very thing; by speaking on practical and experimental religion more plainly than others have done.

I quite agree, we "neither can be better men nor better Christians, than by continuing members of the Church of England." And not only her doctrines, but many parts of her discipline, I have adhered to at the hazard of my life. If in any point I have since varied therefrom, it was not by choice, but necessity. Judge, therefore, if they do well

who throw me into the ditch, and then beat me because my clothes are dirty?

Wishing you much of the love of God in your heart, and much of his presence in your labours, I remain, reverend sir,

Your affectionate brother.

CCV.—*To the Reverend Mr. D——.*

LIVERPOOL, April 6, 1761.

DEAR SIR,—Let who will speak, if what is spoken be true, I am ready to subscribe it. If it be not, I accept no man's person. *Magis amica veritas.* [Truth is a greater friend.] I had an agreeable conversation with Mr. Venn, who, I suppose, is now near you. I think, he is exactly as regular as he ought to be. I would observe every punctilio of order, except where the salvation of souls is at stake. There I prefer the end before the means.

I think it great pity, that the few clergymen in England who preach the three grand Scriptural doctrines,—original sin, justification by faith, and holiness consequent thereon,—should have any jealousies or misunderstandings between them. What advantage must this give to the common enemy! What a hinderance is it to the great work wherein they are all engaged! How desirable is it, that there should be the most open, avowed intercourse between them! So far indeed as they judge it would be for the glory of God, they may openly declare wherein they disagree.

But surely if they are ashamed to own one another in the faces of all mankind, they are ashamed of Christ; they are ashamed of Him that sends, if they dare not avow whom he has sent. Excuses indeed will never be wanting. But will these avail before God? For many years I have been labouring after this; labouring to unite, not scatter, the messengers of God. Not that I want any thing from them. As God has enabled me to stand almost alone for these twenty years, I doubt not but he will enable me to stand, either with them or without them. But I want all to be helpful to each other; and all the world to know we are so. Let them know who is on the Lord's side. You, I trust, will always be of that number. O let us preach and live the whole Gospel! The grace of our Lord be with your spirit! I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate brother and servant

CCVI.—*To Mrs. R——.*

WHITEHAVEN, June 28, 1766.

MY DEAR SISTER,—For some time I have been convinced it was my duty to tell you what was on my mind. I will do it with all plainness. You may answer or not, as you judge best.

Many things I have observed in you which gave me pleasure; some which gave me concern: the former I need not mention; the latter I must, or I should not myself be clear before God.

The first of these is something which looks like pride. You some-

times seem to think too highly of yourself, and (comparatively) to despise others. I will instance in two or three particulars:—

1. You appear to be above instruction, I mean instruction from man. I do not doubt but you are taught of God. But that does not supersede your being taught by man also. I believe there is no saint upon earth whom God does not teach by man.

2. You appear to think, (I will not affirm you do,) that none understands the doctrine of sanctification like you. Nay, you sometimes speak as if none understood it besides you: whereas (whether you experience more or less of it than some) I know several, both men and women, who both think and speak full as Scripturally of it as you do; and perhaps more clearly; for there is often something dark and confused in your manner of speaking concerning it.

3. You appear to undervalue the experience of almost every one in comparison of your own. To this it seems to be owing, that you, some way or other, beat down almost all who believe they are saved from sin. And so some of them were, in the only sense wherein I either teach or believe it, unless they tell flat and wilful lies in giving an account of their experience.

A second thing which has given me concern is, I am afraid you are in danger of enthusiasm. We know there are divine dreams and impressions. But how easily may you be deceived herein! How easily, where something is from God, may we mix something which is from nature! especially if we have a lively imagination, and are not aware of any danger.

I will mention one thing more. It has frequently been said, and with some appearance of truth, that you endeavour to monopolize the affections of all that fall into your hands, that you destroy the nearest and dearest connection they had before, and make them quite cool and indifferent to their most intimate friends. I do not at all speak on my own account; I set myself out of the question. But if there be any thing of the kind with regard to other people, I should be sorry both for them and you.

I commend you all to God, and to the word of his grace. I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

CCVII.—*To Mr.* ——.

BRISTOL, October 20, 1759.

SIR,—Since I came to Bristol I heard many terrible accounts concerning the French prisoners at Knowle; as that "they were so wedged together, that they had no room to breathe;" that "the stench of the rooms where they lodged was intolerable;" that "their food was only fit for dogs;" that "their meat was carrion, their bread rotten and unwholesome;" and that, "in consequence of this inhuman treatment, they died in whole shoals."

Desiring to know the truth, I went to Knowle on Monday, and was showed all the apartments there. But how was I disappointed! 1. I found they had large and convenient space to walk in, if they chose it all the day. 2. There was no stench in any apartment which I was in

either below or above. They were all sweeter and cleaner than any prison I have seen either in England or elsewhere. 3. Being permitted to go into the larder, I observed the meat hanging up, two large quarters of beef. It was fresh and fat, and I verily think as good as I ever desire to eat. 4. A large quantity of bread lay on one side. A gentleman took up and cut one of the loaves. It was made of good flour, was well baked, and perfectly well tasted. 5. Going thence to the hospital, I found that, even in this sickly season, there are not thirty persons dangerously ill, out of twelve or thirteen hundred. 6. The hospital was sweeter and cleaner throughout than any hospital I ever saw in London. I think it my duty to declare these things, for clearing the innocent, and the honour of the English nation.

Yet one thing I observed with concern. A great part of these men are almost naked; and winter is now coming upon them in a cold prison, and a colder climate than most of them have been accustomed to. But will not the humanity and generosity of the gentlemen of Bristol prevent or relieve this distress? Did they not make a notable precedent during the late war? And surely they are not weary of well doing. Tuesday night *we* did a little according to our power; but I shall rejoice if this be forgotten through the abundance administered by their liberality, in a manner which they judge most proper. Will it not be both for the honour of their city and country? for the credit of our religion, and for the glory of God, who knows how to return it seven fold into their bosom? I am

Your humble servant.

CCVIII.—*To the Society at Monyash, Derbyshire.*

Poole, March 25, 1752.

My Dear Brethren,—I should very willingly have spent a little time among you; but at present my time will not permit, I have so many places to visit, between Manchester, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and so on, to Berwick-upon-Tweed. Blessed be God, that you are not yet moved from the hope of the Gospel. He has permitted a fiery trial to fall upon you;* but I trust the sharpest part of it is past. May God enable you to stand fast together, in one mind and in one judgment! Watch over one another in love; and let not that which is lame be turned out of the way. Do all things without murmurings and disputings, following peace with all men; and the God of peace be with you! I am, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate brother.

CCIX.—*To the Reverend Mr. Wanley, Dean of Ripon.*

Yarm, July 9, 1766.

Reverend Sir,—The regard which I owe to a fellow Christian, and much more to a clergyman and a magistrate, constrains me to trouble you with a few lines, though I have no personal acquaintance with you. Ralph Bell has just been giving me an account of the late affair at Ripon.

* Probably the conduct of John Bennet, who renounced his connection with Mr. Wesley about this period, and vehemently preached against him in that part of the country.—Edit.

What he desires is, 1. To have the loss he has sustained repaired; and, 2. Liberty of conscience; that liberty which every man may claim as his right, by the law of God and nature; and to which every English man, in particular, has a right by the laws of his country. I well know the advantage these laws give *us* in the present case: I say *us*, because I make the case my own; as I think it my bounden duty to do. I have had many suits in the king's bench; and, blessed be God, I never lost one yet. But I would far rather put an amicable end to any dispute, where it can be done: not that I am afraid of being overborne by the expense; if I am not, I know them that are, able to bear it. But I love peace. I love my neighbour as myself; and would not willingly bring loss or trouble upon any man. Be so good as to impute to this motive my interfering in this matter. I am, reverend sir,

Your servant for Christ's sake.

CCX.—*To Mary Yeoman, of Mousehole, Cornwall.*

St. Ives, September 2, 1769.

My Dear Sister,—Your case is not peculiar. I have known many who are just as you are now: and the same God who delivered them is as ready to deliver you. I advise you to continue in the way, whether you find any benefit or not. Pray, as you can, though you are ever so cold or dead. Hear the preaching; keep to your class. The Lord is at hand: he will abundantly pardon. I am

Your affectionate brother

CCXI.—*To Mr. Merryweather, of Yarm.*

London, January 16, 1758.

My Dear Brother,—If the work of God does so increase at Yarm, we must not let the opportunity slip. Therefore let the travelling preacher be there either every Sunday evening, or at least every other Sunday.

No person must be allowed to preach or exhort among our people, whose life is not holy and unblamable; nor any who asserts any thing contrary to the Gospel which we have received. And if he does not own his fault and amend it, he cannot be a leader any longer.

Peace be with you all. I am Your affectionate brother.

CCXII.—*To the Same.*

Brentford, January 24, 1760.

My Dear Brother,—I received yours, with the bill, a day or two ago. I wish you would every where recommend two books in particular, "The Christian Pattern," and the "Primitive Physic." It is a great pity that any Methodist should be without them.

I wonder brother Mather does not write to me. He should not forget his friends: I hope the gentleman with whom I breakfasted at Yarm has not forsaken you. Even the rich *may* enter into the kingdom: for with God all things are possible.

See that you stir up the gift of God that is in you. What is our Lord's word to *you?*—"Let the dead bury their dead: but follow thou me!" I am Your affectionate brother.

CCXIII.—*To the Same.*

London, October 5, 1763.

My Dear Brother,—Your letter was sent from hence to Bristol. But I had left Bristol before it came. I have no objection to Mr. Jaco's coming to Yarm to open the house: but I suppose he cannot stay long. He will soon be wanted again in his own circuit.

It is strange that the number of hearers should decrease, if you have regular preaching. I hope the morning preaching is never omitted. If it be, every thing will droop.

What relates to the account, I will give to Mr. Franks. Probably he will find where the mistake lies. O be in earnest! I am

Your affectionate brother.

CCXIV.—*To the Same.*

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 7, 1764.

My Dear Brother,—I thank you for the receipts. There is nothing more sure, than that God is able and willing to give always what he gives once. And it is most certainly his design, that whatever he has given you, should abide with you for ever. But this can only be by simple faith. In this, reasoning is good for nothing. See that both of you be as little children. Your help is all laid up above, in the hand of Him that loves you. Look unto him, and receive what you want! Believe yourselves to heaven! I am Your affectionate brother.

CCXV.—*To the Same.*

February 8, 1766.

My Dear Brother,—Where Christian perfection is not strongly and explicitly preached, there is seldom any remarkable blessing from God; and, consequently, little addition to the society, and little life in the members of it. Therefere, if Jacob Rowell is grown faint, and says but little about it, do *you* supply his lack of service. Speak and spare not. Let not regard for any man induce you to betray the truth of God. Till you press the believers to expect full salvation *now*, you must not look for any revival.

It is certain, God does at some times, without any cause known to us, shower down his grace in an extraordinary manner. And he does, in some instances, delay to give either justifying or sanctifying grace, for reasons which are not discovered to us. These are some of those secrets of his government which it hath pleased him to reserve in his own breast. I hope you and your wife keep all you have, and grasp for more. I am Your affectionate brother.

CCXVI.—*To the Same.*

Lewisham, December 10, 1768.

My Dear Brother,—The matter is short: all things in divine worship must "be done decently and in order." Two must never pray at the same time, nor one interrupt another. Either Alice Brammah must take advice, or the society must be warned to keep away from her. These are the very things which were the beginning of poor George Bell's fall. I am, with love to sister Merryweather,

Your affectionate brother.

CCXVII.—*To the Same.*

London, October 9, 1786.

Dear George,—Do not wish to have a grain less of sensibility than you have. I love you the better for it; and so does He that is greater than all. That family I know and love well: we will help them all we can. I have no access to Mr. Thornton: the Calvinists take care to keep him to themselves. But if you will give them five pounds from me, John Atlay will answer your draft here. I am, with best wishes to all the family, dear George,

Your affectionate brother.

CCXVIII.—*To Mrs. Emma Moon, Yarm.*

Norwich, December 6, 1767

My Dear Sister,—I can easily believe that nothing would be wanting to me, which it was in your power to supply: for I am persuaded your heart is as my heart, as is the case with all the "souls who Himself vouchsafes to unite in fellowship divine." What is always in your power is, to bear me before the throne of grace. One thing in particular which I frequently desire is, "a calm evening of a various day;" that I may have no conflicts *at the last*, but rather, if God sees good, before "my flesh and my heart faileth."

In every place where Mr. Whitefield has been, he has laboured in the same friendly, Christian manner. God has indeed effectually broken down the wall of partition which was between us. Thirty years ago we were one: then the sower of tares rent us asunder: but now a stronger than him has made us one again.

There is no weakness either in our body or mind, but Satan endeavours to avail himself of it. That kind of dulness or listlessness I take to be originally a pure effect of bodily constitution. As such it is not imputable to us in any degree, unless we give way to it. So long as we diligently resist, it is no more blamable than sleepiness, or weariness of body.

Do many of those who were saved from sin in your neighbourhood stand fast in their liberty? or have one half, if not the greater part, been moved from their steadfastness? How is it that so many are moved? that in many places so few, comparatively, stand? Have you lately conversed with sister Heslop? Does she retain all the life she had? Does John Eland? and some others at Hutton? Peace be multiplied upon you! I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother

CCXIX.—*To the Same.*

London, January 24, 1768.

My Dear Sister,—Formerly, when persons reproached me for doing thus and thus, I have very frequently said, "In truth, I have not done it yet; but by the grace of God, I will." This seems to be the very case with you. You are accused for what you did not, but ought to have done. You ought to have informed me from time to time, not indeed of trifles, or idle reports, but of things which you judged to be a

real hinderance to the work of God. And God permitted you to be reminded of this omission by those who intended nothing less.

Opposition from their brethren has been one cause why so many who were set free have not retained their liberty. But perhaps there was another more general cause: they had not proper help. One just saved from sin is like a new-born child, and needs as careful nursing. But these had it not. How few were as nursing fathers! How few cherished them as a nurse her own children! So that the greater part were weakened, if not destroyed, before their sinews were knit, for want of that prudent and tender care which their state necessarily required. Do all that you can to cherish them that are left; and never forget

Your affectionate brother.

CCXX.—*To a Member of the Society.*

March 4, 1760.

Certainly the more freedom you use, the more advantage you will find. But at the same time it will be needful continually to remember from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. If he blesses our intercourse with each other, then we shall never repent of the labour.

It is a blessing indeed, when God uncovers our hearts, and clearly shows us what spirit we are of. But there is no manner of necessity that this self-knowledge should make us miserable. Certainly the highest degree of it is well consistent both with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Therefore how deeply soever you may be convinced of pride, self-will, peevishness, or any other inbred sin, see that you do not let go that confidence, whereby you may still rejoice in God your Saviour. Some, indeed, have been quite unhappy, though they retained their faith, through desire on the one hand, and conviction on the other. But that is nothing to you; you need never give up any thing which you have already received: you will not, if you keep close to that,—

> For this my vehement soul stands still;
> Restless, resign'd, for this I wait.

We have a fuller, clearer knowledge of our own members, than of those belonging to other societies; and may therefore, without any culpable partiality, have a better opinion of them.

It is a great thing to spend all our time to the glory of God. But you need not be scrupulous as to the precise time of reading and praying; I mean, as to the dividing it between one and the other. A few minutes one way or the other, are of no great importance.

May He who loves you fill you with his pure love! I am

Your affectionate brother.

CCXXI.—*To the Same.*

March 29, 1760.

Having a little longer reprieve, I snatch the opportunity of writing a few lines before we embark. Prayer is certainly the grand means of drawing near to God; and all others are helpful to us only so far as they are mixed with, or prepare us for, this. The comfort of it may be taken away by wandering thoughts, but not the benefit: violently to fight

against these, is not the best and speediest way to conquer them; but, rather, humbly and calmly to ask and wait for His help, who will bruise Satan under your feet. You may undoubtedly remain in peace and joy until you are perfected in love. You need neither enter into a dispute, when persons speak wrong, nor yet betray the truth: there is a middle way. You may simply say, "I believe otherwise; but I think, and let think; I am not fond of contending on this or any other head, lest I receive more hurt than I can do good." Remember your calling; be

A simple follower of the Lamb,
And harmless as a little child.

CCXXII.—*To the Same.*

April 16, 1760.

Eltham is a barren soil indeed. I fear scarce any are to be found there who know any thing of the power of religion; and not many that have so much as the form. But God is there; and he can supply every want. Nothing contributes to seriousness more than humility, because it is a preparation for every fruit of the Holy Spirit; and the knowledge of our desperate state by sin has a particular tendency to keep us earnest after deliverance; and that earnestness can hardly consist with levity, either of temper or behaviour.

Those who have tasted of the goodness of God are frequently wanting in declaring it. They do not, as they ought, stir up the gift of God which is in every believer, by exciting one another to continual thankfulness, and provoking each other to love and good works. We should never be content to make a drawn battle, to part neither better nor worse than we met. Christian conversation is too precious a talent to be thus squandered away.

It does not require a large share of natural wisdom to see God in all things; in all his works of creation, as well as of providence. This is rather a branch of spiritual wisdom, and is given to believers more and more, as they advance in purity of heart.

Probably it would be of use to you to be as regular as you can: I mean, to allot such hours to such employment; only not to be troubled when providence calls you from them. For the best rule of all is, to follow the will of God.

CCXXIII.—*To the Same.*

June 27, 1760.

A day or two ago I was quite surprised to find among my papers a letter of yours, which I apprehend I have not answered.

Every one, though born of God in an instant, yea, and sanctified in an instant, yet undoubtedly grows by slow degrees, both after the former and the latter change. But it does not follow from thence, that there must be a considerable tract of time between the one and the other. A year or a month is the same with God as a thousand. If he wills, to do is present with him; much less is there any necessity for much suffering: God can do his work by pleasure as well as by pain. It is therefore undoubtedly our duty to pray and look for full salvation every day, every hour, every moment, without waiting till we have either done or suffered more. Why should not this be the accepted time?

Certainly your friend will suffer loss, if he does not allow himself time every day for private prayer. Nothing will supply the want of this: praying with others is quite another thing. Besides, it may expose us to great danger; it may turn prayer into an abomination to God; for

> Guilty we speak, if subtle from within
> Blows on our words the self-admiring sin!

O make the best of every hour!

CCXXIV.—*To the Same.*

November 11, 1760.

Conviction is not condemnation. You may be convinced, yet not condemned; convinced of useless thoughts or words, and yet not condemned for them. You are condemned for nothing, if you love God, and continue to give him your whole heart.

Certainly, spiritual temptations will pass through your spirit; else you could not feel them. I believe I understand your state better than you do yourself. Do not perplex yourself at all about what you shall call it. You are a child of God, a member of Christ, an heir of the kingdom. What you have, hold fast, (whatever name is given to it,) and you shall have all that God has prepared for them that love him. Certainly you do need more faith; for you are a tender, sickly plant. But see,—

> Faith while yet you ask is given:
> God comes down, the God and Lord,
> That made both earth and heaven!

You cannot live on what he did yesterday. Therefore he comes to-day! He comes to destroy that tendency to levity, to severe judging, to any thing that is not of God. Peace be with your spirit!

CCXXV.—*To the Same.*

December 12, 1760.

You may blame yourself, but I will not blame you, for seeking to have your every temper, and thought, and word, and work, suitable to the will of God. But I doubt not you seek this by faith, not without it; and you seek it in and through Christ, not without him. Go on; you shall have all you seek; because God is love. He is showing you the littleness of your understanding, and the foolishness of all natural wisdom. Certainly peace and joy in believing are the grand means of holiness; therefore, love and value them as such.

"Why is the law of works superseded by the law of love?" Because Christ died. "Why are we not condemned for coming short even of this?" Because he lives and intercedes for us. I believe it is impossible not to come short of it, through the unavoidable littleness of our understanding. Yet the blood of the covenant is upon us, and therefore there is no condemnation.

I think the extent of the law of love is exactly marked out in the thirteenth of the Corinthians. Let faith fill your heart with love to Him and all mankind; then follow this loving faith to the best of your understanding; meantime crying out continually, "Jesus is all in all to me."

CCXXVI.—*To the Same.*

June 17, 1761.

I apprehend your great danger now is this, to think you never shall receive that blessing, because you have not received it yet. Nay, perhaps, you may be tempted to believe that there is no such thing, and that those who thought they had received it were mistaken as well as you. This danger will be increased, if some who professed to be sanctified long ago, and yet have not received this blessing, affirm there is no such thing, and begin to warn others against falling into this delusion. But keep close to your rule, the word of God, and to your guide, the Spirit of God, and never be afraid of expecting too much: as yet you are but a babe. O what heights of holiness are to come! I hope you do not forget to pray for me. Adieu!

CCXXVII.—*To the Same.*

May 13, 1762.

You did well to write. "It is good to hide the secrets of a king; but to declare the loving-kindness of the Lord." Have you never found any wandering since? Is your mind always stayed on God? Do you find every thought brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ? Do no vain thoughts (useless, trifling, unedifying) lodge within you? Does not the corruptible body at some times, more or less, press down the soul? Has God made your very dreams devout? I have known Satan assault in their sleep (endeavouring to terrify or affright) those whom he could not touch when they were awake.

As to your band, there are two sorts of persons with whom you may have to do,—the earnest and the slack: the way you are to take with the one is quite different from that one would take with the other. The latter you must search, and find out why they are slack; exhort them to repent, be zealous, do the first works. The former you have only to encourage, to exhort, to push forward to the mark, to bid them grasp the prize so nigh! And do so yourself. Receive a thousand more blessings; believe more, love more: you cannot love enough. Beware of sins of omission. So shall you fulfil the joy of

Your affectionate brother.

CCXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

October 9, 1762.

Though I have very little time, I must write a few lines. I thank you for your comfortable letter. Some have more of heat, and some of light. The danger is, that one should say to the other, "I have no need of thee;" or that any should mistake his place, and imagine himself to be what he is not. Be not backward to speak to any whom you think are mistaken, either in this or other things. A loving word, spoken in faith, shall not fall to the ground; and the more freely you speak to me at any time, or on any head, the more you will oblige

Your ever affectionate brother.

CCXXIX.—*To the Same.*

April 7, 1763.

The true Gospel touches the very edge both of Calvinism and Antinomianism; so that nothing but the power of God can prevent our sliding either into the one or the other.

The nicest point of all which relates to Christian perfection, is that which you inquire of. Thus much is certain: they that love God with all their heart, and all men as themselves, are Scripturally perfect. And surely such there are; otherwise the promise of God would be a mere mockery of human weakness. Hold fast this: but then remember, on the other hand, you have this treasure in an earthen vessel; you dwell in a poor, shattered house of clay, which presses down the immortal spirit. Hence all your thoughts, words, and actions are so imperfect; so far from coming up to the standard, (that law of love, which, but for the corruptible body, your soul would answer in all instances,) that you may well say, till you go to him you love,—

"Every moment, Lord, I need the merit of thy death."

CCXXX.—*To the Same.*

October 13, 1764.

I do not see that you can speak otherwise than you do in your band. If you sought their approbation, that would be wrong: but you may suffer it without blame. Indeed in these circumstances you must; since it is undeniably plain that the doing otherwise would hurt rather than help their souls. I believe Miss F—— thought she felt evil before she did, and by that very thought gave occasion to its reëntrance. You ought not to speak explicitly to many: very few would understand or know how to advise you. For some time I thought M—— did, and was therefore glad of your acquaintance with him, hoping he would lead you by the hand in a more profitable manner than I was able to do. But I afterward doubted. The Lord send you help by whom he will send!

From what not only you but many others likewise have experienced, we find there is very frequently a kind of wilderness state, not only after justification, but even after deliverance from sin; and I doubt whether the sermon upon that state might not give you light in this case also. But the most frequent cause of this second darkness or distress, I believe, is evil reasoning: by this, three in four of those who cast away their confidence are gradually induced so to do. And if this be the cause, is there any way to regain that deliverance but by resuming your confidence? And can you receive it, unless you receive it freely; not of works, but by mere grace? This is the way: walk thou in it. Dare to believe! Look up and see thy Saviour near! When? to-morrow or to-day? Nay, to-day hear his voice! At this time; at this place! Lord, speak; thy servant heareth!

CCXXXI.—*To the Same.*

August 9, 1765.

I have many fears concerning you, lest you should sink beneath the dignity of your calling, or be moved to the right hand or the left, from the simplicity of the Gospel. Is your heart still whole with God? Do

you still desire and seek no happiness but in him? Are you always, or generally, sensible of his presence? Do you generally, at least, find communion with him? And do you expect all that you enjoyed once, and more; to be sanctified throughout before you go hence?

I hope no inward or outward reasonings are able to move you from walking exactly according to the Gospel. O beware of voluntary humility; of thinking, "such a one is better than me, and why should I pretend to be more strict than her?" "What is that to thee? follow thou me!" You have but one pattern: follow Him inwardly and outwardly. If other believers will go step for step with you, well; but if not, follow Him! Peace be with your spirit.

CCXXXII.—*To the Same.*

August 31, 1765.

You may be assured it is not a small degree of satisfaction to me to hear that your soul prospers. I cannot be indifferent to any thing which concerns either your present or future welfare. As you covet, so I want you to enjoy, the most excellent gifts. To your outward walking I have no objection. But I want you to walk inwardly in the fulness of love, and in the broad light of God's countenance. What is requisite to this, but to believe always? now to believe with your whole heart, and to hold fast the beginning of this confidence steadfast unto the end? And yet a self-complaisant thought, yea, or a blasphemous one, may steal across your spirit; but I will not say that is your own thought. Perhaps an enemy hath done this. Neither will I blame you for "feeling deeply the perverseness of others;" or for "feeling your spirit tried with it." I do not wish that you should not feel it, (while it remains,) or that you should feel it otherwise than as a trial. But this does not prove that there is sin in your heart, or that you are not a sacrifice to love. O my friend, do justice to the grace of God! Hold fast whereunto you have attained; and if you have not yet uninterrupted communion with him, why not this moment, and from this moment? If you have not, I incline to think it is occasioned by reasoning, or by some inward or outward omission.

CCXXXIII.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, October 13, 1765.

A year or two ago you was pretty clear of enthusiasm; I hope you are so still. But nothing under heaven is more catching, especially when it is found in those we love; and, above all, when it is in those whom we cannot but believe to be sound of understanding in most instances, and to have received larger measures of the grace of God than we have ourselves.

There are now about twenty persons here, who believe they are saved from sin: 1. Because they always love, pray, rejoice, and give thanks; and, 2. Because they have the witness of it in themselves. But, if these lose what they have received, nothing will be more easy than to think they never had it. There were four hundred (to speak at the lowest) in London, who (unless they told me lies) had the same experience. If near half of these have lost what they had received, I do not wonder if they think they never had it: it is so ready a way of excusing themselves for throwing away the blessed gift of God.

I no more doubt of Miss —— having this once, than I doubt of her sister's having it now. Whether God will restore her suddenly, as well as freely, I know not; whether by many steps, or in one moment But here again you halt, as S. C—— did, and S. R—— does. You seem to think pain, yea, much pain, must go before an entire cure. In S. R—— it did, and in a very few others: but it need not; pain is no more salutary than pleasure. Saving grace is essentially such, saving pain but accidentally. When God saves us by pain rather than pleasure, I can resolve it only into his justice, or sovereign will. To use the grace we have, and now to expect all we want, is the grand secret. He whom you love will teach you this continually.

CCXXXIV.—*To the Same.*

June 29, 1767.

For some days you have been much on my mind. Are you still making the best of life? employing a few days exactly in such a manner as you judge is most to the glory of God? And do you still hold fast what you have received, and expect the fulness of the promise? Surely you may retain all that earnestness of expectation to which Mr. M—— used to incite you, without any prejudice either to humility or sobriety of spirit. Doubtless it is possible, with Mr. Dryden's leave, "to be wise and love" at the same time; and neither of these need interfere with the other, seeing the Spirit of love is also the Spirit of wisdom. Are all your family breathing this spirit, and strengthening each other's hands in God? I hope you have the satisfaction of observing the same thing in most of those that are round about you, and of seeing the work of God prosper, wherever you have occasion to be. When you are with the genteel part of your acquaintance, you have more immediate need of watching unto prayer, or you will insensibly drink into the lightness of their spirit, and abate a little of the accuracy of your walking. Nay, stand fast, walking in every point as Christ also walked. Fashion and custom are nothing to you; you have a more excellent rule. You are resolved to be a Bible Christian; and that, by the grace of God, not in some, but in all points. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of his might. Still let your eye be single; aim at one point; retain and increase your communion with God! You have nothing else to do.

Happy and wise, the time redeem,
And live, my friend, and die to Him.

At some times we must look at outward things; such is the present condition of humanity. But we have need quickly to return home; for what avails all, but Christ reigning in the heart?

Daily in his grace to grow?

What else have we to care for? Only now to use all the grace we have received, and now to expect all we want! The Lord Jesus swallow you up in his love!

CCXXXV.—*To the Same.*

March 14, 1768.

There are innumerable degrees, both in a justified and a sanctified state, more than it is possible for us exactly to define. I have always thought the lowest degree of the latter implies the having but one desire

and one design. I have no doubt but in that general outpouring of the Spirit, God did give —— this degree of salvation, neither did it ever appear to me that —— had lost it; rather —— seemed to stand just on the threshold of Christian perfection, and I apprehend nothing would be more likely to hurt the soul than undervaluing the grace already received. Without any sin, we may be, in a sense, pleased with the approbation of those we esteem and love. But here we have need of much prayer, lest this should degenerate into pride or vanity. I still say to you, as to an almost new-born babe, "Dare to believe; on Christ lay hold!" without being solicitous about the name of what you have, ask and expect all you want! Is it not nigh, even at the door?

The knowledge of ourselves is true humility; and without this we cannot be freed from vanity; a desire of praise being inseparably connected with every degree of pride: continual watchfulness is absolutely necessary to hide this from stealing in upon us. But as long as we steadily watch and pray, we shall not enter into temptation. It may and will assault us on every side; but it cannot prevail.

CCXXXVI.—*To the Same.*

July 5, 1768.

I am more inclined to congratulate you than to condole with you upon your present situation. Many circumstances concurred to expose you o the greatest of all dangers,—that of being generally commended. It .s therefore a peculiarly gracious providence whereby this danger is turned aside; and that without any particular fault or even imprudence on your part. You may now experience the truth of that fine reflection: "Nothing is more profitable for us than to suffer reproach for a good action, done with a single eye." Nevertheless you cannot be excused from speaking plain to S—— C—— and A——; and the sooner this is done the better, lest their want of judgment should produce more ill effects. Certainly you should labour to convince them that they were altogether in a fault: in any wise they should have spoke to you first; then if you had not satisfied them, they might have gone farther. But what can be done for the poor young woman? I am afraid lest she should be turned out of the way.

You will hardly need that tract for a time, as you have Mr. Brainerd's Life. There is a pattern of self-devotion and deadness to the world! But how much of his sorrow and pain had been prevented, if he had understood the doctrine of Christian perfection! How many tears did he shed, because it was impossible to be freed from sin!

As you have not the same outward trials which many have, it is highly needful you should have some inward ones; although they need not be either many or long. If you walk closely with God, he is able to give any degree of holiness, either by pleasure or pain. S—— continues with you a little longer, to quicken you in the way. Why should not a living Christian be exactly of the same spirit with a dying Christian; seeing the difference between her life and ours is nothing when compared to eternity?

The last scene of life in dying believers is of great use to those who are about them. Here we see the reality of religion and of things eternal; and nothing has a greater tendency to solemnize the soul, and

make and keep it dead to all below. We are reasonable creatures, and undoubtedly reason is the candle of the Lord. By enlightening our reason to see the meaning of the Scriptures, the Holy Spirit makes our way plain before us.

CCXXXVII.—*To the Same.*

May, 1769.

By comparing your own outward state with Mrs. ——, you now see clearly the advantages you enjoy: you have nothing external to hinder your waiting upon God, without carefulness and without distraction. None has a right to interrupt you, while you are exercised in things divine, and labouring to be holy in body and spirit. You may have just so much and no more connection with any one, as experience shows is profitable for you. O stand fast in this liberty, glorifying God with all you have and all you are!

It is remarkable that St. Paul places this the last of all, that "love endureth all things;" and this is the sum of his wish, with regard to the Colossians, "that they might be strengthened unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness." They who have attained this are ripe for the inheritance, and ready to salute their friends in light. There is a time when we grow up toward this, even without any sensible increase; as in the parable, the seed groweth and springs up, he knoweth not how. At many times, indeed, we do know how the power of the Highest suddenly overshadows us; while either the first or the pure love is shed abroad in our hearts. But at other times He confirms and increases that love, in a gradual and almost insensible manner.

Death has had a large commission this year, with regard to our societies in Ireland as well as England. Just as I left Dublin, four or five of our members there were taken away in four or five days: three elder, and two in the bloom of youth; one of whom had been filled with love for some years. They all witnessed a good confession at the last, and died in full assurance of hope. Nancy Rogers, whom I saw just before I left the town, breathed the very spirit of Jane Cooper. I think their kindred spirits are now acquainted with each other, better than you and I are; but not better than we shall be, when we meet together in the paradise of God.

CCXXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

August 12, 1769.

At some times it is needful to say, "I will pray with the spirit and with the understanding also." At other times the understanding has little to do, while the soul is poured forth in passive prayer. I believe we found the answer to many prayers at the conference, particularly on the two last days. At the conclusion, all the preachers were melted down, while they were singing those lines for me,—

Thou who so long hast saved me here,
A little longer save;
Till, freed from sin and freed from fear,
I sink into a grave.

Till glad I lay my body down,
Thy servant's steps attend;
And, O my life of mercies crown
With a triumphant end!

Various scriptures show that we may pray with resignation for the life or ease of a friend: it is enough that every petition be closed with, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt." It is true that a believer knows the

devices of Satan to be many and various. But the Apostle means more than this, namely, that those who have the unction of the Holy One are thereby enabled to discern his devices whenever they occur, and to distinguish them from the influences of the good Spirit, how finely soever they are disguised. To answer for ourselves is often a cross; and we had much rather let people think and talk as they please: but it is a cross we must often take up; otherwise we "walk not charitably," if we do not "reprove our brother;" if we "suffer sin upon him," we "hate our brother in our heart."

If Mrs. —— be arrived at London, I wish you would take the first opportunity of conversing with her. She will have more need of a faithful friend now than ever she had in her life. I expect she will hear reasons upon reasons, why she ought, as a point of duty, to conform a little to the world, to have a few trifling acquaintance, and not to be so particular in her dress. Now, as you have heard all these things before, and have been enabled, by the grace of God, to discover Satan, even with his angel's face, and to stand firm against all his assaults, you will be better able to assist and confirm her, if you seek her before she is much shaken.

It has a little surprised me, that several who are, I believe, filled with love, yet do not desire to die. It seems as if God generally does not give this desire till the time of death approaches. Perhaps in many it would be of little use. First let them learn to live.

Doubtless that rest was given "to support you under your sickness." Yet that is no reason why it should be ever taken away: it was certainly a degree of that rest which remaineth for the people of God. But it may be called by this or any other name; names are of little consequence: the thing you need never let go. You may live in and to Jesus; yea, and that continually, by simple faith, and holy, humble love.

Let M—— T—— be as sensible as ever she will or can be, of her own helplessness and poverty. But let her not cast away that confidence which hath great recompense of reward. She did experience the pure love of God: let none take advantage from her being tried by fire (if it should be so) to reason her out of it. That general promise, "In blessing I will bless thee," certainly contains all the promises, whether relating to this life or the next; and all are yours! Peace be multiplied upon you!

CCXXXIX.—*To the Same.*

July 6, 1770.

When things are viewed at a distance, one would be apt to imagine that no degree of sorrow could be found in a heart that rejoices evermore; that no right temper could be wanting, much less any degree of a wrong temper subsist, in a soul that is filled with love: and yet I am in doubt whether there be any soul clothed with flesh and blood which enjoys every right temper, and in which is no degree of any wrong one; suppose of ill-judged zeal, or more or less affection for some person than that person really deserves. When we say, "This is a natural, necessary consequence of the soul's union with a corruptible body," the assertion is by no means clear. till we add, "because of the weakness of understanding which results from this union:" admitting this,

the case is plain. There is so close a connection between right judgment and right tempers, as well as right practice, that the latter cannot easily subsist without the former. Some wrong temper, at least in a small degree, almost necessarily follows from wrong judgment: I apprehend when many say, "Sin must remain, while the body remains," this is what they mean, though they cannot make it out.

You say, "My silence usually proceeds from my views and thoughts of myself as a Christian." Bishop Fenelon says, "Simplicity is that grace which frees the soul from all unnecessary reflections upon itself." See here one sort of simplicity which you want! When I speak or write to you, I have you before my eyes, but, generally speaking, I do not think of myself at all. I do not think whether I am wise or foolish, knowing or ignorant: but I see you aiming at glory and immortality, and say just what I hope may direct your goings in the way, and prevent your being weary or faint in your mind. Our Lord will order all things well for sister T——. What can hurt those who trust in him?

CCXL.—*To the Same.*

SEPTEMBER 15, 1770.

To use the grace given, is the certain way to obtain more grace. To use all the faith you have will bring an increase of faith. But this word is of very wide extent: it takes in the full exercise of every talent wherewith we are intrusted. This comprises the whole compass both of inward and outward religion. That you may be able steadily and effectually to attend to this, you have need of that prayer, "Give me understanding, that I may keep thy law; yea, that I may keep it with my whole heart." This is to "make the best of life," which cannot be done without growing in grace. I believe it would help you to read and consider the Sermon on Self Denial, in the fourth volume, [vol. i, p. 426, of this edition,] and that on Universal Conscientiousness, in the "Christain Library."

A sense of wants and weaknesses, with various trials and temptations, will do you no real hurt, though they occasion heaviness for a time, and abate your joy in the Lord. It is wrong so to attend to this as to weaken your faith; and yet, in the general, it is not wrong "to form your estimate of the state of your soul from your sensations:" not indeed from these alone; but from these in conjunction with your words and actions. It is true we cannot judge of ourselves by the measure of our joy; the most variable of all our sensations, and frequently depending, in a great degree, on the state of our blood and spirits. But if you take love, joy, peace, meekness, gentleness, and resignation together, I know no surer rule whereby to judge of your state to God-ward.

What is the difference between "the frame of my mind and the state of my soul?" Is there the difference of a hair's breadth? I will not affirm it. If there be any at all, perhaps it is this: the *frame* may mean a single, transient sensation; the *state*, a more complicated and lasting sensation; something which we habitually feel. By *frame*, some may mean fleeting passions; by *state*, rooted tempers. But I do not know that we have any authority to use the terms thus, or to

distinguish one from the other. He whose mind is in a good frame, is certainly a good man as long as it so continues. I would therefore no more require you to cease from judging of your state by your frame of mind, than I would require you to cease from breathing.

Unless you deal very closely with those committed to your care, you will not give an account of them with joy. Advices and admonitions at a distance will do little harm or good. To those who give in to dress you might read or recommend the "Advice to the Methodists," on that head. It would be proper to go to the root of the matter once or twice; then to let it sleep; and after a few weeks try again. A Methodist using fine or gay apparel must suffer loss in her soul, although she may retain a little life; but she never will obtain a high degree either of holiness or happiness.

CCXLI.—*To the Same.*

April 14, 1771.

Whatever comes from you is agreeable to me; your letters always give me pleasure: but none more than the last, which brings the welcome news of the revival of the work of God among you. You will encourage I—— T—— to send me a circumstantial account of God's dealings with her soul. Mr. Norris observes, that no part of history is so profitable as that which relates to the great changes in states and kingdoms; and it is certain no part of Christian history is so profitable, as that which relates to great changes wrought in our souls: these therefore should be carefully noticed, and treasured up for the encouragement of our brethren.

I am glad you have at length broke through those evil reasonings which so long held you down, and prevented you from acknowledging the things which were freely given to you of God. Always remember, he essence of Christian holiness is simplicity and purity; one design, one desire; entire devotion to God. But this admits of a thousand degrees and variations, and certainly it will be proved by a thousand temptations; but in all these things you shall be more than conqueror.

It takes God (so to speak) abundance of pains to hide pride from man; and you are in more danger of it than many, were it only on account of outward advantages. Happy are you, if you use those for that single end, to be outwardly and inwardly devoted to God; and that more entirely than you could be in different circumstances. I have just been conversing with that excellent woman, M—— P——: what a mystery, that one of such gifts and such grace should be fixed in a place where she is almost useless! So much the more thankful you may be, who have opportunity of employing every talent which God hath given you. If you would retain the talent of health, sleep early, and rise early. I am, &c.

CCXLII.—*To the Same.*

May 31, 1771.

The dealings of God with man are infinitely varied, and cannot be confined to any general rule: both in justification and sanctification he often acts in a manner we cannot account for.

There cannot be a more proper phrase than that you used, and I well understand your meaning; yet it is sure you are a transgressor still, namely, of the perfect, Adamic law. But though it be true, all sin is a transgression of this law, yet it is by no means true, on the other hand, (though we have so often taken it for granted,) that all transgressions of this law are sin. No, not at all; only all voluntary transgressions of it; none else are sins against the Gospel law.

Although we have "faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come;" yet as long as we are in the body we have but an imperfect, shadowy knowledge of the things of eternity. For now we only see them in a glass, a mirror, which gives us no more than a shadow of them; therefore, we see them darkly, or in a riddle, as St. Paul speaks. The whole invisible world is as yet a riddle to us; and it seems to be in this sense that some writers speak so much of the night or darkness of faith, namely, when opposed to sight; that is, to the view of things which we shall have when the veil of flesh and blood is removed.

Those reasonings concerning the measure of holiness, (a curious, not useful, question) are not inconsistent with pure love, but they tend to damp it; and were you to pursue them far, they would lead you into unbelief.

What you feel is certainly a degree of anger, but not of sinful anger: there ought to be in us (as there was in our Lord) not barely a perception in the understanding that this or that is evil; but also an emotion of mind, a sensation or passion suitable thereto. This anger at sin, accompanied with love and compassion to the sinner, is so far from being itself a sin, that it is rather a duty. St. Paul's word is, "not easily provoked" to any paroxysm of anger; neither are you: nevertheless, I suppose there is in you, when you feel a proper anger at sin, a hurrying motion of the blood and spirits, which is an imperfection, and will be done away.

CCXLIII.—*To the Same.*

June 25, 1771.

Undoubtedly the reward which is purchased for us by the blood of the covenant will be proportioned to what we are, (through grace,) what we do, and what we suffer. Whatever, therefore, prevents our doing good, prevents our receiving so full a reward; and what can countervail that loss? It is certainly right that we should bear one another's burdens; that we should weep with them that weep, and for them that weep not for themselves. "When Jesus saw them weeping, he troubled himself;" he willingly sustained that emotion; he voluntarily suffered that sorrow; and it is good for us to tread in his steps. "But how far?" Just so far as does not disqualify us for any other part of our duty; so far as softens, not unnerves, the mind; as makes us more, not less, zealous of good works.

Undoubtedly there are various kinds, and various degrees, of communion with God: we cannot confine it to one only; it may take in the exercise of every affection, either single, or variously mixed together; and may run through all our outward employments. The most desirable prayer is that where we can quite pour out our soul, and freely talk with

God. But it is not this alone which is acceptable to him. "I love one," said a holy man, "that perseveres in dry duty." Beware of thinking even this is labour lost. God does much work in the heart even at those seasons.

> And when the soul, sighing to be approved,
> Says, "Could I love," and stops, God writeth, "Loved!"

And yet the comfort is, that you need not rest here: you may go on until all your heart is love; till you rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks. You know this is the will of God concerning you, in Christ Jesus.

I think M—— P—— enjoys this, and grows in grace continually. So do two or three more members in this society. But they sadly want more searching preachers; and those that would help them forward, by explaining the deep things of God. Peace be with your spirit.

CCXLIV.—*To the Same.*

July 13, 1771.

As long as we dwell in a house of clay, it is liable to affect the mind; sometimes by dulling or darkening the understanding, and sometimes more directly by damping and depressing the soul, and sinking it into distress and heaviness. In this state, doubt or fear, of one kind or another, will naturally arise. And the prince of this world, who well knows whereof we are made, will not fail to improve the occasion, in order to disturb, though he cannot pollute, the heart which God hath cleansed from all unrighteousness.

I rejoice with you concerning poor M—— M——. Persons who are eminently dutiful to their parents, hardly ever fail of receiving a reward, even in the present world.

My call to America is not yet clear. I have no business there as long as they can do without me. At present I am a debtor to the people of England and Ireland, and especially to them that believe.

You have a delicate part to act with regard to P——. There are so many great defects in her natural temper, that a deal of grace will be required to make her altogether a Christian; neither will grace shine in her as it would in others. You have need carefully to encourage what is of God in her, and tenderly to reprove what is of nature. I am afraid for P—— D——, lest she should be less zealous of good works than she was formerly. I doubt she has at present little encouragement thereto.

In the thirteenth of Corinthians you have the height and depth of genuine perfection; and it is observable, St. Paul speaks all along of the love of our neighbour; flowing indeed from the love of God. Mr. De Renty is an excellent pattern of this. But many things in his fellowship with God will not be explained till the Holy Spirit explains them by writing them on your heart. That darkness which often clouds your understanding, I take to be quite preternatural. I believe the spirit of darkness spreads a mist over your mind, so far as he is permitted; and that the best remedy is simply to look up to God, and the cloud will flee away at his presence. I am, &c.

CCXLV.—*To the Same.*

August 3, 1771.

How wise are all the ways of God! And although in many instances they are past finding out, yet we may even now discern the designs of his providence.

The "Appendix to the Philosophy," and the "Trinity Hymns," I hope, will settle you on that important point. It is a striking remark of Bishop Browne's, that we are not required to "believe any mystery" in the matter. The mystery does not lie in the fact, "These Three are One;" but in the *manner*, the accounting how they are one. But with this I have nothing to do. I believe the fact. As to the manner, (wherein the whole mystery lies,) I believe nothing about it. The quaint device of styling them *three* offices, rather than persons, gives up the whole doctrine.

There is scarcely any word of so extensive a sense as wisdom. It frequently means the whole of religion. And indeed no one can be termed throughly wise until he is altogether a Christian. To devote all our thoughts and actions to God, this is our highest wisdom; and so far as we inwardly or outwardly swerve from this, we walk as fools, not as wise In order to be all devoted to the Lord, even those who are renewed in love still need the unction of the Holy One, to teach them in all circumstances the most excellent way, and to enable them so to watch and pray, that they may continually walk therein. It seems, my time for writing either on this or other subjects is pretty well over; only I am ready to add a word now and then, if Providence so require.

Persons are, in one sense, delivered from unbelief, when they are enabled to believe always; when they have faith's abiding impression, realizing things to come. For they can then no longer be termed unbelievers. When this is given in a very glorious manner, so that they are filled with faith, and are not able to doubt even for a moment, it is natural for them to say, "they are saved from all unbelief." The soul that is all light, (as Lopez, when he said, "All is midday now,") may affirm, "I am saved from all darkness." And is not this the will of the Lord concerning you? Undoubtedly it is. Fear not then; reason not; only look up. Is he not nigh, even at the door? He is nigh that justifieth; he is nigh that sanctifieth; he is nigh that supplies all your wants! Take more out of his fulness, that you may love him more, praise him more, and serve him better. It is desirable to glorify God, like Mr. De Renty or Halyburton, in death, as well as in life: I am sorry for poor Miss H——. It is a mysterious providence.

CCXLVI.—*To the Same.*

July 1, 1772.

It is lost time to consider, whether you write well or ill: you speak from the heart, and that is enough. Unbelief is either total, the absence of faith; or partial, the want of more faith. In the latter sense every believer may complain of unbelief, unless when he is filled with faith and the Holy Ghost. Then it is all midday. Yet even then, we may pray, "Lord, increase our faith."

We learn to think, by reading and meditating on what we read; by

conversing with sensible people; and by every thing that improves the heart. Since purity of heart (as Mr. Norris observes) both clears the medium through which we see, and strengthens the faculty, mechanical rules avail little, unless one had opportunity of learning the elements of logic; but it is a miserable task to learn them without an instructer.

Entire resignation implies entire love. Give him your will, and you give him your heart.

You need not be at all careful in that matter, whether you apply directly to one person, or the other, seeing He and the Father are one. Pray just as you are led, without reasoning, in all simplicity. Be a little child, hanging on Him that loves you. I am, &c.

CCXLVII.—*To the Same.*

June 17, 1774.

I am glad you think of me, when you do not see me: I was almost afraid it was otherwise. Air and exercise you must have; and if you use constant exercise, with an exact regimen, it is not improbable that you will have rigorous health, if you live to four or five-and-thirty. About that time, the constitution both of men and women frequently takes an entire turn. At present, you are certainly in your place; and you need take no thought for the morrow.

The praying much for those we love much is doubtless the fruit of affection; but such an affection as is well pleasing to God, and is wrought in us by his own Spirit. Therefore it is certain, the intercession that flows from that affection is according to the will of God.

That is an exceedingly nice question, "How far may we desire the approbation of good men?" I think it cannot be proved that such a desire is any where forbidden in Scripture. But it requires a very strong influence of the Holy Spirit, to prevent its running into excess.

Friendship is one species of love; and is, in its proper sense, a disinterested reciprocal love between two persons. Wicked persons are, it seems, incapable of friendship. For, "he who fears no God, can love no friend." Nor indeed is every one that fears God capable of friendship. It requires a peculiar turn of mind, without which it can have no being. The properties of Christian friendship are the same as the properties of love; with those which St. Paul so beautifully describes in the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. And it produces, as occasions offer, every good word and work. Many have laid down the rules whereby it should be regulated; but they are not to be comprised in a few lines. One is, "Give up every thing to your friend, except a good conscience toward God."

There have undoubtedly been instances of real friendship among Jews, yea, and among Heathens who were susceptible of it; but they were by no means wicked men; they were men fearing God, and working righteousness, according to the dispensation they were under. I apprehend wicked men, under whatever dispensation, to be absolutely incapable of true friendship. By wicked men, I mean, either men openly profane, or men void of justice, mercy, and truth. There may be a shadow of friendship between those, whether of the same, or of different sexes. But surely the substance is wanting: in all my experience, I have found no exception to this rule.

After an acquaintance of four-and-thirty years, myself cannot have freedom with Miss ——. Yet I know not but u may. In most respects she judges truly, although her natural ..derstanding is not strong. Miss N——'s is: the more you know her the more you will taste her spirit. The others you mention want a little more age and experience; then they might make companions for you.

CCXLVIII.—*To the Same.*

SEPTEMBER 16, 1774.

I BELIEVE my displeasure at you is not likely to rise to any great height: it will hardly have time; for I should tell you very soon of any thing which I did not like.

You want more simplicity: I will give you the first instance that occurs of that simplicity which I mean. Some years since, a woman sitting by me fell into strong convulsions; and presently began to speak as in the name of God. Both her look, motions, and tone of voice, were peculiarly shocking. Yet I found my mind as ready to receive what she said, as if she had spoken with the look, motion, and accent of Cicero.

"Unprofitable; far from edifying." Nay; but this does not go to the bottom of the matter. Why is that unprofitable to me, which is edifying to others? Remember that remark in the "Thoughts on Christian perfection:" if one grain of prejudice be in my mind, I can receive no profit from the preacher. Neither in this case can I form a right judgment of any thing a person says or does. And yet it is possible this prejudice may be innocent, as springing from the unavoidable weakness of human understanding.

I doubt not Mr. M—— will be of use to many: he has much sense and much grace, together with uncommon activity and patience. And, wherever he goes, the work of God prospers in his hand.

Bishop Browne thought Arianism and Socinianism were the flood which the dragon is in this age pouring out of his mouth to swallow up the woman: perhaps it may; especially with Dr. Taylor's emendation. But still the main flood in England seems to be Antinomianism. This has been a greater hinderance to the work of God than any, or all others put together. But God has already lifted up his standard, and he will maintain his own cause. In the present dispensation, he is undoubtedly aiming at that point, to spread holiness over the land. It is our wisdom to have this always in view, inward and outward holiness. A thousand things will be presented by men and devils to divert us from our point. These we are to watch against continually; as they will be continually changing their shape. But let your eye be single; aim still at one thing;—holy, loving faith; giving God the whole heart. And incite all to this; one love; one present and eternal heaven.

CCXLIX.—*To the Same.*

NOVEMBER 30, 1774.

YOU are in the safer extreme. When I formerly removed from one college to another, I fixed my resolution, not to be hastily acquainted with any one; indeed, not to return any visit, unless I had a reason-

able hope of receiving or doing good therein. This my new neighbours generally imputed to pride; and I was willing to suffer the imputation.

I "sum up the experience" of persons too, in order to form their general character. But, in doing this, we take a different way of making our estimate. It may be, you chiefly regard (as my brother does) the length of their experience. Now, this I make little account of: I measure the depth and breadth of it. Does it sink deep in humble, gentle love? Does it extend wide in all inward and outward holiness? If so, I do not care whether they are of five or five-and-thirty years' standing. Nay, when I look at Miss ——, or Miss ——, I am ready to hide my face; I am ashamed of having set out before they were born.

Undoubtedly Miss J—— is deep in grace, and lives like an angel here below. Yet some things in her character I do not admire; I impute them to human frailty. Many years ago I might have said, but I do not now,

> "Give me a woman made of stone,
> A widow of Pygmalion."

And just such a Christian, one of the Fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus describes: but I do not admire that description now as I did formerly. I now see a Stoic and a Christian are different characters; and at sometimes I have been a good deal disgusted at Miss J——'s apathy. When God restores our friends to us, we ought to rejoice; it is a defect, if we do not. In that and several other instances, I take knowledge of S—— R——'s littleness of understanding; and this, as well as our temper, we ought to improve to the utmost of our power; which can no otherwise be done, than by reading authors of various kinds, as well as by thinking and conversation. If we read nothing but the Bible, we should hear nothing but the Bible; and then what becomes of preaching?

Many people have clear conceptions of a few things, concerning which they judge and reason. But they have no clear ideas of other things. So if they reason about them, they stumble at every step. None can have general good sense, unless they have clear and determinate ideas of all things.

CCL.—*To the Same.*

December 27, 1774.

A few minutes I spent with Miss M—— when she was in town two or three years ago. She seemed to be of a soft, flexible temper, and a good deal awakened. From her letters, I should judge that she had still many convictions, and strong desires to be a real Christian. At the same time, it is plain she is surrounded with hinderances, and is sometimes persuaded to act contrary to her conscience. It is extremely difficult to advise a person in such circumstances what to do. Methinks the first thing I would advise her to, at all events, is, "Do nothing against your conscience. 2. At a proper opportunity, after praying for courage, tell your lady, you scruple such and such things. And I doubt not, but she will take effectual care that no one shall press you on those heads." Leaving her place is the last step to be taken, if she finds she cannot save her soul therein.

You know it is very natural for me to estimate wisdom and goodness by years, and to suppose the longest experience must be the best. But, although there is much advantage in long experience, and we may trust an old soldier more than a novice, yet God is tied down to no rules; he frequently works a great work in a little time. He makes young men and women wiser than the aged; and gives to many, in a very short time, a closer, and deeper communion with himself, than others attain in a long course of years. B—— and P—— B—— are witnesses. They have borne huge contradiction; and P—— has stood such shocks as might have overset some of the most established souls we have in London.

There is a great calmness and meekness in B—— J——; but I want more softness and tenderness; I want more of human mingled with the divine. Nay, sometimes I want it in Miss M—— too. But I do not call that warmth anger; at least, not sinful anger: perhaps it would be culpable to be without it. I desire no apathy in religion: a Christian is very far from a Stoic.

In every case, the last appeal must be made to our own conscience. Yet our conscience is far from being an infallible guide, as every wrong temper tends to bribe and blind the judge.

CCLI.—*To the Same.*

February 11, 1775.

There seems to be in our excellent friend something too near akin to apathy: "A clergyman," said one, (but I do not agree with him in this,) "ought to be all intellect; no passion." She appears to be (I will not affirm she is) at no great distance from this. It is true, by this means we might avoid much pain: but we should also lose much happiness. Therefore this is a state which I cannot desire. Rather give me the pleasure and pain too: rather let

> Plain life, with heightening passions rise,
> The boast or burden of an hour.

But who has attained this? Who treads the middle path, equally remote from both extremes? I will tell you one that did, (although the remembrance of her still brings tears into my eyes,) that lovely saint, Jane Cooper! There was the due mixture of intellect and passion! I remember one of the last times I saw her, before her last illness, her look, her attitude, her words! My dear friend, be you a follower of her, as she was of Christ.

CCLII.—*To the Same.*

June 9, 1775.

Very possibly, if I should live seven years longer, we should be acquainted with each other. I verily think your reserve wears off; though only by a hair's breadth at a time. Quicken your pace. What you do, do quickly. "Scarce any thing important enough to write upon!" Why, could you not say something about yourself? And is there any thing relating to your welfare which is not important to me? Am not I concerned in every thing which concerns you? which either lessens or increases your happiness? I want you to be as happy,

and, in order thereto, as holy as an angel; that you may do the will of God on earth, as angels do in heaven.

I am less careful about your increase in knowledge, any farther than it tends to love. There is a danger of your laying more stress on this, than sound reason requires. Otherwise, you would reap much profit from sermons, which do not improve your knowledge,—which do not apply to the understanding so directly as to the heart. I feel more want of heat than light. I value light; but it is nothing compared to love. Aim at this, my dear friend, in all public exercises; and then you will seldom be disappointed. Then you will not stop on the threshold of perfection; (I trust you do not now;) but will press on to the mark, to the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus; till you experimentally know all that love of God which passeth all (speculative) knowledge.

The lengthening of your life, and the restoring your health, are invaluable blessings. But do you ask, how you shall improve them to the glory of the Giver? And are you willing to know? Then I will tell you how. Go and see the poor and sick in their own poor little hovels. Take up your cross, woman! Remember the faith! Jesus went before you, and will go with you. Put off the gentlewoman: you bear a higher character. You are an heir of God, and joint heir with Christ! Are you not going to meet him in the air, with ten thousand of his saints? O be ready!

CCLIII.—*To the Same.*

February 7, 1776.

I have found some of the uneducated poor who have exquisite taste and sentiment; and many, very many, of the rich who have scarcely any at all. But I do not speak of this: I want you to converse more, abundantly more, with the poorest of the people, who, if they have not taste, have souls, which you may forward in their way to heaven. And they have (many of them) faith, and the love of God, in a larger measure than any persons I know. Creep in among these, in spite of dirt, and a hundred disgusting circumstances; and thus put off the gentlewoman. Do not confine your conversation to genteel and elegant people. I should like this as well as you do: but I cannot discover a precedent for it in the life of our Lord, or any of his Apostles. My dear friend, let you and I walk as he walked.

I now understand you with regard to the P——s; but I fear in this you are too delicate. It is certain their preaching is attended with the power of God to the hearts of many; and why not to yours? Is it not owing to a want of simplicity? "Are you going to hear Mr. Wesley?" said a friend to Mr. Blackwell. "No," he answered, "I am going to hear God: I listen to him, whoever preaches; otherwise I lose all my labour."

"You will only be content to convert worlds? You shall hew wood, or carry brick and mortar; and when you do this in obedience to the order of Providence, it shall be more profitable to your own soul than the other." You may remember Mr. De Renty's other remark: "I then saw that a well-instructed Christian is never hindered by any person or thing. For whatever prevents his doing good works, gives him

a fresh opportunity of submitting his will to the will of God; which at that time is more pleasing to God, and more profitable to his soul, than any thing else which he could possibly do."

Never let your expenses exceed your income. To servants I would give full as much as others give for the same service; and not more. It is impossible to lay down any general rules, as to "saving all we can," and "giving all we can." In this, it seems, we must needs be directed, from time to time, by the unction of the Holy One. Evil spirits have undoubtedly abundance of work to do in an evil world; frequently in concurrence with wicked men, and frequently without them.

CCLIV.—*To the Same.*

February 26, 1776.

What I advise you to is not to contract a friendship, or even acquaintance, with poor, inelegant, uneducated persons; but frequently, nay, constantly, to visit the poor, the widow, the sick, the fatherless, in their affliction; and this, although they should have nothing to recommend them, but that they are bought with the blood of Christ. It is true, this is not pleasing to flesh and blood. There are a thousand circumstances usually attending it which shock the delicacy of our nature, or rather of our education. But yet the blessing which follows this labour of love will more than balance the cross.

"To be uneasy under obligations which we cannot repay," is certainly a fruit of diabolical generosity; and therefore Milton, with great propriety, ascribes it to the devil, and makes him speak quite in character, when he says, concerning his obligations to God himself,—

So burdensome still paying, still to owe.

I am quite of another mind; I entirely agree with you, that the more sensible we are of such obligations, the more happy we are. Surely this yoke is easy, and this burden is light!

Perhaps, if you give another reading to "Thoughts upon Dress," you will clearly see that both reason and religion are more deeply concerned than we are apt to imagine, even in the trifling article of dress; trifling, if compared with the weightier matters of the law; yet, in itself, of no small importance; and that, whether you consider yourself as an individual, or as a member of a Christian society. Certainly, Dr. Young can only mean, "None is happy, unless he thinks himself so; and truly this is no great discovery. Is it any more than, "None is happy unless he is so?" If he means more than this, he means wrong: for we know the best man is the happiest; but if I thought myself the best man in the world, I should be very proud, and consequently not happy at all

CCLV.—*To the Same.*

April 26, 1777.

To begin at the end. I did not preach any sermon for you in particular, though, by accident. I know what sermon you mean; and both you and I have need of it.

I have some fine remains of Charles Perronet's, wherein he describes his own experience. It exactly agrees with yours. He too was led at first to Jesus the Mediator, and seemed, in a manner, to have no concern

with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Afterward, he had communion with the Father, next with the Spirit, and then with the whole Trinity: you therefore are afraid where no fear is. Our Lord is not displeased at your following his Spirit.

I do not remember the making mention of covetousness; but it is likely I might; for I am exceedingly afraid of it, lest it should steal unawares, (as it always comes in disguise,) either upon myself or my friends. I know no way to escape it, but (having saved all we can) to give all we can. I think this is, at present, your rule as well as mine; and I trust it always will be.

We cannot impute too much to Divine providence, unless we make it interfere with our free agency. I suppose that young woman, by saying she did not believe God had any thing to do with it, only meant, that the passion itself was not at all from God, but altogether from evil nature: she could not mean that God does not, in a thousand instances, draw good out of evil, yea, that he may not sometimes permit us to be overtaken in a fault, to preserve us from a greater.

General rules are easily laid down. But it is not possible to apply them accurately in particular cases, without the anointing of the Holy One: this alone, abiding with us, can teach us of all things. Thus our general rule is, "Thou shalt do no murder;" which plainly forbids every thing that tends to impair health; and implies that we use every probable means of preserving or restoring it. But when we come to apply this to particular instances, we are presently in a labyrinth, and want that anointing which alone can make plain the way before our face, and direct us to do, in every minute circumstance, what is acceptable to God.

You have abundant reason to praise God, both for spiritual and temporal blessings. Beware of indulging gloomy thoughts: they are the bane of thankfulness. You are encompassed with ten thousand mercies let these sink you into humble thankfulness.

CCLVI.—*To the Same.*

December 10, 1777.

You do not at all understand my manner of life. Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry; because I never undertake any more work than I can go through with perfect calmness of spirit. It is true, I travel four or five thousand miles in a year. But I generally travel alone in my carriage; and, consequently, am as retired ten hours in a day, as if I was in a wilderness. On other days, I never spend less than three hours (frequently ten or twelve) in the day alone. So there are few persons in the kingdom who spend so many hours secluded from all company. Yet I find time to visit the sick and the poor; and I must do it, if I believe the Bible, if I believe these are the marks whereby the Shepherd of Israel will know and judge his sheep at the great day; therefore, when there is time and opportunity for it, who can doubt but this is matter of absolute duty? When I was at Oxford, and lived almost like a hermit, I saw not how any busy man could be saved. I scarce thought it possible for a man to retain a Christian spirit, amidst the noise and bustle of the world. God taught me better by my own experience. I had ten times more business in America (that is, at

intervals) than ever I had in my life. But it was no hinderance to silence of spirit.

Mr. Boehm was chaplain to Prince George of Denmark; secretary to him and Queen Ann; principal manager of almost all the puolic charities in the kingdom, and employed in numberless private charities. An intimate friend, knowing this, said to him when they were alone, "Sir, are you not hurt by that amazing hurry of business? I have seen you in your office, surrounded with people, listening to one, dictating to another, and at the same time writing to a third: could you then retain a sense of the presence of God?" He answered, "All that company, and all that business, no more hindered or lessened my communion with God, than if I had been all alone in a church kneeling before the communion table." Was it not the same case with him to whom Gregory Lopez said, "Go and be a hermit in Mexico?" I am concerned for you; I am sorry you should be content with lower degrees of usefulness and holiness than you are called to. But I cannot help it; so I submit; and am still, my dear Miss M——,

Yours in sincere affection.

CCLVII.—*To Mr. Christopher Hopper.*

LEEDS, March 24, 1761.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I stepped over from Manchester hither yesterday, and am to return thither to-morrow. I cannot fix my route through Scotland till I hear from Mr. Gillies: but I expect to be at Aberdeen in four or five weeks; and at Newcastle about the middle of May. My best friend (such she undoubtedly is, in a sense) remains still in London. I do not expect any change till the approach of death. And I am content. With regard to me, all is well.

John Nelson and John Manners both write to me from York, that they wish T. Olivers to spend some time longer in the Newcastle circuit. I wish so too. I think it would be better for himself, and for many others. O let us follow after the things which make for peace! I am

Yours affectionately.

Alas! Alas! So poor Jacob Rowell says, Mr. Wesley has nothing to do with his round; and all the societies in it, but Barnard Castle, are willing to separate. In God's name, let one of you go into that round without delay!

CCLVIII.—*To the Same.*

NORWICH, January 18, 1762.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Public affairs do look exceeding dark; and the clouds gather more and more. Yet the Lord sitteth above the waterfloods, and remaineth a King for ever. And he (whatever be the lot of his enemies) shall give his people the blessing of peace.

If you do not establish good order in the Orphan house, it is pity you should go there. This is the very design of your Master: for this end are you sent. Do just as I would do in every instance if I were in your place. Act just the thing that is right, whoever is pleased or displeased. I hereby give it under my hand, I will stand by you with all my might.

I am glad you have had a free conversation with T. Olivers. There

is good in him; though he is a rough stick of wood. But love can bow down the stubborn neck. By faith and love we shall overcome all things.

Peace be with you and yours. I am

Your ever affectionate brother.

I set out for London to-morrow.

CCLIX.—*To the Same.*

Cork, June 18, 1762.

My Dear Brother,—So your labour has not been in vain. I shall expect an account of the remaining part of your journey too. And you will be able to inform me of the real character and behaviour of Robert Miller also. I do not rightly understand him. But I see James Ker shaw and he do not admire one another.

Pray let me know, as particularly as you can, how William Fugill has behaved in Scotland; and what has hindered the increase of the work at Edinburgh. I thought the society would have been doubled before now.

I expect to be in Dublin on Saturday, July 24; then Providence will determine how I shall go forward, and whether I am to embark for Parkgate, Liverpool, or Holyhead, in my way to Leeds; where I hope to meet you all on August 10. I am

Yours affectionately.

I hope you will all exert yourselves in the Midsummer collection for Kingswood.

CCLX.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, September 3, 1763.

My Dear Brother,—I am much inclined to think you will be more useful this year than ever you have been in your life. From the first hour abate nothing of our rules, whether of society or bands. Be a Methodist all over. Be exact in every thing. Be zealous; be active. Press on to the one thing, and carry all before you. How much may be done before summer is at an end! Their little misunderstandings at Edinburgh you will soon remove, by hearing the parties face to face. I hope a preacher is gone northward, and brother Roberts come southward. I hate delay. "The King's business requires haste!" I am, with love to S. Hopper, Yours most affectionately.

Take the field every where as often as possible. Who goes to the Highlands now, quickly?

CCLXI.—*To the Same.*

Welling, November 2, 1763.

My Dear Brother,—"Dundee," you say, "would be thankful for a preacher." But who would give him things needful for the body? He cannot live upon air; and we now expect that Scotland should bear its own burden. John Hampson you must think of no more. But I doubt our Newcastle friends are out of all patience for want of R. Roberts. In spring you will need a fourth preacher. But what would he have to do?

Why, then, I think you must get the plat without the Canongate. "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Sevenpence half-

penny! Pshaw! Let it be eightpence, even money. By and by we may give Mr. Trail more work. O let us work in this fruitful season! We join in love to S. Hopper and you. I am

Yours affectionately.

CCLXII.—*To the Same.*

BRISTOL, September 29, 1764.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—My judgment is this,—That it is best for you to be at Edinburgh (but in a more airy lodging, if it can be had for love or money) before the end of next month, James Kershaw at Dundee, and Tommy Hanby at Aberdeen. If you have either love or pity for him, let him not stay too long at Dundee. His mind is by no means strong enough to bear that weight of applause. At any rate, take him out of the furnace, or he will be consumed. And you well know a change is best for the people, as well as best for him. Is it not easiest for him and you to change at a day appointed; and then for you to stay at Dundee till you are relieved by James Kershaw? Peace be with your spirits! I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXIII.—*To the Same.*

BRISTOL, October 16, 1765.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—So honest Sander has outrode all the storms, and got safe into the haven! The Lord does all things well. I should not wish to stay here any longer than I could be useful.

You and James Kershaw are considerate men. You must set your wits to work to find out ways and means. I will venture to answer for one fifty pounds, payable next August. Let our brethren pray in good earnest, and God will provide the rest. I am

Yours affectionately.

I am returning to London.

CCLXIV.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, November 20, 1766.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The letter now before me runs thus: "*Sunderland, November* 10.—Mr. Hopper has been here preaching for a fortnight; and he proposes to come to live here, and be our minister: and a house is to be built for him. Then we shall not want the travelling preachers so often. And I hope he will give us the sacrament."

You must explain this to me yourself. I can say nothing to it; for I know nothing of the matter. I am

Yours affectionately

NOVEMBER 27, 1766.

IT is well my letter was overlooked till I came home: so one will do for two. John Fenwick will set out to-morrow morning, which is as soon as he could be spared from hence.

Nay, it is you must make the best of M. Fenwick. Cure him of his coxcomicality, and he may do good. If Mrs. Robinson continues to walk closely with God, I expect her health will continue.

Miss Lewen's Will probably will be a nine days' wonder. Mr Whitefield acted according to the light he had; but I durst not have done so; because I am God's steward for the poor.

We all join in love. Adieu!

CCLXV.—*To the Same.*

ATHLONE, June 18, 1767.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Sometimes the children forget the parents; but it is seldom that parents forget their children. I suppose it was the death of honest Paul Greenwood which occasioned the report of yours. He could ill be spared; but he was ready for the Bridegroom; so it was fit he should go to him.

Michael should take care to be either in Dublin, or in the north o. Ireland, before the end of July. If it be possible for him to be a simple, plain man, pretending to nothing but to follow Christ, God will find him employment. And if he walk circumspectly and humbly in Ireland, the people of England will soon be reconciled to him.

I wish you joy of having full employment. You know, the more work the more blessing. There is good work to be done in this kingdom also; and many of our preachers do it in good earnest. But we want more labourers; especially in the north, where one preacher is increased into seven! and the people cry aloud for more. But, alas! we can neither make them nor hire them! I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

I hope to see you and honest John at the conference. An exact account of the societies you will bring with you.

CCLXVI.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, November 20, 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If she will return of her own accord, I will receive her with open arms. But I will not hire her to return. I think that would be foolish, nay, sinful.

Brother Fazzard was a good man, though for some years his head was a good deal wrong. I hope brother Greenwood continues right and is no longer puzzled by the smooth speakers.

If you love the souls or bodies of men, recommend, every where, the "Primitive Physic," and the small tracts. It is true, most of the Methodists are poor; but what then? Nine in ten of them would be no poorer, if they were to lay out a whole penny in buying a book every other week in the year. By this means, the work of God is both widened and deepened in every place. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXVII.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, January 16, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—There is reason to believe that this has been indeed a festival time all over the kingdom. While a Sacheverell madness has spread far and wide, God gives us the Spirit of love and of a sound mind.

I think verily, if we could procure those premises upon reasonable terms, together with such a servitude or security (are these synonymous

terms?) as you mention, it would be a noble acquisition, and might tend much to the furtherance of the work of God in Edinburgh.

If all the assistants would exert themselves with regard to the yearly collection as heartily as Christopher Hopper, a great deal might be done. We must have farther proof of William. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXVIII.—*To the Same.*

London, October 13, 1770.

My Dear Brother,—You are quite right. If a man preach like an angel, he will do little good without exact discipline. I am glad honest William Hodgson has been of use; and hope you have made him and his brother friends. I will trust you for letting any place be six or eight weeks without preaching. Let this evil be removed, and the congregations will increase on Wednesdays as well as Sundays. Pray warn your young man continually, (and yourself,) "Not too long, or too loud!" I am right glad honest R. Roberts has preached at the Cross. "Go thou, and do likewise." I leave both the vicar and the curate in your hands. I have no concern with them. I let them drop. Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might! I am, with love to S. Hopper, Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXIX.—*To the Same.*

London, December 21, 1770.

My Dear Brother,—We are sure God is wise in all his ways, and gracious in all his works. But many times the reasons of them are past finding out. We can only say, "It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good."

I wish that good young man, Mr. Hill, could be prevailed upon to cast in his lot among us. He is upright of heart, and bids very fair to be a useful labourer in our Lord's vineyard. I am, with love to sister Hopper, Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXX.—*To the Same.*

Cork, May 5, 1771.

My Dear Brother,—The work is to be delivered in weekly and monthly numbers: but it is of most use to have portable volumes. I have corrected as much as will make nine or ten out of the thirty volumes. All the verse works I have corrected, in conjunction with the preachers, and left the corrected copy at London. If I live to finish the correction of my own works, I shall then revise the "Christian Library." If ever you should spend a twelvemonth in this kingdom, you would not repent of your labour. Here is a people ready prepared for the Lord. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXI.—*To the Same.*

London, October 13, 1771.

My Dear Brother,—Methodist preachers cannot have always accommodations fit for gentlemen. But let us look upon David Brain-

erd, and praise God for what we have. In the general, your circuit is one of the best in England. The living souls make us ample amends for the inconvenient houses.

I am persuaded, wherever the assistant is earnest in the matter, and has a little address and patience, the weekly contribution will answer the end. Difficulties we must expect; but, by the help of God, you will conquer them. If Tommy Hanson and you live till May, you may change again. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXII.—*To the Same.*

LEWISHAM, February 26, 1772.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When Mr. Shirley (or rather Lady H.) published that wonderful circular letter, it was little imagined that it would be the occasion of establishing those very doctrines which it was intended to destroy. So different were God's thoughts from men's thoughts! T. Olivers was more afraid than hurt. We all agree in this: "By thy words thou shalt be justified;" (in the last day;) "and by thy words" (yea, and works) "thou shalt be condemned."

April 6th I hope to be at Manchester; and thence to go by Whitehaven, to Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen. My Welsh church has a fine air; but no land or money belonging to it. Peace be with you and yours! I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXIII.—*To the Same.*

FEBRUARY 6, 1773.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I agreed last year (though contrary to my judgment) that we would have no more weekly subscriptions. I purposed likewise, in my own mind, to concern myself with the debt no more. But upon reflection it seemed to me, there was one way still; namely, not to apply to the poor at all, (though I would not reject any that offered,) but to take the burden on myself, and try my personal interest with the rich. I began at London, where about five hundred pounds are subscribed. Afterward, I wrote to many in the country. Liverpool circuit has subscribed about a hundred pounds; Bradford circuit, a hundred and thirty. It must be now or never. I do not know that I shall concern myself with this matter any more.

Till now we have never had a rational prospect of clearing the whole debt in one year. Now it may be done. It certainly will, if our brethren in other circuits do as those above mentioned have done. What I desire of you is, to second the letters I have wrote, encouraging each man of property in your circuit to exert himself; at least, to send me an answer: this, you know, is but common civility. Now do what you can; and show that *you*, my old friend, are not the last and least in love toward Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXIV.—*To the Same.*

LIVERPOOL, March 21, 1773.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have saved us a hundred pounds with regard to the house at Bradford. A hundred pounds less shall serve

there, which may be applied to better purposes. So you may use your free thoughts on any other head (directing to Dublin) when you please. It is certain there has been little management at the Orphan house, or you would not have been a penny in debt. However, do all you can in your own way toward discharging the general debt. I do not know where Peggy Dale could have made a better choice. Peace be with your spirits! I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXV.—*To the Same.*

LEWISHAM, July 31, 1773.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I believe what you desire is for the glory of God, and have therefore no objection to your spending another year in the Newcastle circuit. I am glad you have preached on the Ballast Hills. Follow the blow, and you will soon see the fruit. Billy Smith will nearly supply your place at the conference; and you will find full employment where you are.

We have money in hand both for Dundee and Edinburgh: but I do not think right that a shilling more should be given to either till the houses are settled in another manner. I am sorry so much has been given already. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXVI.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, August 7, 1773.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Before any more money is paid for Dundee house, security must be given that the house shall be settled according to our plan as soon as the debt upon it is paid.

As to Edinburgh house, you say, "If they pay the interest and the outrent, it is no matter whether you pay one shilling more." *No matter!* What becomes then of the preachers' fund? Blessed committee, who lent near two hundred pounds out of it!

We have gone a few steps farther toward a general trust; but that matter goes on very slowly. You are to cure Robert Swan of preaching too long. We all judge it best that the four preachers should follow one another through the whole circuit. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXVII.—*To the Same.*

LONDON, February 1, 1775.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear so good an account with regard to the preaching houses at Liverpool and Warrington. Indeed it may be doubted, whether we should contribute toward those houses which are not settled according to our plan. It pleases God to continue my strength hitherto; and my disorder gives me little uneasiness. I expect to be at Stroud, (from Bristol,) Monday, March 13; Tuesday, 14, at Worcester; Thursday, 16, Birmingham; Friday, 17, Newcastle; Saturday, 18, Macclesfield; Monday, 20, Manchester; Tuesday, 21, Northwich. Whether it will be more advisable then to steer by Chester or Liverpool I do not see clearly. Let us work while the day is. I am with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Surely it cannot be, that you should find in the house at Newcastle an account which John Fenwick sent *me*, and that you should send it back o *him!*

CCLXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

London, November 11, 1775.

My Dear Brother,—There was something very awful in that storm which I supposed reached all over England and Ireland; although it seems not to have been altogether so violent in London as in most other places. I am sorry for Captain Davis and his widow. The judgments of God are abroad. The prayer meetings may be of great use, not only to individuals, but to the whole nation. I see nothing besides prayer that can avail. For the one question is, "Have we any right to tax, or no?"—If we have, they are rebels, and accountable to God and man for all the blood that is shed. If we have not, they are innocent, and the blood lies at our door. Will they allow that right? or can we give it up? I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXIX.—*To the Same.*

London, December 26, 1775.

My Dear Brother,—I see no possibility of accommodation. The one point is, Has the supreme power a right to tax, or not? If they have, they cannot, they ought not, to give it up. But I say, as Dean Tucker, "Let them drop." Cut off all other connection with them than we have with Holland or Germany. Four-and-thirty millions they have cost us *to support them* since Queen Ann died. Let them cost us no more. Let them have their desire, and support themselves.

You sent Harry Brooke one book; but I left two, the larger of which was not sent. If it is lost, I must buy another.

The disorder is universal throughout Great Britain and Ireland; but hitherto, scarce any die of it in London: so God lightly afflicts us at first. It is well if the people will now hear the rod, and him that hath appointed it. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXX.—*To the Same.*

Near London, February 1, 1777.

My Dear Brother,—J—— K—— is stark staring mad, more than ever John Reed was. He prophesies that "all the Methodists are to go over to America in the belly of a whale." Take this as a specimen.

We shall not begin our building here before April. Probably I shall take a short journey (to Leeds, or Newcastle, or Dublin) once a month; but I must never be absent long at a time. How we shall be able to raise the money, I know not. But "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXI.—*To the Same.*

Bristol, March 16, 1777.

My Dear Brother,—Madmen have often a deal of cunning; and this frequently puzzles the cause; so that sometimes we can hardly say whether the man is more fool or knave.

Right precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints; and much good is usually done at their funerals. You do well to improve all hose opportunities.

Our friends are about laying the foundation of the new chapel; so that in a few days I must return to London: then I shall consider what time I can spare from thence; and shall fix my spring and summer journeys accordingly. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXII.—*To the Same.*

London, October 18, 1777.

My Dear Brother,—I believe what you say of —— —— is true; therefore I hindered the angry ones from falling upon him at the conference.

There is no divine visitation which is likely to have so general an influence upon sinners as an earthquake. The rich can no more guard against it than the poor. Therefore, I have often thought this would be no undesirable event.

I hang out no false colours. Scriptural, Christian, &c, are all equivocal words. I mean a Magazine purposely wrote to defend Universal Redemption. Other Magazines give forty pages for sixpence; this gives eighty for a shilling. My time is short; so I publish as much as I can at once, if haply I may live to finish it. All these things I have maturely weighed.

I have said over and over, there are weighty reasons why no preacher should ever be a trustee. Sycophants are wide of this question. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXIII.—*To the Same.*

London, February 21, 1778.

My Dear Brother,—Many angry opponents we are to expect; but they may say just what they please. It is my determination to answer none; but to go straight on my way.

On Sunday evening, March 1, I am to leave London. After spending a few days at Bristol, I purpose making the best of my way to Chester, in order to embark for Ireland. I hope to be in Dublin about the end of March. If so, I shall be able to visit all the societies before July. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXIV.—*To the Same.*

London, October 31, 1778.

My Dear Brother,—At a general conference, David Evans was judged unqualified for a travelling preacher. At the last conference we determined to receive no more married preachers. For what reason? For an exceeding plain one,—because we cannot keep them. I cannot: if *you* can, you may. But the people cannot, or will not, keep any more.

J—— K——'s prophecies are very ingenious; and as authentic as Jacob Behmen's.

I really think, the French will burn their fingers. We are much obliged to them for making our countrymen friends with each other.

I am glad the knotty affair at Bolton is concluded, and hope the sour man is now in a good humour. I am, with love to sister Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXV.—*To the Same.*

NEAR LONDON, February 16, 1780.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I do not know that there is any matter of *dispute* between us, unless it be, whether you should do what I desire, or no. You are assistant in Colne circuit. I desire you to send me a plan of the circuit: you send me an answer, but without the plan. I write again: you send a second answer, telling me, you have been very diligent for many years; and that you was the very person who introduced plans among us. Very good: but you send me no plan still; and till this comes, every thing else is wide of the mark. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Why should not you write an account of *your* life?

Isaac Waldron, T. Lee, W. Brammah, &c, &c, were not "strong and able men." When any such obtrude themselves for easy circuits, speak *at that time*, and you do something.

CCLXXXVI.—*To the Same.*

WHITTLEBURY, October 25, 1780.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was a shame that Keighly circuit should be without preaching, while there were so many local preachers all around it. Was John Oliver asleep, that he did not apply to the neighbouring assistants for help?

We must get your goodly countenance by and by. Some of your children will continue: many will draw back. The conference is nearly printed. It will cost a groat at least!

God is cleansing England and America, and sweeping away the wicked with the besom of destruction. When that is done glory will dwell in our land! I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXVII.—*To the Same.*

BRISTOL, August 27, 1785.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was your part to write to me, of the behaviour of William Eells, particularly at Warrington, without waiting till I heard of it from so many other persons. Seeing I find I cannot overcome him by love, I am at length constrained to let him drop. Pray inform him he is no longer in the number of our itinerant preachers. I shall to-day send another preacher to supply his place in the Bolton circuit. I have done all I could to save him; but it is in vain: so I must at length give him up. I am

Your affectionate brother and friend.

CCLXXXVIII.—*To the Same.*

REDRUTH, August 27, 1785.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The utmost that can be done at present is, to permit him to preach as a local preacher; for I will not run my head

against all the conference, by reversing what they have determined. I cannot, with either decency or prudence, go any farther yet. If his behaviour is unblamable in this lower station, by and by he may rise higher. I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

CCLXXXIX.—*To the Same.*

———, 1788.

My Dear Brother,—I said nothing, less or more, in Bradford church, concerning the end of the world, neither concerning my own opinion, but what follows:—That Bengelius had given it as his opinion, not that the world would then *end*, but that the millennial reign of Christ would *begin* in the year 1836. I have no opinion at all upon the head: I can determine nothing at all about it. These calculations are far above, out of my sight. I have only one thing to do,—to save my soul, and those that hear me. I am

Yours affectionately.

CCXC.—*To Mr. Thomas Carlill.*

London, January 23, 1778.

Dear Tommy,—In my father's poem on the Life of Christ there are many excellent lines; but they must be taken in connection with the rest: it would not be at all proper to print them alone.

Mr. Toplady might easily have answered Mr. Hervey, and maintained his point, upon supposition of absolute decrees; for it is certain, whatever is ordained of God is right. If, therefore, "whatsoever is, is ordained of God," then "whatever is, is right." Mr. Toplady therefore was consistent with his principles; Mr. Hervey was not.

You two, and C. Pritchard, should procure all the subscribers you can to the Magazine. I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

END OF VOL. VI.

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